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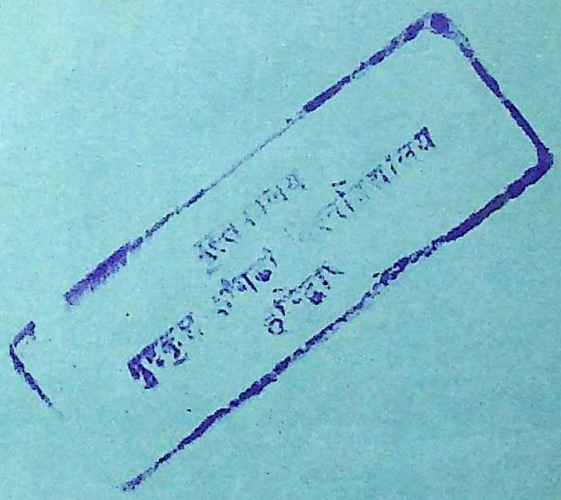

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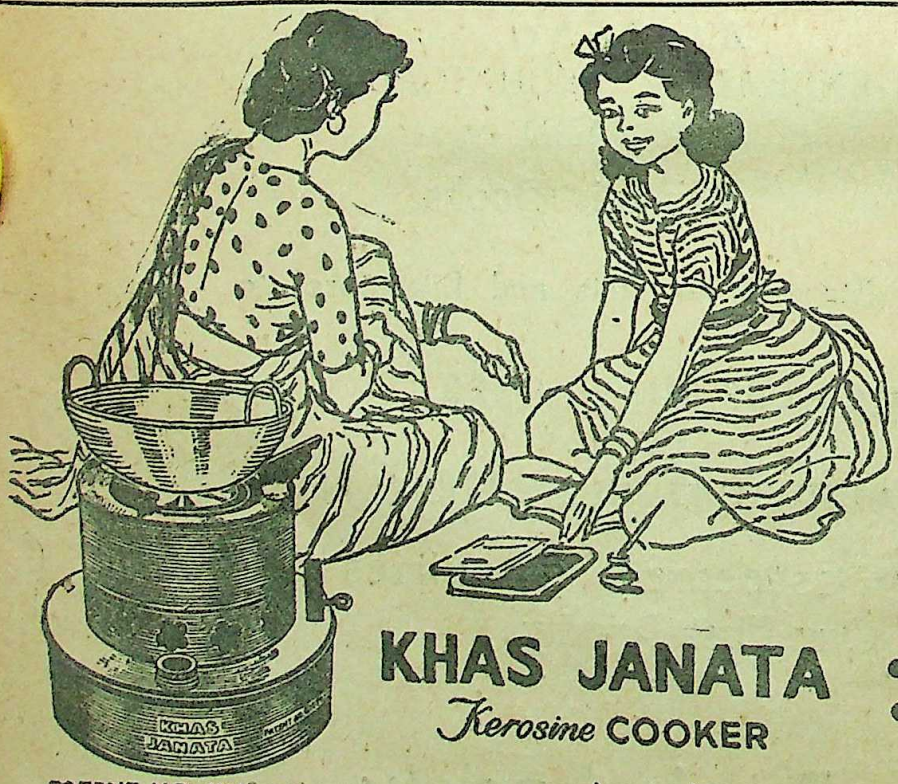

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The Late Ramananda Chatterjee
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THE MODERN REVIEW

JANUARY 1964

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NOTES

THE WORLD

The world is in a more relaxed state at the end of 1963 than it was when the year was young. Tensions have been distinctly lowered as between the Western and the Soviet blocs. The detente that followed the agreement between the Soviet and the Western powers over the banning of all Nuclear tests excepting those underground, has spread all over Europe despite the unwillingness of de Gaulle's France to sign the nuclear test ban treaty.

The recent move by the authorities of East Berlin which allowed tens of thousands of West Berliners to visit their relatives during the festive season of Christmas with gifts, has further eased the situation in a sector which has been the test area of the cold war in the West. The Soviet authorities were somewhat doubtful about the continuance of the policy and attitude of a friendly approach laid down by the late President Kennedy by his successor President Johnson. They seem to have been reassured to some extent by the declarations of the latter in the last few days. In any case there has been no fresh incidents of any serious import since the detente. In the U.S. too the jingoes seem to have relaxed.

The state of affairs on our Himalayan frontiers remain unchanged. But the tense situation that developed after the Chinese invasion, has been stabilised to some extent and no further aggressive moves of any consequence have been reported in recent months on either the Ladakh or the NEFA areas. The Chinese are trying to intensify the cold war in this area and they are being actively aided by President Ayub and his counsellers. Active provocations are being given all along the common frontiers, with particular emphasis on the Chaknot area in Kashmir and in the hilly areas of Assam-East Pakistan borders. A continuous campaign of vilification, mostly through false accusation and brazenly lying statements, is being carried on likewise.

There is a recent joint move, by the Chinese Premier and the Pakistan dictator, to drive a wedge between India and the non-aligned States of the Afro-Asian group. Ayub has tried all his blandishments on the Prime Minister of Ceylon and her cabinet members. He was well aware of the differences that have arisen between the Governments of India and Ceylon over the question of the "State-less" people of Indian origin in Ceylon, and he thought he might cash-in while the going was good. There does not seem to have been much agreement between Ayub and the Ceylonese Premier, as evinced by the news reports and the joint statement issued by both after Ayub's visit was over.

The Chinese Premier Chou En-lai and his entourage have started with the U.A.R. There were prolonged talks between the Chinese Premier and President Nasser

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and Premier Sabri, and press conferences, etc. But here agian the main points of the proposals put forward by Chou En-lai—and his satellite [illegible] regarding the holding of another B[illegible] conference and the abandonment of [illegible] proposed conference of the non-aligned Sta[illegible] the world do not seem to have been accepted by the U.A.R. President. Chou En-lai apparently seems to have scored a point in the matter of getting the "direct negotiations" between India and China, without any condition precedent proposal, agreed upon by President Nasser, so far as the news reports of the joint communique issued by the visitor and the host [illegible]

Needless to say our External Affairs department has taken the usually sonmolent blinks at the moves of our hostile neighbours, as is customary with [illegible] On the questions of the Bandung Conference proposal and the abandonement of the conference of all the non-aligned States, no positive moves seem to have been taken by our authorities.

The month of December, uptil the time of writing these, has had nothing untoward to happen in international affairs. On the positive side the new American President —the 36th man to fill the post of the Chief Executive of U. S.—Lyndon Johnson, has taken firmly over. In his address to the Congress, the new President had told the Congress and the world, "Today, in this moment of new resolve, I would say to all my fellow Americans, let us continue." The picture that emerged after the address was that of a President who would translate the promises of the late President into action. The democratic world bids him Godspeed in his resolve. The dead President was a friend in the fullest sense of the term, as understood by us along the tenets laid down by the ancients. He had understanding and courage mixed with a genuine love for all humanity and it would be difficult to fill his vacant seat. But if there be any chance of a real successor being found to this great leader, than certainly Lyndon Johnson, who was close to him through the trying times of last three years seems to be the best choice.

Other events worthy of report are few. The death of the Maharaja of Sikkim, Sir Tashi Namgyal, has removed a legendary figure from amongst us. He was a painter of very considerable talent and though he seemed to be detached from all worldly affairs in recent years, he had a personality that had an exotic charm. Premier Sarit Tuanarat of Thailand, the Strong Man of his country, who had stabilized his country's chaotic Government and collapsing economy has also died at the age of 55. His death has removed from South-east Asia the one man on whom the Western powers—particularly the U.S.—could rely.

Kenya and Zanzibar have attained full freedom. Kenya becomes the 35th new State, with Prime Minister Jomo Kenyatta at the helm. Zanzibar becomes Africa's smallest independent nation with a population of only 300,000 on her two islands. Kenya has a large European colony, which for the present seems content with Kenyatta's promises. Zanzibar has a mixed population, largely dominated by the Arab minority which forms 20 per cent only of the population. Prime Minister Sheik Muhammad Hamadi is an Arab.

Corruption

It seems that at last the Wise Men of New Delhi have woken up to the fact that there is corruption, all pervading and intensely corrosive in nature, eating at the vitals of the administration and the economy of the country. It is late in the day, for now corruption has become the major force in practically every walk in the life of the nation, thanks to the indifference and crass ignorance about public welfare of those who could have run the country on a different track if only they had listened to the warnings given by those who were aware of the evil force slowly wrapping its coils round the nation. Still it is better late than never, though the struggle will be fierce and the effort to cleanse public life of this degrading filth must be sustained for years before any positive results are even apparent.

For corruption provides the supreme incentive in all sections of administration and enterprise. These incentives are the provisions for the satisfaction of greed and lust in the fullest sense of the term. And those who provide the means

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together with those who receive it because of their hold over the administration or the economic reins or the nation's affairs, have between them brought the nation to the verge of an absolute collapse.

The Home Minister, Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda seems to be the first in the Central Cabinet to have realised the extent to which this evil has permeated. Mr. Nehru does not seem able as yet to make up his mind to look the facts about corruption straight in the face. But even he admits—at long last—that corruption poses a major challenge to the nation. He said that at a rally of Congress workers at Madras on Nov. 30. *The Statesman's* report on that part of his address ran thus :

"Exaggerated though they may be, charges of corruption at all levels in the country are at least partly correct, Mr. Nehru said here today.

Addressing a rally of Congress workers, the Prime Minister said it was obviously not possible to make every man in India an angel. However, this was a challenge which had to be taken up.

"It is a good thing that the challenge has come because it forces you to be on your toes and not to become slack and slow," he said.

He called for the introduction of a strong atmosphere opposed to corruption adding that "we have to fight this disease with all our strength and punish those guilty of corruption whoever they may be." This was very important from the point of view of administering the country as well as the Congress.

It was a little absurd for Congressmen to talk of objectives and principles when corruption always came in the way. It was the duty of every Congressman, Mr. Nehru said, to do his utmost to root out corrupt practices and bogus membership from the organization itself.

The Kamraj plan though not entirely successful everywhere was a right step to strengthen and purify the organization."

Mr. Nehru evidently has no idea of the extent to which this evil has penetrated and, further, as yet does not seem willing that the government and administration that has for so long been guided and directed by himself and his associates be declared to be riddled with corruption. He said "It was a *little absurd* for Congressmen to talk of objectives and principles when corruption always came in the way". What he should have said was "It was brazen hypocrisy for most Congressmen to talk of objectives and principles when all the time they were thinking of illicit gain and undeserved powers." However, we should be thankful that the realisation of corruption standing always in the way has come to him.

Mr. Nanda seems to be more disturbed at the state of affairs, though even he does not seem to be fully aware of the formidable task that faces anyone who is out to eradicate corruption from the administration and the Government. *The Statesman's* report on his statement before the informal Consultative Committee of the Parliament on Dec. 7, which we reproduce below contains the rough outline of his plans for combating the evil.

Three high-powered bodies were proposed to be set up to deal with the problems of corruption, public complaints and administrative inefficiency, Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda, Union Home Minister, announced here today.

These would include an "independent" Central Vigilance Commission on the lines of the Union Public Service Commission, a Central agency to deal with public grievances and a department of administrative reforms.

Mr. Nanda, who was addressing Parliament's informal consultative committee for his Ministry, said that the Central Vigilance Commission will have extensive functions so that it could take prompt and effective action against corrupt officials.

The commission will submit an annual report which will be placed before Parliament. The report will mention all cases where its advice is not accepted by the Government.

The Union Home Minister was confident that a visible and striking change would be discernible within two years through this measure. The commission will function with the help of the Special Police Establishment, Commissioners for departmental inquiries and vigilance agencies in Ministries and departments.

The States, it was hoped, would adopt the anti-corruption measures taken by the Centre with suitable modifications. A district-level set-up would also have to be evolved to check corruption, he said.

The agency on public grievances would deal with citizens' complaints against administrative mal-practices, unsound procedures, wrong though not necessarily dishonest exercise of discretion, delays and lack of courtesy and human consideration in governmental activity.

The department of administrative reforms will aim at adapting the administrative set-up to changing conditions. It will take action on the

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recommendations of various committees on the subject and may also take steps for a new study of the governmental structure.

The scheme for the "Three pronged attack" on corruption looks good as a sketch plan. But when the details are being filled out, difficulties and handicaps galore will be observed. The very first thing would be to find officers and men of Special Police Establishment, who are efficient and intelligent and, further, whose integrity is beyond challenge. For during all these years such officers have been deliberately bye-passed, superceded or otherwise neglected to such an extent that it seemed to all who had eyes for such things that there was a definite plan emanating from the Ministerial level to weed out or eradicate such men. The Police to-day as a result is as corrupt as it was during the worst days of the British administration and *far less efficient.*

The worst offenders were the political bosses of the Congress. They influenced those Ministers and high executives who were not willing to accept open and illicit offers in cash or kind—though some of them succumbed to temptations of another kind—by threatening dire consequences when the time for vote gathering came. Any Police Officer, or for that matter any efficient and honest executive of the administration, who stood in the way of these thoroughly corrupt political bosses, had to face endless troubles from the higher set-up of the administration. So those who were honest started shirking their responsibilities and as a result efficiency in the services has reached an all-time low.

Then, there is the question of the Constitution. Unless amendments are made which will permit the fixing of teeth and claws to penal laws that might be framed for the punishment of corrupt officials, all efforts of the proposed Commission to root out corruption will fail. For corruption centres round illicit wealth in vast quantities and where there is money, there are a thousand doors provided by the Constitution for the escape of the law-breaker—provided he can spend money on lawyers and corrupt officials.

Over and above all these, is the question of dealing with the roots of corruption in the body-politic of the party in power. There are thousands of professional politicians and "patriotic jail-birds" who are virtually in the pay of Big Business. Mr. Nehru and some other prominent men have great hopes about the Kamraj Plan. We only wish that we could be equally optimistic. Unfortunately, we—and a great many knowledgeable persons in this country—know too much about the people who are supposed to work the reforms, to hope for any substantial achievement in that way.

The Commission has been announced with the Chief Justice of India, B. P. Sinha, constituting a one-man body. The choice is beyond cavil but the full effect of judgment and experience can only come into action if the executives provided are beyond reproach and efficient. Otherwise, even a Titan would not be able to achieve any result. And further there must be laws framed and suitable amendments made. And lastly the cleaning of the administration would be impossible unless the highest places are subjected to the same process of close inspection.

In this connection a private member's Bill which aimed at checking corruption amongst Ministers should be mentioned. This Bill which was moved by Mr. H. V. Kamath (P. S. P.) on virtually the last day of the Lok Sabha session, and which urged that Ministers should declare their wealth and possessions once every year, was to have been moved on Dec. 6. But as, according to the rules, a Private Bill which could not be moved on the appointed day is "pushed out" and as certain Congress members for obvious reasons had secured an extension of the debate on a Bill by one of their party men had managed to prevent the moving of this Bill on Dec. 6., it seemed to be do med. But by a lucky break, in the selection by drawing of lots of one of many non-Official Bills for discussion on Dec. 20, this Bill was chosen. And, thus the Bill was moved and even the Prime Minister came into hear Mr. Kamath move his Bill. Powerful support was given to Mr. Kamath by Prof. Hiren Mookerjea the Communist leader and both Mr. Kamath and Mr. Mookerjea referred to Mr. Nehru's declaration made three years ago that all Ministers should furnish statements of their properties to the Congress High Command, but both insisted that the declaration should be made public and not merely to the party caucus. Both of these speakers had a lot to say about rampant corruption in Congress ranks.

Mr. Hiren Mookerjea declared that the Congress Ministers constituted a new class in what might be called the "perquisitive" society. He said that even Karl Marx had failed to notice "the essential economic difference between those who have expense accounts and those who don't". Mr. Kamath had presented the Lok Sabha, before Mr. [illegible] a new phrase, "the gift of the

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grab" which according to him Congressmen possessed abundantly. Further, he said, he was only seeking to achieve, through his Bill, by compulsion what Mr. Nehru had failed to do through persuation. He stated that serious charges against Ministers were levelled by the Press and the public from time to time, but there was no proper enquiry. The Government had not framed codes of conduct for Ministers though it had been done for public servants.

Incidentally, we would remark that the codes of conduct for public servants was being observed increasingly in the breach thereof, the public servant deriving his immunity to a substantial extent through the grace of his Congress patrons and Ministerial overlords.

In the debate that followed two of the three Congressmen who participated in the discussion opposed the Bill outright on the ground that it was an unwarranted slur *on the fair name of Ministers !*

The third, Mr. Sinhasan Singh, declared that he would support the Bill provided it applied to all politicians and was not confined to Ministers.

We are inclined to support Mr. Sinasan Singh and we would say that those two who opposed the Bill because it was a slur on the "fair name" of all Ministers, are worthy of being exhibited as fine specimens of Congress Parliamentarians. For it is the like of them who have sprayed the Congress Ministries with the special "fragrance" that is now rising to high heavens in evidence of their "fair names" ! Anyway, they are elected members and as such they must represent a section of the electorate. Curious is it not, how democratic methods work out in some areas ?

In the Lok Sabha's winter session the long-awaited debate on corruption was finally postponed till the next session after only three speeches had been made. The reason given for the postponement was the inadequacy of time available for the debate, which was initiated by an Independent member, Mr. Prakash Vir Shastri, on Dec. 21. The short discussion was made quite lively and remarkable by the pungency of the remarks made by the speakers. Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, the Socialist leader, made a speech in which was trenchant and remarkable, as he probed into the roots of the problem.

According to Dr. Lohia the evil was generated through the ingrained impulse with which every Indian tried to promote the interests of himself, his family, caste and community, by fair means or foul. And unfortunately no odium was attached to this pernicious pre-occupation. This deep-rooted disease had persisted for more than 1500 years, but during the 15 years of Congress rule it had deteriorated into leprosy. Dr. Lohia complained that the Prime Minister's family and community were flourishing as no other group of people in India. He further remarked "We are told that what can the Prime Minister do if his relatives and friends happen to be brilliant ? I assure you, Sir, that all this brilliance would be suddenly transferred to the Ayyangar Brahmins, should the Finance Minister become Prime Minister one day".

Another root cause of corruption, according to Dr. Lohia, was the unholy alliance between those in political authority and "big business". In no other country was this relationship so "dishonest" and never before had so many relatives of the Ministers prospered in the private sector solely because of Ministerial influence.

Dr. Lohia's probe was telling, but it must be a sustained and measured effort if any lasting effects are to come out of it.

The Cruise of the U.S. 7th Fleet in the Indian Ocean

We frankly confess that the bullaballoo raised by a host of our politicians over the Cruise of the U.S. 7th Fleet in the Indian Ocean, can not be understood by us. Mr. Nehru had to explain the position repeatedly and lastly he had again on Dec. 21 to reassure our amateur strategists of the Rajya Sabha—who are no better than their confreres in the Lok Sabha—that the proposed cruise in the Indian Ocean by "a few U.S. ships" would neither threaten India's freedom, nor imperil our policy of non-alignment. "Further he declared emphatically that there was no question of any foreign ships or foreign troops or foreign aircraft" participating in the actual defence of India, which would be effected only by the Indian armed forces and the people of this country.

What was further elicitated from the Prime Minister through a question by a Communist member, was the fact that the issue of the U.S. 7th Fleet had neither cropped up during the talk Mr. Nehru had with the Soviet Charge d'Affairs at New Delhi on the previous day, nor had any Asian country made any representation to him on this matter.

We consider Mr. Nehru's explanations quite convincing. And further we fail to see that those gentlemen who were so agitated about the proposed cruise have expressed anything beyond a

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veiled sense of hostility to a very friendly country. If they could place any solid grounds for their apprehensions, we could evaluate their arguments. But their protestations and fulminations seem to be as hazy to us as they are the reverse of useful. Do these champions of India's good name realise that the Indian Ocean is Indian only in name, and apart from our territorial waters it might be renamed Burmese Ocean, Indonesian Ocean, Malayan Ocean or whatever-you-like, without so much as a by your leave from us ? The High Seas are free and open to ships of all nations, in times of peace.

And lastly we could not understand what Mr. Nehru was supposed to do. Make himself ridiculous by remonstrating with the U.S., over what is no concern of ours ?

Only a short while ago there were combined air and naval excercises off the Pakistan coast, in the Arabian Sea. We did not bear a single whisper from these alert sentinels of Indian non-alignment. If there be SEATO or CENTO excercises, as there were off the West Pakistan coast, then American crafts as a rule participate—as they did in the one referred to above. If it did not matter on that instance then how would the cruise of a few ships matter now ?

Indonesia's dictator Sukarno and its Foreign Minister, Dr. Subandrio had made statements which matched some that have appeared in news-reports and other Columns of newspapers here. But Sukarno and Subandrio are carrying on a little private war with the new-born state of Malaysia and they are apprehensive that their plans against that state—whose defences are very weak as yet—would be queered or scotched if the U.S. 7th Fleet joins issue with them. The reports emanating from Washington on Dec. 25, clearly state that Admiral Ricketts, U.S. Vice-Chief of Naval operations had given an assurance to the Indonesian Government during his visit there on the previous week. And further it stated that although the statements of Sukarno and Subandrio were noted, there was no government to government approach made by Indonesia to the U.S.

We have no private war which can be weighted against us by this proposed cruise. On the other hand we have a definite war which has been thrust on us by Red China and we have another neighbour who is doing her level best to provoke open hostilities. Under these circumstances we cannot venture to indulge the idle fancies—or is it some thing more—of some cranks whose pet aversions have been roused by mischief-making leftists of a particular type ?

Education

The new Union Education Minister, Mr. M. C. Chagla, while addressing the 15th meeting of the All-India Council for Technical Education at New Delhi on December 8 declared that half the students of the 14-17 age group should be given technical education while the other half went to the "conventional" higher secondary schools. He said that his view was based on two vital factors, the first being the Indian Constitution and the second the psychology of the adolescent. The Constitution lays down the essential provision for the free and compulsory education for all children up to the age of 14—thus making that age the natural cross-roads for a new turn in education. He further said that experience had shown that 50 per cent of the year-olds were more interested in developing physical skills than intellectual pursuits." It was only fitting that such students should be sent to technical schools, he felt.

Incidentally, the Education Minister seems to hold the view that the duration of the higher secondary course should be three years. His repeated emphasis on the period 14-17 seems to indicate his opinion about the still unsettled controversy on the duration of the higher secondary school course.

West Bengal's Chief Minister, Mr. P. C. Sen, expressed his views on the other side of the picture. According to him the emphasis on secondary and higher education had caused serious neglect of the needs of primary education in West Bengal. As a result 71 per cent of its population remained illiterate and the State had slid back to the sixth place amongst the Indian States in literacy, Delhi with 52.7 per cent, Kerala 46.6, Madras 31.4, Gujrat 30.5 and Maharastra with 29.8 being put above West Bengal with 29.4 per cent in order of literacy in the 1961 Census.

The Book Co. Ltd., Calcutta

We have to note in the context of education an incident which shows that culturally some of us have also become retrograde to a lamentable extent, in Calcutta. This above-mentioned book-shop, which opened its doors in 1919, had served generations of scholars—literally thousands of them—not merely as a book-shop but also as a free library where most valuable reference books could be consulted under the eyes of the proprietor. The proprietor is now bed-ridden and the concern has had many lean-years. As a result the landlords obtained eviction order. The eviction was done in a fashion which showed how barbaric the process of law could be. Thousands of books were during eviction, March was destroyed and more were looted.

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CURRENT AFFAIRS

KARUNA K. NANDI

PARLIAMENT ON PLANNING

Following the mid-term appraisal of the Third Plan by the Planning Commission and its consideration by the National Development Council—which has already been noticed in these columns in our last December number—the six-day almost-marathon debate in Parliament, it was hoped, would help a clariffication of issues and a realistic assessment of the process of planning in general and of the lay-out and implementation of the Third Plan in particular. Unfortunately, however, expectations in this regard do not seem to have been at all realised and the desire to find faults and score debating ponits on the one hand and to find justifications and to defend the shortfalls of plan-development on the other dominated the atmosphere in which the debate was held and which, by and large, prevented a factual assessment of the Planning Commission's survey and an evaluation of its justiciability on the basis of a careful scrutiny of its details. From such a point of view—and this should have been the only point of view in which the debate should have been held—the week-long discussions on the Plan must be held to have been wholly infructuous.

Two points of view seem mainly to have emerged from this debate. On the one hand the Opposition view, mainly represented by Mr. M. R. Masani, the Swatantra leader and those who thought along similar lines, were severely critical of the priorities given to heavy industry and of the dominant role assigned to the public sector in the process of the country's industrialization, although the record of achievements of the latter has been admittedly poor and discouraging. The opportunity, however, was seized upon, durnig the debate by both the Prime Minister and the Union Finance Minister to cry down Mr. Masani and his school as if they wanted to scrap planning altogether and revert to a free market economy. Mr. Masani certainly called for a scrapping of the Third Plan and was severely critical of its priorities as well as of its dynamics, but he did not, as the full text of his speech on the occasion would prove, oppose planning as such which the half-truths (and we use the word delibrately and in the fullest consciousness of its implications) indulged in by both the Prime Minister and Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari sought to present it to be.

By and large, the disappointment that Parliament had wholly failed to arrive at a realistic and factual assessment of the Third Plan survey undertaken by the Planning Commission and of the process and priorities of development planning as such as they have eventuated so far, cannot be avoided. This disappointment has been all the more poignant in view of the crucial character of planning in the manner in which it is being undertaken by the Government in the national economy, the wastes and inconsistencies inherent in it, and the huge cost of these wastes and inconsistencies that the country as a whole, and especially the more vulnerable sections of the population have to bear. That there has been a belated but a mounting consciousness of the faliures of plannnig and the national waste they have been involving, cannot any longer be said to have been confined to the ranks of the Opposition in Parliament or of critics of Governmeent outside Parlaiment. At a meeting of the Congrses Parliamentary Party, it is noteworthy in this connection, Mr. K. Hanumanthiyya, a former Chief Minister of Mysore and one among the top-ranking leadership of the ruling party, was quite forthright when he ascribed the responsibility for the failures of the Plan to the Prime Minister personally in the largest measure "for the simple reason that his authority was all-pervasive and almost absolute." He accused that the Union Government as a whole and individual

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Ministers in that Government as well as the members of the Planning Commission, all look up to the Prime Minister for their position and status and are inevitably therefore guided by the latter's personal wishes; they are wholly insensible of any responsibility to anything or anyone else. This attitude of some of the prominent Congress leaders in parliament, not included within the Council of Ministers, appears to have set the tone for the later debate in Parliament and the atmosphere of frustration and criticism that, along with the opposition, seemed to have dominated them.

The actual debate in Parliament followed two distinct lnies. Masani criticised the Third Plan, as far as it had gone at the time of the debate, which he said was characterised by a complete absence of realism, extreme dognamtism, huge wastes, too frequent intervention and interference by Government and widening discontent and frustration. No Government, he emphasized, had the right to hypothecate the entire future of a nation in the manner that it has been doing in the name of planning and it were better that the whole thing were scrapped before worse harm were done. Some top-ranking Congress leaders like, for instance, Dr. Harekrushna Mahtab, were no less incisive in their criticism. Dr. Mahtab said that although most of the small irrigation schemes had long since ceased to operate they are still being shown on paper as evidences of the agricultural progress achieved under planning. He further accused that the estimates of agricultural production that are still being given out by Government from time to time are mostly without any basis on facts and are probably wholly wrong and incorrect. Then, he continued, the mutually contradictory policies of the Government in respect of heavy and small industries have, to-day, reduced most small industries in the country to a state of suspended animation. In fact, Dr. Mahtab accused, this has rendered a large number of them altogether dead. There have been innumerable complaints of a similar nature from both the Opposition and the Congress benches alike and the accusation has been general that the result of a decade and longer of so-called **socialistic** development-plainnng under Government aegis, has been to lead to a far greater concentration of wealth and income in the hands of a numerically microscopic but growingly immensely powerful section of the community as never before in the history of the country and rendering the numerically overwhelming poorer sectors far more abjectly poor. The complaint was wide-spread that the unconscionable delays in publishing the findings of the Mahalanobis Committee on the trends of national income distribution was being deliberately engineered by Government with a view to preventing a realistic picture of the situaion being presented to the country.

The official spokesman of the Government in the debate was, naturally, Shri B. R. Bhagat, Minister of State in charge of Planning, who submitted that such great emphasis was being laid by the critics on the failures of the Plan that they have been completely overlooking its achievements over the last decade of Planning, which are, by no means inconsiderable. There was no doubt, he admitted, that as a result of the mid-term reappraisal of the Third Plan by the Planning Commission, quite a disconcerting picture of the situation has emerged, but the Government are determined that the shortfalls must anyhow be made up and the Plan targets reached before the end of the Plan period. Measures already taken by Government towards this end include, he said:

(a) the establishment of an Agricultural Production Board;
(b) the laying of greater emphasis on improved farm production next year;
(c) strengthening the study groups on Plan projects;
(d) generating a favourable atmosphere to encourage increased investments;
(e) to speed up measures for land-reform legislations.

Others among the more important leaders of Government who intervened in the

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debate and whose pronouncements must be taken to represent the official view point included the Prime Minister and the Union Finance Minister, Shri T. T. Krishnamachari. Shri Krishnamachari very picturesquely described the process of development-planning as like riding a tiger, one cannot get off its back without risking the danger of being completely devoured. Whatever the shortfalls and deficiencies of planning as so far unfolded, Shri Krishnamachari averred, it was not possible to abrogate planning; one had, per force to carry on with it. The only remedy was to progressively increase production. Planning, he conceded, may have resulted in increasingly greater concentration of economic power within a certain numerically microscopic but favoured sector (and he did not, of course, spell out its converse that it led to correspondingly greater deprivation of the more vulnerable sectors of the population, but the implication was obvious), but the situation had to be acknowledged for what it has turned out to be. One must even accept it to be able to get on with the work of increasing production which is more essential. If satisfactory increase in production can be achieved and maintained, it would not be difficult to devise effective measures to obviate this process of concentration of wealth, income and economic power. In fact, he had already given a great deal of consideration to the matter and he had one or two measures in view which should prove adequately effective (asked what these measures were that he claimed to have already thought of, he retorted that he was not quite such big a fool as to disclose to the enemy the weapons he had in his arsenal or words to that effect). Mr. Krishnamachari also spoke about measures of social security like old age pensions, etc., for the protection of the more vulnerable old, diseased and the infirm in the poorer sectors of the community and said the initial measures in this behalf could start with the low paid employees of the Central and State Governments which was already under processing. He said he was firmly of the opinion that despite current failures and shortfalls, which he seemed to regard as merely incidental and temporary and was, therefore, not of much serious significance, the country will be able to cross the present confined frontiers of the economy and emerge on the sun-drenched heights of self-generating, self-sustaining **take-off.**

Intervening in the debate, the Prime Minister appealed to Parliament and the country alike not to become misanthropic about the future of planning. While plan progress during the first two years of the current plan, especially in agricultural production has been substantially behind predetermined targets, it was undeniable, he claimed, that the achievements of the first decade of development planning, have not merely been quite upto expectations, but even been unprecedented. He rejected outright the demand for the scrapping of the Planning Commission, as also the one for its structural reorganization. He reiterated the determinaion of his Government to carry on steadfastly with the process of socialistic development planning which, he said, was distinct from other methods of planning in that whlie creating equal opportunities for all, the public sector will continue to play an increasingly dominant role in the development of the national economy. There was no doubt, the Prime Minister conceded, that the private sector will continue to play a distinctive role and will have the opportunity to make significant contributions to the progress of the country. The private sector has grown immensely powerful over the last few years as never before in the history of the country and the concentration of wealth and power in this sector has been creating a situation of increasing anxiety. He hoped, however, that it will be possible to devise and enforce effective corrective measures against these trends in the near future. He regretted that the overwhelming majority of the country's population have not benefitted from the rise in the national income that has been achieved during the last decade of planning and apprehended that it will be long before it will be possible to pull them up from their present sloughs of

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poverty and give them a reasonable living standard. The Prime Minister's speech, which was characterised by a top-ranking daily newspaper of Calcutta as both **flat and flabby** on the occasion, failed to shed any ray of light as to how or when the poor (and there can be no question about the miserable abjectness of the more overwhelming number among them) can be rescued from their present deprivations and exploitations. Among other things that the Prime Minister said on the occasion the most astounding, perhaps, was his statement that much of the general and widespread allegation about official corruption was far too greatly exaggerated and, anyway, corruption was far more widespread, he interjected, in the U.S.A. than in this country. Mr. Nehru has never been known for the moderation of his language, but for sheer bad taste, this one statement may be said to have, perhaps, far outpaced any of his former irresponsible pronouncements. It was fortunate that he was wholly unable to get away with this for he was immediately challenged by the opposition and it was, perhaps, very significant that not one among the Congress following in the Lok Sabha would raise a single feeble voice to defend his leader on this count.

A rather extensive summary of this six-day debate in Parliament is being quoted here to enable our readers to form a factual estimate of the manner how the valuable time of Parliament is wasted in pointless and wholly infructuous discussions of a matter which, by all conscience vitally affects the future of untold generations of Indians. It should be remembered in this context that Parliament had set out to consider and evaluate the report of a mid-term survey of the Third Plan and it would have been far less wasteful, perhaps even profitable to enter into a detailed consideration of this survey which was already before Parliament. There have been speeches galore consisting of an equal measure of criticism and justification for the failure of the Plan, but of a realistic evaluation with a view to arriving at a decision as to what course of corrective action might really be effective in saving the Plan on which far too much had already been invested in proportion to its yields in return, there appears to have hardly been any. The Commission's report, it should be conceded, is objective enough to shake Governmental complacency to the very foundations if they were not really completely inert or insensible to their responsibilities. It is doubtful, however, if Government, as usual, will at all be able to profit from their past mistakes and will be able to take measures for timely rectification of the defects in the administrative machinery, fiscal policies and economic controls which they had pressed into service for the attainment of their so-called ideological goals and which, demonstrably enough, have been responsible in large measure for the failures of the Third Plan which has been so forthrightly admitted by the Planning Commission. This doubt is once again heightened by the contradictions and confusions which abound in the speeches and prognostications of the Treasury benches, and especially in those of the Prime Minister and his favourite Finance Minister.

The question was raised during the debate if the Plan were at all a national plan. No doubt the Government claimed that it was so. But in actual effect it was hardly so; the plan has been formulated by the Government in power with the overwhelming majority given to it in Parliament by its party; the Planning Commission is a creature of this Government, created by a resolution of the same Government and has no especially sanctioned Constitutional status. Both the credit as well as the discredit for the success or failure of the Plan, as the case may be, must, therefore be appropriated by or apportioned to the party in power. The invectives and the abuses that were hurled against those that dared to call into question the so-called national character of the Plan, some even going to the length of calling them aliens, was something which did not at all serve to elevate the level of the debate which, on a dispassionate evaluation of its contents, must be contended to have

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been low enough in all conscience. But this is only incidental.

Doubts about planning have been inherent in some of the recent statements of the Prime Minister himself, the most abusive champion of the cause, who have recently been complaining that the benefits of planned development have not been percolating to the bottom sectors of the economy in the measure it should have done. In Parliament, he actually confessed that despite his admiration for the modern machine age, he was being forced more and more to concede the greater resiliency of Mahatma Gandhi's approach to the country's economic problems. This was, it appears to us, more or less the point of view also of Mr. M. R. Masani when he complained that the Plan had far more heavily concentrated upon heavy industry to the relative neglect of agriculture and other essentials of life such as clothing, housing, education, etc. Curiously enough although Mr. Masani's criticism in this behalf would seem to have no more than reflected Mr. Nehru own 'thinking aloud' in this regard, the latter reacted sharply and almost with vitrolic abuse to what Mr. Masani had to say on the subject. Again, when Mr. Nehru himself confesses that the private sector, under planned development, despite the far more dominant role assigned to the public sector, has grown to be immensely powerful as never before in the history of this country, it was no more than a virtual admission of the failure of the so-called ideological goals of planning. And yet criticise the plan, and all the invective of which the usually never-too-polite Nehru is capable is instantly concentrated upon your head. What, however, is more to be feared in this connection is not the normal economic measures that may be thought of by his Government and, especially, by his never-to-be-wholly-trusted Finance Minister, but the increasing areas of power and discretion that may be progressively assigned to the public sector.

But to revert to the fundamentals of the Plan-debate, it is difficult to arrive at any sustainable estimate of what Parliament, the Government and the Opposition alike, set out to achieve when they agreed to discuss the matter. On the one hand, the Opposition blamed the Planning Commission for the incompetence of plan implementation and called for the wholesale scrapping of the Planning Commission; on the other hand, there was the Government and, particularly Mr. Nehru and Krishnamachari who, while being obliged to grudgingly concede that there have been woeful shortfalls in Third Plan achievements so far and even almost admitting that shortfalls have been so severe that it was unlikely that ultimate plan targets would be likely to be reached within the five-year period, sought to defend planning and, especially the Planning Commission with all the invectives and abuses in their respective arsenals against its critics.

Planning was first launched by the Government in 1950-51. In the First Plan primary emphasis was laid upon projects calculated to advance agricultural production and primary effort and investment were concentrated upon flood-control, irrigation, fertilizer production and other similar measures. In the Second Plan the emphasis materially shifted from agriculture to the laying down of the necessary bases for rapid industrialization, a process which has been continued into the Third Plan with far greater emphasis. In the Third Plan, it was estimated that the average rate of yearly increase in industrial production should be around 11 per cent; in agriculture the rate of increase over the five-year period should be around 42 per cent while food production should increase over the same period by at least 32 per cent. As a result, it was estimated that National Income at factor cost would rise over the period by approximately 34 per cent, taking the National Income to the annual rate of Rs. 19,000 crores at the end of the Third Plan. To achieve these results the Planning Commission framed the necessary programme, allocated the needed priorities and estimated the requisite investment. If the Plan was realistic, therefore, and its implementation effective, the

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national income during the first two years of the Third Plan should have increased by approximately 13.6 per cent. According to the latest appraisal by the Government, the gross rise in the national income during this period has been of the order of only just 4.7 per cent which is, indeed, less than the net rise in the population over the same period and leading to the inevitable result that the index of per capita income which registered at a fraction over 127 at the end of the Second Plan is now said to have fallen at a fraction below 125. The index of industrial production registered an increase of 9 per cent during the first year of the current Plan which, in the following year, fell sharply to only 6.8 per cent and present indications do not seem to encourage the hope that even this lower level of increase would be found to have been sustained in the current year. In the agricultural sector according to accounts given out by Government, production progress appears to have been even far more dismal and the actual gross increase in food production over the two-year period aggregated no more than just 4 per cent which, again, is substantially below the net 4.8 per cent increase in the population that has been estimated to have occured during the same period.

There would not seem, therefore, to have been left any doubt about the abject failure of the current Plan. But the measure of this failure would be brought home even more poignantly when the whole thing is evaluated from the investment point of view. To achieve the targetted for results in the Plan a gross investment, in the public sector, of Rs. 8,3000 crores was assumed. Actual resources provided in the estimates were Rs. 7,500 crores, leaving an unbridged gap of some Rs. 800 crores which it was hoped, would be filled in by unspecified sources. The Planning Commission's appraisal discloses that investments during the first three years of the Plan would now aggregate Rs. 4,198 crores and the total investment over the whole five year period would aggregate Rs. 8,000 crores, or approximately 93.4 per cent of the original estimates. There does not seem to be the least doubt now that results are not likely to be anywhere near being commensurate with this huge size of investment which, incidentally, it may be mentioned is approximately equal to the combined investment in the public sector of the first two Plans and a little more. The rate of progress already achieved during the first 2 years of the Plan in terms the national income has, as alreay mentioned, been only 4.7 per cent. Indications for the third year of the Plan do not seem to encourage the hope that this rate is likely to be substantially stimulated during the remaining three months of the current plan-year. Expert economists have already stated it to be their considered opinion, that given the utmost effort, the rate of annual increase in the national income during the two remaining years is not likely, at the outside to exceed 4.5 per cent per year. It is very unlikely, in any case, that the over-all rise in the national income over the entire Plan-period would exceed 16 or 17 per cent, or at an average annual rate of around 3.5 per cent. But even assuming that it was possible to achieve an over-all 18 per cent rise in the national income over the entire Plan period, it would comprise only about 65% of the original assumptions. In other words with a 93.4 per cent investment actually employed results that now could be realistically expected to eventuate would be no more than just about 65 per cent. The huge waste involved in the process would, therefore, be all too glaringly obvious. What is even more significant in this context is that the perspective estimates included in the Third Plan document for the following two Plan periods (it is significant that the Planning Commission have been estimating the Fifth Plan end as the stage of so-called "take-off" towards self-generating momentum), visualizes the rise in the national income to Rs. 25,000 crores at the end of the Fourth and to Rs. 33/34,000 crores at the end of the Fifth Plan period. But if the estimates of the targetted Third Plan achievements in this behalf remain materially vitiated as, now, it seems almost certain to do, there is not the

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slightest reason to expect that the two following Plans, lacking the Third Plan base on which subsequent Plan estimates have been predicated, would be likely to yield the results which have thus now been envisaged.

There is not the slightest reason to doubt that so far Planning has been proving a most costly experiment not merely in terms of the yield against actual capital investment on the Plan, which has been substantial in itself, but even more so in terms of the widespread deprivations that the process of development-planning has, so far been involving to those who are least able to bear its burdens. Lip-sympathy for the poor and the deprived by the Prime Minister and his official hierarchy is not most obviously going to correct the situation. Nor is it likely that widening the sphere of the public sector of the national economy, as now seems to be most probable, is going to be any more helpful than the appropriations of the private sector which, according to the Prime Minister himself has, under development planning, grown to be more powerful than ever before in the history of the country. What is really needed is that the traditional element of competitive efficiency, must be restored to its rightful place in the dynamics of the national economy to enable the consumer to get a fair and a just deal from the producer and the trader, whether the latter be in the private sector or in the public. The innumerable fiscal, physical and other controls and restrictions to which the productive process has been suborned in the name of planning, have not merely killed efficiency and even productivity in large measure—demonstrably more so, so far as the public sector is concerned than even the privat esector—but has also created a sort of sellers' cartel for the producer to which the consumer has naturally become the inevitable victim. That the process has been reacting far more adversely upon the more numerous and vulnerable sector of the population, has already been proved by the so far inadequate evidences that have already become available of the growing disparities in the income-distribution. We are not opposed to planning as such. Planning, we feel, could be a very effective instrument of progress in our moribund national economy within a system of appropriate priorities, increasing investment and co-ordinated and sustained effort. What the respective roles of the private and the public sectors should be in the process should, we feel, be determined by the measure of well-co-ordinated but competitive efficiency that these respective sectors of the economy could contribute to the entire process of development. Bureaucratic dominance over the national economy, it has already been proved, is not the best means to secure such a desirable end. The inevitable political pressures that such a system would be bound to generate have been largely destructive of the balances of a free-market economy from which has been flowing, as a matter of course, the growth of **protected** monopoly interests, be those in the private or the public sectors and the exploitation of the masses. That the public sector can be as conscienceless and exploitative as the private sector without, however, the latter's efficiency and business competence to match, has recently been amply proved by the trading account of the State Trading Corporation and the huge and unprecedented profits that it has been making at the expense of the people.

A better co-ordination of the private and public sectors in the national economy could only be secured, we feel, by cricumscribing the role of the latter sector so far as its direct control of and participation in the dynamics of the developing national economy is concerned to the essential infra-structure, leaving the productive machinery largely in he hnads of the private sector with appropriate checks and balances to prevent any possible trends towards monopoly trusts. The Government must plan the directions and the measures that development must conform to, allocate priorities and impose necessary investment controls to prevent possible deviations from the Plan, but leaving ample scope for that inevitable process of experimentation and elimination by trial and error without which the process of

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economic development of a massive order would be bound to be lost in the sterile bogs of mechanical and procedural routine. The likely concentration of wealth and economic power within small favoured scetors that such a process might generate, could be dealt with by a system of judicious taxation and other like fiscal measures which while preventing the growth of monopoly cartels would also leave ample scope for self-generating and self-sustaining development in both investment and production. What, therefore, would seem to be urgently necessary, if the country has to be pulled out of the **cul-de-sac** into which it has been pushed through this last decade and a quarter of development planning, is a complete and thorough-going reorientation of the mechanics of planning, divesting it of its present encumbering and so-called ideological appurtenances and its complete revision on more realistic and actually realisable targets. Holding on to past mistakes stubbornly merely to score a political point or in the pursuance of effete and unreastic ideological faiths would merely, we are afraid, lead the economy to even worse futilities than have already eventuated. Unfortunately a complete absence of such a rationale has been what seemed to have marked the debate in Parliament.

It is also necessary to clearly realise what the role actually is that has been assigned to the Planning Commission in the structure of development planning. The Planning Commission, clearly, is not an executive body. Nor is it a part of the Government. It is, in essense, a body presumably of experts charged with the responsibility of planning for economic development as a whole, fixing the details of the priorities of projects included in the Plan in relation to one another, estimating the resources necessary for its complete and successful implementation and, generally estimating the directions and trends that must be conformed to in order that the process of development may reach envisaged targets in all their varied aspects. It is a body, while it has no Constitutional sanction —it has been created by a fiat of the Government of India—is independent of the direct control of Parliament. The Plan framed by the Commission is left to the concerned Ministries of the Government to be implemented and fulfilled. Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari was quite right when he said, in course of the debate, that the Planning Commission could not be blamed for the failures in the implementation of the Third Plan, the responsibility for which must be wholly and entirely borne by the Government of India as whole. The Commission is responsbile for the Plan as such and it could only be held responsible for its falures or shortfalls if it could be proved that these failures and shortfalls have eventuated from the structural defects and shortcomings of the Plan itself in the process of its implementation.

The debate, on both sides of the House of Parliament, unfortunately failed to demonstrate any consciousness of this fundamental aspect of the Planning Commission's relations to Plan implementation. The complaint all along has been that implementation of the Plan, so far, have demonstrated glaring failures and shortfalls for which the critics of the Government sought to hold the Planning Commission themselves responsible and even went to the length of calling for a scrapping of the Commission. No effort has been made, it is found from the records of the debate, to assess responsibility for these failures and shortfalls to the inherent structural defects of the Plan. The Government, on their side, acknowledged that there have been undoubtedly glaring shortfalls and failures in the implementation of the Plan which, they promised, would be made up during the remaining years of the Plan-period, but they wholly refused to hold the Commission responsible or to agree to their disbandment. It is quite clear that the Planning Commission, as such, have no direct responsibility nor any authority for implementing the Plan that they have framed. The only question, therefore, that should have concerned the attention of Parliament anent the Planning Commission was, whether the Plan itself was properly and realistically framed. If

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the Plan was not in itself sustainable, the Commission must be held to have been unquestionably responsible and the demand for its structural revision would, therefore seem to be both relevant and proper. From all points of view this should have been the primary target of attack of the Opposition during the debate in Parliament, but unfortunately this was an aspect of the matter which appears to have been wholly by-passed. Another equally important question that might have arisen in this context is the legitimacy of the increasingly widening role that was being assigned to the public sector in the Plan. Here,, however, the discretion of the Planning Commission was obviously severely circumscribed by the terms of the Government of India's Industrial Policy Resolution which set the virtual terms of reference for the Commission. The wholesomeness and feasibility of the structure of the Plan itself would, therefore, seem to be the only question that should have engaged the Parliament's attention in this context. One most outstanding aspect of this would be visible in the Plan for agriculture. The target of increase in food production in the Third Plan, for instance, envisaged a rise in production of the order of 32 per cent over the Plan-period compared to 1960-61. It is however impossible to discover from the Plan document the data or the bases on which such an order of increased production was predicated. Even during the earlier Plan period, that between 1955-56 and 1960-61, targets in this behalf remained substantailly unfulfilled. There is no evidence that these targets were estimated on a factual survey of he many factors that go into agricultural production like, for instance, the acreage under cultivation, the irrigation potential, flood-control measures, fertilizer availability etc. There have, no doubt been scattered and practically disjointed allocations and priorities included in these Plans relating to these agricultural bases. But that this was done on the basis of a factual survey of the entire agricultural lay-out of the country, its trends and potentials, there is absolutely no evidence about. In fact there has never so far been any factual survey of India's agricultural trends and potentials since 1928 when the Linlithgow Commission held its inquiries and reported its findings. For many reasons, not the least of which is the partition of the country in 1947, this would be a poor and unreliable document to base one's predications upon for future agricultural developments in the country. And yet targets and plans have been glibly framed for the attainment of agricultural development of a massive order which have been visibly far too optimistic and unrealistic. If the pronouncement of the former Union Minisl ter of Food and Agriculture, Shri S. K. Patil has any realistic basis, the possibilities of attaining self-sufficiency in food production even over the next ten years or so, despite the targets envisage in the Plan, would seem to be remote, indeed. This, in itself, should be regarded as a structural defect in Planning for which the Planning Commission could be held legitimately responsible. Then, again, in the matter of planning for power, it is now found that on an average an over-all 20 per cent of the actual laid down industrial capacity in the country has to remain perpetually idle for lack of power. Is not this another instance of glaring inconsistencies of planning, the responsibility for which must be wholly accepted by the Planning Commission? Instances could be multiplied. It was amazing that no one among the critics of the Plan in Parliament even thought of looking into these very necessary and wholly pertinent matters while discussing the Plan in the Lok Sabha. That the debate should, in the circumstances, be regarded as wholly futile and infructuous is not, either surprising or even illegitimate.

Legislation for Joint Stock Companies

The new Bill for the amendment of the Companies Act has already proved to be a highly controversial one. The need for the measure was said to have been predicated upon some recent findings by certain judicial and quasi-judicial tribunals of a large measure of *malpractices* in the administration of joint stock companies. That there have been and still may be instances of malpractice in the administration

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of joint stock companies, one does not doubt. There is also apprehension which is fairly widespread and general, that similar malpractices, in a measure, have also been obtaining in the administration of public sector enterprises. The Companies Act, so far as the Joint Stock Companies are concerned, already includes some salutory provisions for dealing with such malpractices. There are, in addition, the ordinary criminal laws of the country which should be able to adequately take care of any malpractice of a criminal nature.

One is not, therefore, quite convinced about the supposed justification for new legislation of the order in which it has been framed. The principal objective of the proposed legislation would seem to be more or less obvious in the clauses of the Bill itself, some of which have already proved to be highly controversial both within the Select Committee which initially considered its provisions, and later in Parliament when the Bill came up for discussion. Repurcussions of the Bill also echoed within the confines of the Parliamentary executive of the ruling Congress party.

One such provision, which should as it appears to have, cause general and widespread concern, was the one in regard to the powers sought in the legislation to enable it to convert loans by Government to private sector enterprises into share capital of the company concerned to be owned by Government. The original clause in this behalf empowered Government to ensure such conversion both in respect of past loans as well as future ones. The Select Committee, with a majority of Congress members of Parliament in its composition, amended this clause to cover future loans only. This was found unpalatable and objectionable by a majority of Congress members in Parliament and was reported to have caused a great deal of acrimonious debate and heated controversy within its Parliamentary executive. The matter was left to the discretion of the Prime Minister who, as it was reported in the daily press, "ordered" the Select Committee to restore the clause in its original form. On the face of it, the Select Committee was a Committee of Parliament and was clearly not juridically subservient to the Prime Minister or to his Government. In any case such interference by a Prime Minister in the responsibilities of a Select Committee of Parliament is entirely without any parallel in any well established parliamentary democracy and it were better that the Prime Minister did not choose to undermine healthy democratic conventions in this country in the manner that he was reported to have done.

The Finance Minister gave his verbal assurances that the provision would not be taken recourse to lightly, not in any case unless the public interest may demand this to be unavoidable. But Mr. Krishnamachari's verbal assurances was quite worthless. It may be an insidious method devised for the gradual widening of the public sector into spheres which have been specifically assigned to the private sector. In another context we have already expressed our doubts about the process of widening the sphere of the public sector, and this method of gradual infiltration into the domain of the private sector by Government by devious means appears to us to be not entirely wholesome or legitimate.

Another clause in the Bill which also caused a great deal of controversy related to the powers invested in the Government to deprive trustees of shareholders of a joint stock company of their rights of voting by investing such powers to an official trustee appointed by Government. This, Mr. Krishnamachari insisted, was a very necessary clause in the Bill which was needed for the purposes of dealing effectively with the growing concentration of economic power within selected pockets of the private sector. How this can be done has not been made very clear by the Finance Minister, but this is clearly a process of expropriation that seems to have been thus initiated and which may have eventually very far-reaching effects.

Finally, the clause by which power was sought to be taken to deal with erring managers and administrators with the help of a tribunal that Government would be empowered to appoint in this behalf and against whose award the awardee would have no right to appeal so far as evaluation of facts are concerned and could only appeal in respect of supposed defects in the judgment on points of law. Here was a measure which would find a great deal of public approbation. On grounds of first principles, however, one must disagree with the need for the blanket powers sought to be taken by Government. An erring manager or managing director of a company who abuses his discretion for ends not in conformity with either the interest of the shareholders of the company he manages or in the larger public interest, would certainly deserve to be dealt with severely, but one must also hold such a person to be innocent and guiltless until he has been proved to be otherwise under due process of law. And the right of appeal is an inherent right granted to every accused in this process of law and one does not quite see why a part of this right should be taken away from him which is an essential instrument of his self-defence.

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INDUSTRIAL GROWTH AND SOCIAL JUSTICE*

By CHESTER BOWLES,
U. S. Ambassador to India

In planning and promoting their industrial growth, developing countries face a dual problem, both aspects of which are perplexing.

The first half of the problem is how to encourage the most efficient use of the capital, raw materials, and skills which are immediately available. What are the needs? What are the priorities? Is steel more important than trucks? And what about the pace of industrial development? How should it be balanced with that of other sectors of the economy?

The second perplexing aspect of industrial development involes its impact on people and institutions. While industry must be stimulated to grow as fast as possible, we must be sure that it does not generate more evils than it eliminates. In Gandhi's words, "Scientific truths and discoveries should cease to be mere instruments of greed. The supreme consideration is the man."

In mid-19th Century Europe, Karl Marx, impressed by the harsh process of early industrialization, produced a theory of economic development and revolutionary changes which profoundly influenced the viwes of millions of people.

Marx's thing was powerful largely because it was based on shrewd observation of life around him; it was limited because he saw only those facts which time, place and inclination permitted him to see.

What Marx saw were the grim realities of everyday life in the crudest years of the industrial revolution. He saw the London slum dwellers, crowded into hovels, working themselves to exhaustion under the insensitive demands of an ever-expanding economy. He saw their helplessness as individuals before the power of the men who owned the factories in which they worked and who controlled the governments under which they lived.

Marx did not overstate the social evils and the injustice of man to man during the earlier decades of the industrial revolution. What he did do was gravely to underestimate the resiliency and capacity of democratic societies to change these conditions and to establish a socially responsible framework in which rapid development could take place.

In my own country we have been striving to create and maintain this balance between economic and social justice on the one hand, and rapid economic growth on the other since the earliest beginnings of our Republic. Inevitably this has resulted in continuing conflict between those who saw the accumulation of wealth as an **end** in itself, and those who looked on the economic process as the **means** by which the individual can be set free in an atmosphere of opportunity, dignity and justice.

The American Presidents who have been most respected are the ones who effectively upheld the interests of the people against those whom Theodore Roosevelt once described as "malefactors of great wealth." The list includes Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln, Cleveland, Theodore Roosevelt, Wilson, Franklin Roosevelt, Truman and John F. Kenedy.

Not only in America but in Japan, Britain, Sweden, Germany and other economically advanced democratic countries Marx's assumption that a ruthless class struggle was inevitable between "the exploiters and the masses' has proven to be mistaken. Experience has demonstrated that men can in fact become the masters of the machines which

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they have created; that they can prosper in material things and at the same time live in freedom.

In the developing nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, the necessity for this balance is now widely accepted. The difficulties occur when the concepts of social justice and industrial growth are related to means and techniques.

Often the result is a sterile confrontation of economic and political cliches which diverts the public dialogue into channels which are wholly irrelevant to the questions at hand. It is for this resason that I have been at considerable pains to define my own terms of reference.

I

Having accepted the premise that rapid industrialization, however essential, cannot be allowed to proceed at the expense of the public interest, let us turn our attention to a strictly pragmatic consideration of the means by which industrial production can be expanded most rapidly and effectively within this moral framework.

Development, in the end, means improving people, not feeding statistics. We want the things industry can give us. It is our task to figure out how to get them in a free and just society and in a manner that will further the entire process of nation-building in its broadest sense.

We may start with an obvious fact: In any developing nation, the government must play a central and critically important role. Only through government planning, government capital and government supervision can many of the basic tools be provided which are required to start things moving—and moving in the right direction. For instance, the so-called infrastructure—the roads, rail transport, schools, power, the communications networks—are in large measure a governmental responsibility.

Even in the United States where private enterprise has played such a central role, government has often been forced to carry a heavy share of the responsibility.

Shortly after the formation of the American Republic in the late 18th Century, Federal subsidies were provided to build our privately-owned and operated Merchant Marine. In the 1830's Erie Canal, the first effective transportation link between the American East Coast and the fast-developing new West, was built with public funds—most of them borrowed in England.

Thirty years later the privately-owned and managed railroads were given massive federal grants of public lands to finance the unprecedented program of railroad construction which rapidly spanned the American continent.

Following the outbreak of World War II, the United States Government, acting on an emergency basis, took over the planning and much of the control of the economy. Even in peacetime the U.S. Government continues to subsidize railroads, shipping, airlines, public housing, all levels of education, much scientific develoment, a large percentage of our agricultural output, many electric power plants, and other enterprises.

The people of Africa, Asia and Latin America at the dawn of a new age face a **continuing** emergency. Their people, pressed by poverty and aroused by the promise of the new technology, are in a hurry, anxious to catch up. In such circumstances, government planning, investment and management will inevitably have a bigger role to play than in the United States where the foundtaions for growth were largely created in the more leisurely atmosphere of the past.

Yet the experience of the last fifteen years has demonstrated that in a developing nation there are practical limits to the share of the industrial load that the government can effectively carry.

For instance, in the emerging nations of Africa, Latin America and Asia, administrative experience is rarely adequate even for such basic needs as education, electric power and transportation. The amount of capital that can be raised by taxation or government borrowing from the underprivileged majority is limited, and the well-to-do minority is very small. In many cases the leftover traditions of the colonial civil services place more emphasis on regulating the people

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than on creating opportunities for them to prosper and grow.

In regard to the direct management of government enterprises, democratically oriented governments face an additional hurdle: In every industrial operation growth is dependent on thousands of day to day decisions, large and small, many of which require a trial and error approach. Any industrial manager who is unwilling to risk mistakes will almost certainly fail to create an efficient and expanding operation.

Here we run into a paradox. In a thoroughgoing police state this essential risk-taking process can proceed unhampered by opposition attacks. The managers of private enterprises in a democratic nation are also politically free to seek answers through experimentation without regard for the second guessers. When the inevitable mistakes occur, they are marked off against more profitable operations elsewhere.

But when mistakes are made in the **public** sector plants of a **democratic** society, the political opposition may be expected to fill the air with charges of incompetence, corruption and worse.

A few years ago, the Ford Motor Company invested some $300 million in building a car called the Edsel which, as it turned out, very few people wanted to buy. The company balanced its losses on the Edsel against more favourable investments elsewhere and that was the end of the story.

I shudder to think of the political uproar that would have occurred if the ill-starred Edsel had been built by a government agency under a Democratic or Republican administration. The party in power might have lost the next election.

Each mistake thrown up by a public sector enterprise in a developing nation will almost certainly be seized upon by the opposition as an instrument with which to belabor the party in power, and these attacks in turn undermine the administrative process on which further development depends. Civil servants anxious to avoid further political chastisement for errors actual or alleged freeze into rigid attitudes. The already slow process of bureuacratic decision-making is further slowed and a damper placed on the vigorous experimentation which is essential to industrial expansion.

Since conditions vary widely among the developing nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America there can be no precise formula to govern the size and domain of the public sectors. But because of the awesome problems facing their governments, an increasing number now undertake in the public sector only those essential enterprises which cannot be financed through other means.

Once a developing nation has defined in general terms the scope and responsibilities of its public sector, it faces a second decision: how best to manage thos enteprises financed by public funds.

The first step is usually the obvious one: to assign management resposibilities for publicly-owned industries directly to the relevant ministries; thus steel mills are placed under a Heavy Industries Ministry, power plants become the responsibility of a Ministry of Power and so on. By and large this means that the already overburdened, understaffed ministries are asked to assume highly specialized, complex operating responsibilities in brand new fields where every move may be subject to opposition attacks.

The second stage develops when the political and economic limitations on the direct Ministerial-Civil-Service responsibility for the management of the public sector plants has become apparent. A search then begins for a system which will speed decision-making, encourage experimentation and otherwise assure greater efficiency.

Although political opposition and press criticism is only a marginal factor in the communist nations, it is instructive to note that even they are now delegating greater responsibility and encouraging more managerial initiative.

In an effort to speed up industrial production, the USSR, for instance, has created a system of integrated economic districts which have been given considerable authority by the central government in Moscow. Each factory in a given district can now

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order directly from or sell to any other enterprise in the same district. Each plant manager is given a considerable degree of autonomy in the operation of his plant, including substantial control over personnel.

Soviet managers and their subordinates are judged increasingly by the over-all results with less regard for the mistakes that may occur in the process. Of particular importance is the fact that they are also paid accordingly. Indeed, some economists believe that the spread between the highest and lowest incomes after taxes is now greater in the USSR than in the United States.

Yugoslavia has gone further in delegating operating responsibility for public sector industrial plants to professional managers. The central ministries in Belgrade now function largely as planning and regulatory agencies for the whole economy. The day-to-day and even year-to-year operation of the factories has been placed in the hands of the factory managers and workers' councils.

Yet paradoxically, the most effective techniques for the management of public sector enterprises have been developed in the basically capitalistic economies in Western Europe.

In France after World War, II, government-owned enterprises were defined as "public establishments of an industrial and conmercial character provided with a civil personality with financial autonomy." That is, public enterprises became legal corporations in which the government was the sole stockholder.

Operating decisions are in the hands of professional managers who are wholly responsible for the operations of each plant and who now receive salaries and bonuses comparable to those of their counterparts in private business. The central government ministries are largely restricted to broad policy determinations.

In Germany many major enterprises are also government owned and operated with the same delegation of responsibility. Indeed, the pragmatic Germans have gone one step further : Whenever private interests appear able and willing to manage a government owned enterprise in the public interest they may buy it at a fair price from the government. Thus the highly successful government-owned and managed Volkswagen Company was sold to private interests in 1961 at a handsome profit to the taxpayers.

In the United States the Tennessee Valley Authority is a public corporation which operates in much the same way the French public sector industries do, though on a larger scale. Its Presidentially- appointed three-man TVA governing board is responsible for a wide range of activities including flood control and the production of electricity and fertilizer. Recently TVA was authorized to issue bonds to finance the expansion of its generating and transmission facilities.

In India, Mr. Subramaniam, Minister for Steel and Heavy Industry, recently announced the initiation of a notable experiment in managerial autonomy at the government-owned Durgapur Steel and Sindri Fertilizer plants.

As in Germany, France, Italy, Sweden and other European countries, these two public sector plants are to take on some of the aspects of a private corporation, and shed some of the characteristics of government agencies. Henceforth, the managements of these plants are to have the power to hire and fire, and to make the day to day operating decisions. Their financial affairs will be audited by regular public auditors.

In announcing this bold new approach Mr. Subramaniam said, "The idea that public sector management can be so hedged about with checks and balances that mistakes cannot occur is mistaken. Effective management will always make interim mistakes. Mistakes are the price of progress. It is the end result that counts. This sophisticated step reflects the best world-wide experience.

II

Government in a developing nation, as we have seen, has the primary task of set-

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ting national economic and social objectives, creating realistic plans and priorities in securing these ojbectives, providing the capital and direction for the basic infrastructure, and developing other essential production facilities for which private capital may be lacking.

In most of Asia, Africa, and Latin America this leaves a vast area of the economy open for a vigorous private sector operaing within a clearly defined framework of national objectives and social and economic justice. With the right balance of profit incentives and respect for the public interest, experience demonstrates that this proven economic instrument can make a decisive contribution to national growth and well-being that cannot be duplicated by government.

Private enterprise, for instance, can enter every nook and cranny of economic life. It can draw out and thrive upon small pockets of indigenous capital and management skills which would otherwise remain untapped. By encouraging competition it can help generate initiative, research and the development of new products and methods which invigorate the whole economy. It can provide opportunties for individual advancement to people with intelligence, experience and energy.

In particular it can sharply increase opportunities for employment not only in the great urban centers but in the rural towns. In Africa, Asia and Latin America, imaginative business leadership in the rural centers plus technical training and low interest capital loans can produce goods and services that the rural population will eagerly absorb.

The recent surge of economic activity in the Indian Punjab is illustrative of the possibilities. Hundreds of small shops, factories, and services are being organized to meet growing consumer demands. Some 18,000 technicians are being trained annually to run them with thousands of additional non-skilled jobs also being created.

The prospect of reasonable profit incentives and political security can also attract substantial amounts of private foreign capital which in most developing nations is sorely needed to supplement foreign exchange earnings and loans from foreign governments. To this may be added foreign experience in complex industries that may lower prices and improve quality, plus modern marketing techniques that may sharply reduce the cost of distribution and help to open up export markets.

The self regulating characteristics of the private sector are an additional factor which many developing countries are only beginning to appreciate. Privately owned and managed plants operating within the framework of the national plan more or less automatically shape production along the lines most acceptable to the consuming public.

If enough people want bicycles, their willingness to pay for them provides a powerful inducement to their manufacture. Conversely, the public's dislike of a specific model is an automatic curb on additional production, at least of that particular bicycle at that particular price.

The fact of the matter is that no government is flexible enough to adjust itself effectively to consumer preferences which often vary from place to place and from year to year. The self-regulating market system, on the other hand, guides the allocation of capital and skills to those products and services which the public wants in the style and quality that it prefers. What appears on the surface to be a wasteful process of trial and error, as small entrepreneurs feel out the needs of the public, is in fact a vital process of experimentation and growth.

Although this system of "control by the market" is usually associated with the democratic nations of the West, it is interesting to note that here, as in other economic situations, the communist nations are being forced to adopt similar tools.

As the USSR moves increasingly toward a consumer-oriented economy, its government faces a growing dilema. How can a totalitarian economic system with arbitrary control from the top provide the wide and inviting consumer choices of color, style, model, pattern and price which are necessary incentives to stimulate the public

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to greater efforts? In other words, what can the Soviet Government substitute for the relatively free market system of the West?

III

I believe that experience will demonstrate that there is no effective substitute. If this is so, the communist nations, as in the case of worker and management incentives, will again be forced to abandon dogma and to adopt the marketing mechanism of free consumer choices as the ultimate guide at least to the production of consumer goods. Although this may cause Stalin to turn over in his grave, it will not be for the first time.

In describing the potential role of private enterprise in a developing nation, I stressed that it must operate within a framework of established national objectives and economic and social justice. But how can such a framework be provided without creating a maze of controls that foster the very stagnation we are striving to avoid?

The market mechanism is by no means a guarantee that private enterprise will always function even in its own best interest, much less in the public interest. Price fixing monopolies can exploit the public; dishonest practices can lead to black markets and tax evasion; labor may be exploited.

The task of a developing nation, therefore, is not to forego the creative aspects of private enterprise for fear of its excesses but rather to find the means to discourage those excesses without discouraging responsible initiative.

This means that side by side with adequate profit incentives there must be realistic rules laid down by government to ensure that private energies will be devoted primarily to creative enterprise rather than to speculation, that scarce resources are not used for frivolous or wasteful ends, and that the broader public interest will be given the highest priority.

Through the process of democratic debate and adjustment we in the United States have gradually established a system of regulatory laws and agencies which police the activities of almost every segment of our private sector. In large measure we have succeeded in this delicate task of regulation without stifling the initiative of our entrepreurs.

As a result most American businessmen have come to see that what is good for the public, is in the long run, also good for them. This has been accomplished by the establishment of economic and social ground rules, administered by the Federal Government and the states, which have served to domesticate American capitalism and to help turn it into a socially responsible force for national growth and for increasing opportunity for the individual.

For instance, the Sherman Antitrust Act passed in 1890 and the Clayton Antitrust Act of 1914 were designed to assure competition in regard to quality and price so that the market can act effectively as the public's instrument for regulating the flow of goods. These are only two of several laws prohibiting price fixing monopolies and combinations in restraint of trade.

Other government regulatory agencies govern the actual performance of many of our major basic industries—such as transportation, communications and power. The Pure Food Act of 1906 and the Food, Drug and Cosmetics Act of 1938 prohibit mislabelling of products as well as deceptive packaging, adulteration and sale of unwholesome products. All the ingredients that go into every package of food, every box of pills, and every tin of cooking oil must be clearly stated on the label. These laws are rigorously enforced.

In addition to such controls on business operations and behavior, there are minimum wage laws, legislation guaranteeing the rights of labor unions and individual workers within those unions, social security tax laws, workmen's compensation for workers who suffer an injury on the job, and many more which serve to make private enterprise in the United States responsible to the public interest. In all but a few cases businessmen have willingly adapted their operations to these rules and even extended them voluntarily.

Our tax system, also, has been a major

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factor not only in providing the revenue needed for governmental services, but in creating a mass market to help assure business expansion. Each United States corporation pays nearly half its gross profits to the federal government which spends the money for schools, roads, hospitals, defense and public services which in turn create millions of additional jobs at good wages.

In my opinion, however, our tax system has failed adequately to distinguish between profits made through speculation or trading, where no additional value is created, and profits made from the creation of manufactured and agricultural products or services.

Indeed, I know of no nation, either developed or underdeveloped, which has dealt effectively with this challenging opportunity to lure private capital into the most socially productive uses. What is required is a tax system which offers extra profit incentives for the creation of goods and services and which strikes sharply at profits made by pure speculation in land and commodities. This is an area in which the developing nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America have a particular opportunity for initiative and imagination.

Another crucial factor in this process of industrial expansion within a framework of social justice is organized labor. Responsible unions, whose leaders respect the right of management to a fair profit and to the right to manage while insisting on favorable working conditions and a fair share for the worker, are an indispensable element in a free and expanding society.

IV

From this discussion certain basic principles emerge. First of all, private enterprise in a moral sense is neither more or less to be preferred than public enterprise. With genuine encouragement on the one hand and responsible regulation on the other, the private sector operating under a sound National Plan can provide a major share of the economic dynamism which is essential to national growth.

This means that the overburdened governments of the developing nations can be freed for the primary task that they alone can accomplish—the spelling out of national priorities and the plans best calculated to serve them, plus the creation of the all important economic infrastructure of education, mass transportation and those basic industries for which private financing and management are unavailable and government subsidies impractical.

Such a balance also allows these new governments to limit their political responsibilities for the day to day operation of much of the country's economy. This relieves them in a major degree from the harassment of an opposition in search of political issues.

Questions in regard to degree and emphasis will arise in different ways in different countries. They can only be settled by trial and error and by enlightened public discussion.

In most developing nations there are deep seated differences about the proportions of public and private enterprise which are appropriate to a modern social welfare economy. On my return to India, for instance, I find that the priorities and financing of industrial development is a special subject of debate. Although the debate is often heated, India is steadily freeing herself from some of the more negative concepts which grew out of her long and frustrating experience under colonialism.

It was logical that the Gandhian Revolution should closely associate industrialization with colonialism and that in leading the fight against colonialism, Gandhi should oppose industrialization. While accepting some large-scale industries as "necessary evils" he felt that they should all be owned and run by the state so they would disturb the moral fabric of society as little as possible.

However, events in the last ten years have made the old colonial-capitalist association largely irrelevant. In Africa as well as Asia colonialism has been smothered under the rush for freedom while new governmental techniques are being introduced which in large measure correct the abuses to which Gandhi referred. Thus the new India can move vigorously to develop

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her industries without contravening the moral values she inherited from Gandhi.

With her traditional pragmatism, I believe that India will develop a realistic balance between government planning and government investment in the essential infrastructure, on the one hand, and a fast growing, socially responsible private sector on the other.

In its efforts to achieve this balance India has many advantages—dedicated leaders, a competent Civil Service, rapidly increasing experiences and skills. In addition, India unlike most developing nations has a substantial amount of domestic savings which now lie idle. These savings exist even in many villages. I once heard an old Punjabi grand-mother express her concern over the tendency of the younger generation to put their savings into "iron" (meaning machinery) rather than into the traditional land and gold. Let us hope that in this case the initiative of the grandchildren will increasingly assert itself.

The money that now flows into real estate speclation also represents major pools of savings that may be tapped for economic development by the combination of profit incentives and selective taxation that distinguishes between the creative enterprise and sterile and uncreative trading to which I referred.

At present a vast reserve of human skills and energies, as well as savings, is going to waste for want of the profit incentives needed to create new enterprises and to provide consumer goods. I have in mind particularly the opportunities for building small factories and service establishments with from half a dozen employees to a few hundreds that can play a major role in providing the products and jobs that India needs so urgently. With a little more encouragement these energies could provide a dynamic force for Indai's national development.

Other nations with a strong tradition of democratic socialism such as Britain and Sweeden have long since struck a realistic balance between the public and private sectors. Having lost their doctrinal concern over private enterprise, they have learned to encourage it, to give it scope, while molding it to the national objectives.

In so doing I believe they have pointed the way for the developing nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America which are in a hurry for material progress but which insist that individual dignity and opportunity are the proper goal of a just society.

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INDIA : FIFTEEN YEARS AFTER INDEPENDENCE*

By Dr. HARIDAS T. MUZUMDAR

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My return to India during the academic year 1961-62 as Visiting Professor of Sociology and Social Work in the Faculty of Social Work, M. S. University of Baroda, was a sentimental journey. To begin with, Mrs. Muzumdar, who had received her Master's degree in Social Work from the University of Chicago and her doctorate in Social Work from the New York School of Social Work, Columbia University, was serving as Dean of the Faculty of Social Work in Baroda; hence we were looking forward to our reunion. Second, I had been born in the old Baroda State, now incorporated as part of the State of Gujarat. Third, I had devoted the best years of my life to India's struggle for freedom under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, and was eager to see the changes that freedom had wrought in the face of Mother India.

With the background of three weeks spent in India in 1957 and a month in 1960, this twelve-month period spent in India in 1961-62 gave me a good opportunity to study the emerging patterns of a new society.

Land of Contrasts

Let me at the outset give you an impressionistic picture of the Free India. First, India is a land throbbing with people, people, people everywhere. Second, it is a land of conferences and committee meetings and planning sessions which would do credit to an established democracy—or to an established dictatorship. Third, India is a beehive of activities, agricultural, industrial, commercial, cultural, political, and literary. Fourth, India is a land of vast contrasts—tractors and bullock carts, cottage industries and giant atomic power plants, steel mills and mud huts, spacious offices and crowded slums, riches and poverty, sophisticated scientists and ignorant people steeped in superstition. Fifth, India is a land that makes you feel that she is making valiant efforts to overcome her economic underdevelopment and to bridge the gap between sophistication and superstition, between rich and poor.

I was happy to see the change in the outlook of the people brought about by freedom. As citizens of a free nation, young and old, men and women, they are able to look the world in the eye and conduct themselves with their head uplifted. The eagerness on the faces of young people especially, and their desire to make India over, to recapture the ancient glories of the forefathers, at once bewitch you and bewilder you.

With my headquarters in Baroda, about 200 miles north of Bombay, I travelled up and down the country and talked with the President of the Republic of India and the Prime Minister, with the Vice-President and Cabinet Ministers as well as with farmers and workers, with students and professional people. The most striking thing in India fifteen years after independence is the optimism of the people. The most striking feature of the Hindese scene is the type and extent of innovations. Prior to the attainment of independence on August 15, 1947, India had committed herself to three basic goals: (1) the creation of a Welfare State within (2) the democratic framework, based upon (3) a mixed economy.

The industrial policy of Free India is predicated upon: (1) increased production, (2) equitable distribution, (3) a progressively active role of the state in the development of industries, (4) state ownership and

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manufacture of arms and atomic energy as well as railroads, telephones, telegraphs and radio (the latter three being part of the postal service), (5) government operation of hydro-electric projects, (6) scope for private enterprise and co-operatives in the field of industrial and agricultural production, (7) harmony between labor and capital, (8) participation of foreign capital in India's development on terms not inimical to the national economy, and (9) a planned economy.

Perhaps the best expression of India's political course—and destiny—is to be found in the Resolution introduced in the Constituent Assembly by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on December 13, 1946:

> This Constituent Assembly declares its firm and solemn resolve to proclaim India as an Independent Sovereign Republic and to draw up for her future governance a Constitution, wherein all power and authority of the Sovereign Independent India, its constituent parts and organs of government, are derived from the people; and wherein shall be guaranteed and secured to all the people of India, justice, social, economic, and political; equality of status, of opportunity, and before the law; freedom of thought, expression, belief, faith, worship, vocation, association and action, subject to law and public morality; and wherein adequate safeguards shall be provided for minorities, backward and tribal areas, and depressed and other backward classes; and whereby shall be maintained the integrity of the territory of the Republic and its sovereign rights on land, sea and air according to justice and the law of civilized nations; and this ancient land attain its rightful and honored place in the world and make its full and willing contribution to the promotion of world peace and the welfare of mankind.

India's Internal Revolution

We may best appraise India's progress since independence by analyzing her internal structure and her external relations.

Internally, the age-old caste system is on the way out. In urban areas, especially in metropolitan areas, caste is a factor of little consequence. The employment of women by various government agencies as well as by private business establishments is a heartening innovation. The Constitution of India promised the establishment of a public school system on the American model but this goal has been only partially achieved so far because of (1) lack of trained personnel, (2) lack of school facilities, (3) lack of funds. In 1947 there were but fourteen universities in India; fifteen years later there were 46 universities. In 1947, there were but two Schools of Social Work; now there are eighteen Schools of Social Work some of them, like the Tata Institute of Social Sciences and the Baroda Faculty of Social Work, maintaining as high professional standards as our American Schools of Social Work.

Untouchability has been abolished by constitutional prescription as well as by legislation. Taking advantage of special scholarships, many Harijan students are attending colleges and universities. And the presence of Harijans in Legislatures State and Federal, as well as in the Cabinets of State Governments and the Central Government, augurs a new day for the nation.

India is, perhaps, the only significant country in Asia, fully committed to the gospel of democracy, and thoroughly competent to handle the tools of democracy. Having gone through three general elections peacefully, with the largest electorate in the world, with 70 to 80 per cent of the eligible voters going to the polls, India exemplifies her dedication to democray and her ability to maintain a stable government. Respecting freedom of speech, press and assembly, India zealously guards the civil rights of her citizens, regardless of age or sex, race or religion.

The most thrilling feature of the Hindese scene is the launching of successive five-year plans, which are first discussed at the grass-roots level and then democratically promoted with the co-operation of citizens. The first five-year plan, 1951-56

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involved an expenditure of Rs. 33,600,000,000; the second five-year plan, 1956-61, involved an expenditure of Rs. 67,500,000,000, while the third five-year plan, 1961-66, in progress at present, is estimated to cost more than the total of the first two plans, namely, Rs. 104,000,000,000.

The first plan was aimed at rehabilitating the economy which had been disrupted by World War II and by Partition. The Second Plan aimed at developing basic and heavy industries, with the twofold purpose of creating opportunities for employment immediately and manufacturing consumer goods later. The third plan has addressed itself to developing all phases of economic activity—agricultural, manufacturing, transportation, etc.—so that at the end of the Fourth plan, 1966-71, India's economy may be self-sustaining.

There is no need to inflict on you statistics concerning, say, rise in industrial production of basic industries, such as :

TABLE I
RISE IN INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION

Year	Iron or Steel	Machinery	Chemical
1950-51	100	100	100
1955-56	121.6	191.8	179.3
1960-61	238.2	503.2	288.1

The point to note is : (1) that the Five-Year plans are operated democratically with the willing co-operation of citizens ; (2) that their objective is to create employment for the vast multitude of unemployed in the land (3) that they aim at increasing the purchasing power of the masses, (4) that they are valiantly striving to build within 20 years an economic structure which took over a hundred years to evolve in the Western World.

A fascinating aspect of these Five-Year Plans is the emergence of Community Development Schemes and National Extension Services in the rural areas all over the nation. The Community Development workers are acting as catalytic agents in tradition-bound rural areas, as dynamic change agents in the villages.

The Republic of India is one of the few nations in the world that officially sponsor the birth control movement, euphemistically known in India as the Family Planning movement. Family planning clinics are set up in urban areas ; in the rural areas, the Community Development worker serves as guide, friend and philosopher to the rural folk, pointing out to them the value of new seeds as well as of family planning.

Some of the new patterns in the Hindese social economy have been borrowed from other nations, especially America, while some others have been invented indigenously in response to local needs. We may pause to pay tribute to the industrialized nations of Europe and the Americas that have ungrudgingly either loaned or gifted funds and capital goods and technical skill to India ; these loans and gifts, especially from the U.S.A., amounting to over $3,500,000,000 have materially aided India in successfully carrying out her ambitious five-year plans.

INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

India's foreign policy of so-called neutralism or non-alignment since independence has been both assailed and welcomed by partisans of one school or another. Viewing the United Nations Organization, in the early stages, as strictly a forum for the exchange of opinion and international discussion, the architects of India's foreign policy —spelled Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru —did not favour an active role for the U.N. During the Korean conflict, India's neutral position earned her the respect of all belligerents and she was welcomed as true supervisor. After the abortive conflict between Egypt on the one hand and Israel, Britain and France on the other, India was invited to furnish troops to the U.N. to supervise the truce line in that part of the world. And in the Congo, Hindese troops were dispatched to fight and to maintain order in that distraught African country under the banner of the U.N. Now, Mr. Nehru is perfectly willing to have the U.N. act as a dynamic peace-making agency, as policeman to the whole world.

In her relations with other nations,

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India is guided by the twin principles of the Father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, namely, Truth and Non-Violence. This means India charted her course in the field of international relations on the basis of peace and friendliness toward all nations, malice toward none, and co-existence of differing ideologies. This position has made India vulnerable to criticism by disgruntled parties, on the ground that she was partial (a) to the Soviet bloc and (b) to the American bloc. Such criticisms, justified or unjustified, India survived, until our venerable Pundit Walter Lippmann went on record as saying that if India with her neutralist policy did not exist, we would have to invent it.

On the whole, I must confess that India's architects seem to be more apprehensive of American encroachments than of Soviet Russian encroachments—this in spite of the fact that in a real emergency, they look to America for prompt aid and are not disappointed in their expectation of American generosity and goodwill.

Red China's aggression against India in September 1962 came as a bolt from the blue. The Himalayas, the unwearying guardians of India's northern frontiers, were breached by Red Chinese troops—a military feat of a very high order in the annals of history. Why the Red Chinese chose to attack India, the one country that brought respectability to them, the one country that treated them not as pariahs among nations but as an equal member in the comity of nations—why the Red Chinese chose to attack such a friendly neighbor nation is a mystery.

Tentative theories may be offered: (1) China and India were in a race as to who could rejuvenate the economy faster and thus become the leader of Asia. India's democratic progress must have hurt the Red Chinese ambitions. (2) Soviet Russia and Communist China were drifting apart ideologically since 1959 or there-abouts, and the Soviets were gradually withdrawing all their skilled aid personel from China and denying the Chinese economic aid. This was bad enough, but to add insult to injury, Soviet Russia decided to snuggle up to non-communist India and aid her by building the Bhilai Steel Plant as a showplace of Russian know-how on the one hand and of Russian goodwill to Asians on the other. (3) Red China, perchance, wanted to probe how well India would stand up under the battering ram of her simultaneous attacks in the Kashmir region and in the Assam region.

Whatever the reason, the Chinese attack on India's northern frontiers in 1962 opened India's eyes and compelled Mr. Nehru and others to do serious rethinking. India's policy of non-alignment still stands, but she relies heavily on America and commonwealth nations for aid and support, while hoping for and expecting Soviet Russian aid and support against future Chinese aggression. I am satisfied—and I stated this point publicly to the press a year ago—that we may witness the strange spectacle of America and Soviet Russia standing side by side and aiding India against Red China if the situation should ever become serious enough.

Finally, we cannot conclude this brief discussion of India's foreign policy without mentioning the unresolved conflict between India and Pakistan. It is not necessary for us to apportion blame to either nation. Suffice it to say that these two neighbors, who are of one flesh and of one blood and who should be friendly to each other, have so far failed to arrive at a mutually acceptable solution. Perhaps both nations have become prisoners of their obsessions. But now with Pakistan flirting with Red China, Indo-Pakistan misunderstanding has been compounded so much that no accommodation between the two can be visualized in the near future—or in the distant future.

INDIA'S FUTURE

In conclusion, I may be permitted to set forth my own view of India's future in the second half of the twentieth century. We may look forward to India forging ahead politically, economically, socially

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and religiously. Committed to democratic principles and procedures, devoted to the Gandhian way of life, to 'Gandhian socialism', borrowing the technology of the Occident at a dizzy pace, India is sure to build a sound foundation for power in world affairs. Then, in the words of the historic resolution of Nehru, "this ancient land (shall) attain its rightful and honored place in the world and make its full and willing contribution to the promotion of world peace and the welfare of mankind."

"A FORGOTTEN EPISODE IN THE LIFE OF RAJA RAMMOHUN ROY"

By AMIYA SEN, M.A.

During the early days of the East India Company the Judicial system prevalent in the country was in a state of transition. The Judiciary had no codes of law to follow in all cases. Nor was there any uniform procedure in its operations. Distinctions were also made between "His Majesty's subjects" and the so-called "natives" of India and even between "natives" professing different religions. One such distinction was fully exemplified in the system of trial by Juries in the courts established by the Company. By the Act of 1774, in such trials only Europeans could sit as jurors; none else, not even Indo-Britons as Anglo-Indians of those days were known, could claim to be represented even on the Petty Jury not to speak of the Grand Jury. With the spread of Western culture, however, natives and 'Indo-Britons' coming into more intimate contact with Europeans gradually grew conscious of their rights and privileges and could not tolerate without any protest such dstinctions among the different sections of His Majesty's subjects in India. As early as 1816, the 'natives' sent to England a petition praying that they might be permitted to sit on juries. The authorities in England were in an awkward situation. They could not openly justify such distinctions; for even in England of those early days there were men liberal enough to undertake the defence and vindication of the cause of justice. In order, therefore, to avoid the difficulty "the authorities here", says Hume, "on considering the petition, were of opinion, that the Supreme Courts in the Presidencies already possessed the power of directing that natives should serve on Juries". They, thus sought to transfer all responsibility regarding such distinctions from themselves to their agents in India.

The 'natives' of Calcutta refused to be satisfied with such evasive replies. Taking advantage of the assurance of the authorities in England they presented, in 1817, "a memorial" to the Supreme Court in Calcutta in order to have the question settled. The Judge on that occasion declared that it was not in his power to direct 'natives' to sit on juries under the existing law and that Parliament alone could grant them that privilege. It did not require any super-subtle brain to understand the significance of this game of evasions and we find that for at least five years the 'natives' of Calcutta did not move any further with their agitation.

On the 8th January, 1822, the 'natives' again applied to the Supreme Court of Calcutta for permission to sit on juries. The result of this application was very significant of the evasive attitude of the authorities. The Chief Justice said that the Sheriff might summon them if he pleased. The Sheriff answered that he could not do so unless instructed by the Chief Judge and the Chief Justice declared that he had no power to give such instructions. At this distance of time and, in the absence of the original petitions, it is not possible to find out to what extent Rammohun was associated with this movement. But his attitude towards the Special Jury Act and the prominent part he played in the agitation for its repeal or rather for its amendment—make it very probable that he took a similar interest in this movement as well.[1]

The question of the improvement of the administration of justice in India had already attracted the notice of the authorities in England. In 1808, Sir Alexander Johnston, then Chief Justice of Ceylon, recorded it as his official opi-

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nion that "the most certain and effective method of improving the Government of India, of raising the moral and intellectual character of the natives and of insuring the continuance of their attachment to the British Empire, was to render the system of administering justice among them really independent, efficient and popular".[2] He was in favour of granting to the inhabitants of the country a direct and considerable share in the administration of justice and that under Eufopean judges. There was, however, considerable opposition among people both in India and in England. "The natives of India", in their opinion, "from their division into Castes, from their want of intellect(?), from their want of education and from their want of veracity and integrity, were incapable of exercising any political or any judicial authority". He, therefore, thought it prudent that the experiment should first be tried in Ceylon. As the population of Ceylon was composed of a great number of "the four divisions of which the population of India was composed", if the experiment proved successful there, it might be acted upon "with great moral and political advantage in legislating for the natives of India". In 1825, at the request of the President of the Board of Control, Sir Alexander communicated to him "a statement explaining the reasons underlying the introduction of Trial by Jury in Ceylon and the consequences with which its adoption was attended."

The obvious way of remedying the defects of the administration of justice was "first to give natives a direct interest in that system by imparting to them a considerable share in its administration ; secondly to give them a proper value for a character for veracity by making such a character the condition upon which they were to look for respect from their countrymen and that from which they were to hope for promotion in the service of their Government ; thirdly, to make the natives themselves, who, from their knowledge of their countrymen, can decide at once the degree of credit which ought to be given to native testimony, judges of fact and thereby shorten the duration of trials". Aftar mature consideration of the proposals in England, provisions were made extending the right of sitting upon juries, in criminal cases to every native of Ceylon.

The experiment proved very successful. As Sir Alexander observed in the statement—The (i) native jurymen being now judges of fact, and the European judges only judges of law, only one European Judge was necessary instead of two or three. Knowing full well the different degrees of weight which may safely be given to the testimony of their countrymen the native jurors decide (ii) upon questions of fact with great promptitude so that there is little delay in the administration of justice. They also obtain so much information regarding the (iii) modes of proceeding and the rules of evidence that the most efficient and respectable native magistrates may be, very well chosen from amongst them. After the adoption of these measures whenever a man was chosen as a juror the very fact of this choice was regarded as a proof of his being a man of unexceptionable character. This made the people more attentive than they used to be in their adherence to truth and had given them a value for character. Being associated with the administration of justice they felt an interest which they never felt before in upholding the Government. They were also afforded an opportunity of hearing any observation which the judges might make to them with regard to the administration of justice or the state of society or morals. The experiment of extending the rights and privileges of Englishmen to natives having after sixteen years of experience, been found to be productive of the greatest security to Government and of the greatest benefit to the people of the country it was felt that it might be applied to India as well.[3]

Meantime the Indo-Britons in India were not idle. They were smarting under this stamp of inferiority. Early in 1825, they sent a petition to the Parliament for the removal of their disabilities. On June 13, 1825, in course of discussions in the House of Commons regarding the East India Judges Bill, Mr. Hume presented this petition and moved for an amendment empowering the Judges to direct Natives and others to act as Juries under such regulations as may be thought advisable for the due administration of justice. Mr. Wynn, the President of the Board of Control was very sympathetically disposed towards the proposal. He was perfectly sure that no invidious distinction should be made between different sections of His Majesty's subjects in India. Natives lawfully born in wedlock were entitled to be considered as British subjects and had the right to the privileges possessed by them. He considered all persons born in Calcutta to be British subjects and entitled to all privileges which

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appurtained to that character; nor could there be any reason why, if natives could serve on juries in England, they should not do so in India.[4] This assurance was sought to be translated into action by the East India Jury Bill. There was serious opposition to the Bill. Doubts were entertained by many who were consulted as to the expediency of allowing natives to sit on Grand Juries at all and on Petty Juries in cases where Europeans were concerned. Emphatic insistence "on the little respect paid by natives to veracity or sanction of an oath" and the undesirability of placing the conquered in situations of judges of the conquerors in a recently acquired domain induced Mr. Wynn to introduce invidious distinctions in the Bill.[5] It gave all classes of natives the right to sit on the common jury, but, at the same time, enacted that the Grand Jury be composed of Christians alone. This distinction became still more invidious and intolerable by the further stipulation that in cases where either of the parties was a Christian all the twelve persons shall be no other than Christians. When either of the parties was Hindu or Musulman, or any other class the Christians would have the privilege of judging them.[6]

The Act was received in India with a storm of protest and the most prominent voice that was heard against it was the voice of Rammohun. The exceptions made in the Act were felt by the natives of Bengal to be insulting and degrading, as contrary to the spirit of English Law and to the principles of abstract justice. Such was the information derived from personal communications on the subject with natives of first respectability and intelligence in Calcutta, which the editor of a contemporary journal gave to his readers in England.[6] The most significant of this protest came from Rammohun's *Sambad Kaumudi*. The consequences of this new Act is that in matters where a man's life is at stake or where banishment, imprisonment and severe punishments are awarded, we, Hindoos and Musalmans, must submit to the verdict of Christians whether they be natives of Britain or the offspring of British fathers by Indian mothers, whether they be the common Portugese or Armenians or the 'rice Christians' of Serampur. These persons shall have the privilege of judging in cases where our lives are concerned; whereas we, although living in the same country or in the same hamlet with them, and partaking in their virtues and vices shall have no power of judging respecting them. In like manner our descendants must also submit their lives to the decisions of the sons of Christians."[7]

In this unreasonable distinction between Christians and people of other faiths resident in India Rammohun suspected an insidious attempt on the part of the Government to favour the spread of Christianity in the country. As a matter of fact the proceedings of the debates at the East India House during this particular period show an anxiety on the part of several proprietors to assist in missionary efforts in India. Mr. Paynder's resolutions even against Suttee and the exaction of tributes from the pilgrims at Puri had, as their background, his orthodox faith in Christianity and his earnest desire for an extension of its sphere of influence; and there were not wanting proprietors who supported him in his evangelical zeal. It was not, therefore, strange that Rammohun should take the East India Jury Act as a measure for the furtherance of Christianity. "Missionaries and clergymen", proceeded Rammohun, "have spent more than thirty years in disseminating their faith in different sorts of books and by various other means, without being able to make a single true and sincere convert to Christianity; but now the way is opened and many persons, no longer able patiently to bear the reproach brought upon them by this Parliamentary Act, will take shelter under the Christian faith. When rulers of the country use force or art to win over their subjects to their own faith from that of their ancestors, who shall have the power to oppose?"[8]

The alternatives suggested show the practical statesmanship of Rammohun and his sense of self-respect. "It would have been consonant to reason, virtue and equity, if it had been ordered by this Act that as a Christian shall have the privilege of being tried by a jury composed of Christians in like manner a Hindoo or Musulman shall be tried by a jury consisting exclusively of persons of his faith, or that as Christians shall have the privilege of sitting with Hindoo and Musulmans on the trial of a Hindoo or a Musulman, so Hindoo and Musulmans shall have the privilege, equally with Christians of sitting on the trial of Christan." He could not observe with equanimity the slur cast upon "Hindoos and Musulmans" nor tolerate the stamp of inferiority that was sought to be put on them. The order of

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the Parliamentary Act, Rammohun was sorry to observe, has laid all Hindoos and Musalmans without any regard to rank or respectability prostrate at the feet of Christians, whether of this or any other place.[9]

Rammohun and his group could not remain inactive. They had already taken necessary steps in the matter. On this subject a memorial has been prepared now nearly a month past to the proper authorities in England by a person amongst us who is waiting in anxious expectation to hear the result—show the *Sambad Kaumudi* of Dec. 30, 1826. The fact that among his associates Rommohun took the most prominent part in controversies and in the drafting of petitions and memorials makes it most probable that the petition referred to was his own composition and that he modestly described himself in this connection as "one amongst us".

In 1828, again we find Rammohun taking a very prominent part in the agitation against the Special Jury Act. On August 18, 1828 he wrote to Mr. J. Crawford entrusting to him petitions numerously signed by Hindoo and Musalmans against the Jury Act which had come into operation in the beginning of 1827. The arguments he used in support of his opposition to the Act mark him out as a champion of Indian rights and privileges. He very urgently protested against the introduction of "religious distinctions into the judicial system of this country" and pointed out that such acts were calculated not only to give "just grounds for dissatisfaction among the natives in general but also to excite much alarm omong people conversant with political principles." He did not fail to lay special emphasis on the disastrous consequences of distinctions based on religious beliefs. Misery had resulted in Ireland from such distinctions; the same calamities might easily be reproduced in India by pursuing a similar policy. "Supposing that some hundred years hence the Native character becomes elevated from constant intercourse with Europeans and the acquirement of general and political knowledge as well as modern arts and sciences, is it possible," he asked, "that they will not hove the spirit as well as the inclination to resist effectually any unjust and oppressive measures serving to degrade them in the scale of society ?" He reminded his contemporaries that it was easier to tronsport armed forces to Ireland and succeed in suppressing every effort of a refractory spirit. But the position of India is different. She might very well prove, "from her remote situation, her riches and vast population, either useful and profitable as a willing province, an ally of the British Empire or troublesome and annoying as a determined enemy" and her choice would depend on the administrative and other policy of Britishers. His almost prophetic vision could see future possibilities which were absolutely unapparent even to the statesmen and administrators of those early days. Nor was he less emphatic in his protest against the way in which the "Act was sought to be forced on India." "In common with those who seem partial to the British from the expectation of future benefits arising out of the connection, I necessarily feel extremely grieved in often witnessing acts and regulations passed by Government without consulting or seeming to understand the feelings of its Indian subjects ond without considering that these people have had for more than half a century the advantage of being ruled by and associated with an enlightened nation, advocaters of liberty and promoters of knowledge."[10]

The petition that was placed before the House of Commons on June 5, 1829 is an interesting document. Among the signatories we not only find the name of Rammohun but also those of some of his most intimate associates as Gurudas Mukherjee, Dwarkanath Tagore, Prosanno Coomar Tagore and others. Its arguments bear a very close resemblance to the standpoint of Rammohun as expressed in his articles in the *Sambad Kaumudi* or even in his other writings on political and administrative matters. The petitioners respectfully but firmly protested against "the invidious distinctions introduced into the Act as not only useless but odious and impolitic." They pointed out that fifty years ago a committee of the House of Commons had recommended that Indians ought to enjoy to the fullest extent the right of sitting on juries "without any reserve on the ground of religious opinions." With the spread of education among the native population of Calcutta they had become more familiar with English law ; they had formed a connection much more intimate and numerous, with their European fellow-subjects. Not only so, they had been found qualified to act as jurors in many cases. Under these circumstances the distinctions were wholly unnecessary.[12]

They pointed out that the better class of the

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natives of India were placed under the sway of the East India Company in a state of political degradation which was absolutely without a parallel in their former history, for, "even under their Mohamedan conquerors, such of your petitioners as are Hindus were not only capable of filling but actually did fill numerous employments of trust, dignity and emolument from which under the existing system of the Honourable Company's Government they are absolutely shut out . . . They have submitted to these exclusions reconciled in some measure to them from a persuasion of the tolerant spirit of the local Government and from an implicit reliance on its often renewed assurances that their religious opinions should be inviolably protected."[13] In this assertion they seemed to be echoing similar sentiments expressed in the Appeal to the King in Council.

The emphasis the petitioners laid on the disastrous consequences of invidious distinctions on grounds of religion remind us of Rammohun's letter to Crawford. They felt that privileges granted to one community and denied to another must be very injurious not only becouse it "exposes them without defence to the operations of prejudices arising from religious feelings among the strongest which actuate the human mind when once awakened but because the India-born Christians being much more numerous than Europeans and intercourse between them and Hindus and Mohammedans being much more frequent and familiar, feelings of rivalry and animosity are much more likely to exist between them than between your Petitioners and Europeans. It was also degrading because those who were never regarded as superior were elevated above them by the sole circumstances of their religion." Now that they beheld themselves as branded with inferiority and "a numerous and increasing class of their own countrymen scarcely even on a level with themselves in public opinion withdrawn from the community to be enclosed within a circle of immunities into which they are debarred from penetrating, they feel themselves practically degraded with the same measure as their countrymen are exalted and experience the deepest humiliation." These distinctions were, consequently doubly injurious and degrading."[14]

They suggested that the Act might be intended to operate as a motive to conversion to Christianity and it "may be proposed to intimate to the people of India in this indirect manner that the road to European distinction can only be reached by a profession of the religion of the greater part of Europe."[15] They reminded the House of Commons that the legislature of Great Britain and the local Government of the East India Company were bound by the most solemn and repeated pledges to protect the natives of India in the full enjoyment of their laws, customs and religion.[16] "Religious opinions," they pointed out, "exercise a great influence over their general conduct and daily conduct. It is not merely a system of theories and opinions but is interwoven with the laws, the manners, the daily necessities and doily actions of every condition of human life and any interference with it is, therefore, peculiarly hard to be borne."[17] These pledges, they held, should be kept in that spirit of perfect and sacred good faith which "disdains alike insidious and indirect attack and open infraction" and if these assurances be withdrawn or if a system of indirect attack be commenced on all religions to which Christianity is opposed your petitioners will no longer know where to look for protection."[18] These passages bear a very close resemblance to the arguments developed in Rammohun's article in the *Sambad Kaumudi.*

It might have been hastily supposed, so the petitioners asserted, that there were no individuals professing the Hindoo and Mohammean religions who moved in the rank of society from which the Grand Jury were selected.[19] They could not, however, believe that a social ban so absolutely revolting would ever have been sanctioned by the legislature of a civilised nation. The Permanent Settlement was introduced to build up a landed aristocracy, that being one of the favourite objects of the British Government in Bengal. A new race of landed proprietors, "possessed of energy and capital," had, by that time, been created many of who resided in Calcutta. Similarly, the free-trade of the late years had created a class of native merchants, "in wealth equal and in intelligence but little inferior, to the most honourable of the European Commercial residents of Calcutta." To assert that there was in Colcutta among the landed proprietors and merchants "not one single individual entitled to rank in the eyes of Government as an equal with the European merchants of Calcutta or the Civil servants of the Government was an admission o the failure of the experiment which

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had been tried for over thirty years to create a race of native gentry for the prosperity of the country."[20]

It might also have been considered, so the petitioners pointed out, that the Grand Jury were called upon to judge of the value of evidence without the aid of the debates of the counsels and the directions of a judge, and such functions required an intellect of a higher order than that which was necessary for the due performance of those of a petty juror and more than was possessed by any Hindoo or Mohammedan. To meet this contention the petitioners observed that the petty jurors had to discern the truth among the conflicting statements of adverse witnesses and the eloquent and artful addresses of counsels against which the dry and impartial charge of a judge is but an imperfect protection.[21] It was a task far more difficult than deciding upon the value of ex-parte evidence and coming to a conclusion whether the guilt was sufficiently established by the complainants, proof, to warrant further judicial investigation. The knowledge that native inhabitants possessed of the peculiar habits, manners and prejudices of their own countrymen enabled them to judge more accurately the value of the evidence placed before them. It was further pointed out that for the functions of a petty juror in which judges and Barristers took part a more accurate knowledge of English was required than for the familiar examination of ex-parte evidence. "Justice," they held, "can never be perfectly administered without the aid of the people themselves."[22]

In their suggestions regarding the remedies of the disabilities introduced by the Act the petition showed interesting points of resemblance with Rammohun's article in the *Sambad Kaumudi*: "If your Honourable House does indeed suppose it impossible that among men of different religions, a common sense of justice and common regard for impartiality should prevail, your petitioners trust that you will at least extend to them, in conformity with the sacred pledges given by the legislatures, the protection that is deemed necessary to afford to others." The petitioners however pointed out that such prejudices did not exist but that the invidious distinctions sanctioned by the legislature might create them.[23] They, however, preferred the second alternative that the legal distinctions between them and their fellow subjects should be removed either by permitting half the jurors from the community to which one of the parties belonged or by repealing the section altogether and leaving it entirely to the judges to form the list of jurors.[24]

The similarities of thought and style show clearly that either Rammohun was himself the writer of the petition or it was drafted in consultation with him—the style and sentiments expressed are, however, in favour of the first alternative being the more probable one. The petition was sought to be rediculed by the English Press. *The Asiatic Journal* tried to weaken its genuineness by the bare assertion, without any corroborative evidence whatsoever, that it was evidently the production of an English pen. *John Bull* went one step further and represented it to be a "radical trick of interested parties. Itopined again without assigning any reason, that the native petitioners were mere tools. It stooped even to untrue statements and asserted that among the names published, there were few, if any, above the rank of moonshees or writers in public offices—and this of a petition signed by Dwarkanath Tagore, Prosanna Kumar Tagore, Rammohun Roy and others.[25]

The petition asserted that the Act had become very unpopular with the respectable natives of India and "if these disabilities were not removed in time no Hindu or Mohammedan inhabitant will willingly serve as a juror in any capacity."[26] Its prophecy was fulfilled by a curious occurrence during the same year. No Hindu and Mohammedan volunteered to sit on the petty jury much to the astonishment of the powers that be. This was probably the first occurrence of non-cooperation by the natives of India with the administration. *The Calcutta John Bull* wrote under date Aug. 1, 1828—"It has been stated to us, in regard to no Hindoo or Musalman having volunteered to sit on petty juries to which they are eligible that this proceeds from the notion that a slight has been put on the whole of them by the more influential among them being excluded from the Grand Jury; and that if disqualifications were once removed, there are many who would come forward to offer their services on petty juries."[27]

It is, therefore, significant that the very person who was responsible for the East India Jury Act, should sponsor this petition before the House of Commons. He admitted that the con-

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cessions to the natives might be safely extended so far as the right of serving on the Grand Jury was concerned. The administration of justice, in his opinion, suffered from a deficiency in the number of judges. The only way in which this deficiency could be supplied was by raising and training up a "superior grade of native functionaries." "But the first step," so he asserted, "is to open the avenues of rank, distinction and emolument as the reward of good conduct." The situations of village and provincial magistrates then occupied by natives were limited in jurisdiction, nor was their salary adequate. Although education had progressed yet unless the natives could look forward to situations which would not only afford them emolument but rank and consideration in society, all other incentives to improvement must prove vain and insufficient. So all should "concur in the propriety of a declaration that the subjects of Great Britain without distinction of blood or colour be eligible to every employment for which their abilities, education, and habits might qualify them."[28]

In supporting it Lord Ashley dwelt significantly on the advantages derived from associating Indians of intelligence and respectability with the administration of justice. Mr. Fergusson pointed out that its signatories were natives of Calcutta best known for their wealth, respectability and intelligence, "fully adequate to discharge judicial functions of the highest description." Sir Charles Forbes insisted upon the necessity of admitting the natives of India to a participation in all civil rights belonging to British subjects. In such a sympathetic atmosphere it was only natural that Mr. Wynn should close the debate by promising redress.[29] Later on the House of Commons received in 1831, petitions from Bombay praying for the removal of the same disabilities.[30]

In the meantime the Government of England had changed. Mr. C. Grant, when he came into office, was fully conscious of the necessity of the changes advocated by the petitions. In the correspondence between him and the Court of Directors we find that it tried its utmost to dissuade him but he remained firm.

The Court of Directors admitted that it had acted upon the principle laid down by Mr. Grant viz. "that the natives of a country sufficiently civilised should be deemed eligible to fill important offices in the administration of its affairs." "The Principle once being accepted," observed Mr. Grant, "and the eligibility of natives to fill important and responsible posts being established, the propriety of excluding them by law from particular offices can only be maintained, by showing with respect to each office a special case of exception."[31]

Mr. Grant brushed aside the contention that "natives would be reluctant to acquire an acquaintance of English law and Acts of Parliament for the mere distinction of acting as unpaid magistrates or to take up the duties of this office on account of its responsibilities and their liability to penalties for illegal conduct," by observing that such men would not be selected and their exclusion would not be regarded as a grievance. There was, however, no reason why the acquirement of a knowledge of English law should be regarded by respectable natives as a matter of formidable difficulty. In private life and in the performance of public duties they had shown no deficiency either in " the habits of application to business or in the skill and acuteness required for its successful prosecution" nor were they "insensible to that stimulus to exertion which arise from the hope of honourable distinction."[32]

The Court urged that to commit to natives a direct cognisance of the acts of Europeans would have "An injurious effect in lowering that estimation of the European Character which was necessary for the stability of the Indian Empire." In reply, Mr. Grant pointed out that the 'natives' had long been accustomed to see Europeans in situations very unfavourable to the continuance of any such notion of their individual superiority, and the stability of the British Empire depended not on such notions of individual superiority but on a conviction of the superiority of the British Government to those of Asiatic states. "The real source of our strength, next to our military power and skill, being the unity of power and the justice of principle which have distinguished our Government, the security of our domain cannot fail to be increased by every measure tending to remove needless distinctions and to combine all classes in the administration of laws."[33]

The Court considered 'natives' to be deficient in many qualities, particularly firmness of character so necessary to inspire confidence and so essential for the discharge of the duties of a Justice of the Peace. Mr. Grant pointed out in

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reply that the native character was not incapable of improvement in those points and it would seem that the most effectual means of that improvement would be to open the 'natives', as objects of honourable ambition "those employments which obviously require the exercise of the qualities in question."[34]

The Court objected to the admission of non-Christians to Grand Juries and to Petty Juries constituted for the purpose of trying Christians. They pointed out that "according to the law of England, there should be some community of feeling between those who are to try and those who are to be tried ; that men should be tried by their *Peers*, by what the English law with strong meaning, calls *the country* ; and further that in the trial of an Englishman or a Christian by Hindus or Musalmans there is no country, no community of feeling, interests or habitude." In reply to this objection Mr. Grant observed that the constitution of England would recognise as Peers or Country, in matters of this nature, "those persons, in every part of our domain, who are made amenable to the same tribunal as their European fellow-subjects. It does not appear that identity of religion has been considered as necessarily involved in those expressions." "Such arguments," in his opinion, "involve the principle of separation between persons of different religions which is obviously full of injustice and attended with injurious and fatal consequences both to the Governors and the governed."[35]

Similar arguments, we find in Rammohun's remark in answer to the objections raised by the Court of Directors against the introduction of the proposed Jury Bill. I am quite at a loss, observed Rammohun, "to conceive why the Court of Directors instead of endeavouring to conciliate the atffections of millions of British subjects in India should, on the contrary, pass laws calculated to stir up a spirit of religious intolerance in a harmonious though mixed community and to revolt the feeling of the most numerous classes of it, particularly the intelligent among the rising generation."[36] He further pointed out—"It lies with every government to establish and preserve a community of feeling, interest and habitude among various classes of its subjects, by treating them all as one great family, without showing an invidious preference to any particular tribe or sect, but giving fair and equal encouragement to the worthy and intelligent under whatever denomination they may be found. But by pursuing a contrary plan, for 'community of feeling' will of course be substituted religious jealousy for community of interest, a spirit of domination or ascendency on the one hand, of hatred and revenge on the other, and lastly for community of habitude will be established a broad line of demarcation and separation even in conducting public business."[37] How prophetic !

All the Directors (except Major Carval and Mr. John Forbes) concurred in opposing Mr. Grant and, not content with this, they stirred up the Editor of the *Morning Chronicle* to attack the Bill and the author of it in his journals in order to prejudice the British Public against it. This having failed, they got a number of their servants and connections to draw up a petition against it to be presented to the House of Lords. Such a petition signed by 34 servants of the East India Company was presented before the House of Lords. In spite of all this strong opposition the Bill was duly read a third time and passed by the House of Commons on June 12, 1832.[38]

The India Justices and Juries Bill was vehemently opposed by the Anglo-Indian Press and it is a significant fact that Rammohun came in for his due share of blame. One editor found in it a principle subversive of European ascendency in this country. Mr. Grant was, in his opinion, an inexperienced legislator and a mere political visionary and, as such, he must have been "mystified by Rammohun Roy." For the Jury system was incompatible with the state of society in India. "Indians must give up many of their characteristics like subservience, slavish instinct, before they can be entrusted with the duties of a juror." He then lashed himself up into fury and concluded in a style reminiscent of the days of the Ilbert Bill controversy. "That we shall," observed the irate editor, "in process of time, be ejected from this country there is little doubt. Let us not be prematurely busy in teaching its inhabitants to lord it over us. No measure is, we conceive, more calculated to hurry the catastrophe than the favourite idea acted on by Mr. Grant, the superiority, namely, of theory vs. practice, self-sufficiency vs. experience." Again : "It is not often that we have occasion to speak favourably of the political measures of the Court of Directors or to use harsh language towards the enlightened Ex-Brahmin Rammohun Roy ; in the present instance, however, we have good reason to break our rule

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in either case.....nor can anything be more impolitic than the *arguments evidently supplied by the Hindu patriot* who has sacrificed truth and honesty in order to pander to his passion for theory and assured Mr. Grant that all-India regretted the non-appearance of native Grand Jurors while he must have known that such a statement was hardly true when predicted of even the enlightened population of the single city of Calcutta." The fulminations of the Anglo-Indian Editor throw a flood of light on the influence of Rammohun over the mind of Mr. Grant and the decisive part he played in the removal of these grievances.[39]

Even when the Act was passed in 1832, it received a very mixed reception in India(?). While Justice Sir E. Ryan of the Calcutta Supreme Court welcomed it and rejoiced that invidious distinctions had been removed, Chief Justice Sir W. Compton of the Bombay Supreme Court in course of sincerely congratuating the native population for the measure candidly confessed that his experience in India had led him to entertain some doubt whether the natives of these presidencies were yet sufficiently qualified ; and Justice Sir Ralph Palmer of the Madras Supreme Court openly showed his dissatisfaction with the measure.[40]

Rammohun was a practical politician. He did not speculate on the origins of law and constitutions or even on the general principles of political theory for the sake of speculation ; nor did he attempt to draw conclusions deductively from general principles and apply them towards the solution of practical problems. On the contrary, he always took up issues of practical importance, analysed them and out of such analysis arrived at general principles which illuminated the practical problems. It is this "wide illumination from great principles of human experience" that makes whatever he wrote, petitions or pamphlets, so very significant.

An analysis of the controversy that centred round the East India Jury Bill shows that although Rammohun's primary concern was the removal of invidious distinctions, he suported his point of view by reference to general principles which touch the fundamentals of politics and administration.

During the age in which Rammohun lived the ultimate power of legislation was vested in the British Parliament. Legislating from a distance of thousands of miles, it was very probable that the Parliament, for want of knowledge should arrive at wrong decisions with regard to the point at issue. There was the further problem of how to make public opinion effective in matters of legislation. Rammohun laid special emphasis on this aspect of the question. According to him legislation should be undertaken in Parliament "upon representation being made by local authorities" and completed "after due investigation" and with the advice of the High Council of the realm." By investigation he meant "circulation for public opinion"—a procedure he recommended in his Questions and Answers on the Judicial system of India. It is not necessary to go into the details of the recommendations. Rammohun, however, laid special emphasis on the part which ought to be played by public opinion in matters of legislation. It was, therefore, only natural that he should lament, as he did in his letter to Crawford, for the callous indifference shown to public opinion in the acceptance and the implementation of the Special Jury Act.

Rammohun was conscious of the loss of political consequence of Indians under the British rule; notwithstanding this loss of power and prestige, Indians had reconciled themselves to it from a persuasion of the tolerant spilit of the local Government and an implicit reliance on its assurances. It was this implicit reliance, this implicit faith in its *bona fides* that was according to him, the foundation of the stable structure of the British Government in India. Once this faith received a shock from the measures of the Government the cement of mutual trust which bound together the Governor and the governed would be destroyed with disastrous results. Rammohun accepted Bentham's theory of the duty "of resisting the Government in case the benefit to be secured by it is greater than the evils of revolution." "If mankind" so he asserted "are brought into existence and by nature found to enjoy the comforts of society and the pleasure of an improved mind they may be justified in opposing any system, social, domestic, or political, which is inimical to the happiness of society or calculated to debase the human intellect."[41] This gives an added significance to the warning he conveyed through Crawford to his contemporaries. India might according to him, become a faithful ally of the British

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Empire, or its bitter enemy according to the policy followed by the Government.

Religion, with Rammohun, was not a mere system of theory and opinion but a way of life. It is interwoven with the laws, manners, daily necessities and daily actions of men. Any interference with it is particularly hard to be borne. Whenever there is the suspicion of an attack, however insidious and indirect it be, in contravention of repeated assurances by the Government, he felt it a duty to expreess his grief, his astonishment and his alarm.

Rammohun was conscious of the deficiencies of the Judicial system under the East India Company. He was strongly in favour of closer association of the people with the administration of justice. The judges, in his opinion, owing to the absence of a common language and the differences in manners, etc., could not acquire an adequate knowledge of the real nature of the grievances of the persons seeking redress or of the real character and validity of the evidnce by which their claims were supported or opposed, Indians with their knowledge of the peculiar habits, manners and prejudices of their own countrymen should be given a direct and considerable share in the administration of Justice. "Justice can never be perfectly administered without the aid of the people themselves."

In the days of Rammohun there was amity among the different communities of India. Time and again he reminded the authorities both in England and in India, that communal prejudices were non-existent in India and they were living in a "harmonious though mixed community." He could not understand why the Court of Directors should pass laws calculated to stir up a spirit of religious intolerance. He could not but perceive the dangerous situation that the invidious distinctions sanctioned by the legislature might create. He spoke of the operation of the prejudices arising from religious feelings "as the strongest which actuate the human mind if once awakened" and warned the authorities concerned that by pursuing their policy of introducing invidious distinctions based on religion they would be disintegrating this harmonious though mixed community. It was this fear which urged him to take so prominent a part in the agitation against the Special Jury Act.

We have before us two problems of supreme importance. The problem of the treatment of minorities and the problem of emotional integration. The ideal that we have put before us is that of a secular state—a state which would treat all communities alike and mete out to them justice without reference to creed or colour. Was not Rammohun anticipating such a concept when he spoke of "equal treatment without showing invidious preference to any particular tribe or sect" and "of giving fair and equal encouragement to the worthy and intelligent under whatever denomination they may be found ?" We speak of emotional integration, mutual forbearance, a recognition of a common basis of culture and ideals. Did not Rammohun express, in his own way, the same ideals when he asserted, "It lies with every government to establish and preserve, a *community of feeling*, interest, and habitude among the different communities resident in India ?" What ideal of national integration can be higher than the concept of a "family of communities ?" Have the disastrous results of an absence of integration ever been more eloquently expressed than by Rammohun ? Rammohun pointed out that "by pursuing a contrary policy for community of feeling" will be substituted "religious jealousy" for "community of interest" a "spirit of domination or ascendency" on the one hand, "of hatred and revenge" on the other,—Does not this assertion give a vivid picture of the disastrous consequences of invidious preferences leading to national disintegration ?

The fight that Rammohun put up for the national self-respect of Indians as Indians and against the intrusion of distinctions based upon religious belief in the realm of the administration of justice in India was thus a strenuous one. He had to contend against heavy odds, the prejudices of Anglo-India, the cautious policy of the Court of Directors and the inertia of his own people. And, it was a fight of great significance for in it was involved high moral, political and administrative principles. Not only so, it went directly against the superiority complex then running rampant among authorities both in India and in England. Even Mr. Wynn fell a victim to the vociferous opposition of people whom he consulted. The liberal minded Mr. Grant had to face not only the opposition of the Court of Directors but also a public campaign based upon the idea "that the Bill was an attempt to alter by force of law that relation between the European and the Asiatic which had conferred on a few strangers

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the Empire of India." It was against such ideas that Rammohun had to fight. He had to convince the right-thinking people of England of the justice of his cause. He had to mystify Mr. Grant into accepting more liberal principles. Although the change of government in England facilitated the passing of the East India Jury Act, Rammohun's vigilance, his industry in this cause and the decisive part he played in its successful issue should be gratefully remembered.

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CONSTITUTIONAL GUARANTEE OF FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION

By JOSEPH MINATTUR, M.A., J.D., Ph.D., LL.D., Barrister-at-Law.

The Constitution of India guarantees that "19(1) All citizens shall have the right

(a) to freedom of speech and expression."

As no civil liberty is an absolute right, this apparently unlimited freedom is restricted by the constitutional provision which states:

"(2) Nothing in subclause (a) of clause (1) shall affect the operation of any existing law, or prevent the state from making any law, in so far as such law imposes reasonable restrictions on the exercise of the right conferred by the said sub-clause in the interests of the security of the State, friendly relations with foreign States, public order, decency or morality, or in relation to contempt of Court, defamation or incitement to an offence."

It may appear to a casual observer that a number and variety of restrictions are contemplate in this provision, while a Constitution, like that of the United States, guarantees, to all appearance, unrestricted freedom, when it states:

"Congress shall make no law abridging the freedom of speech or of the press."

The apparent difference disappears when one finds that the United States Supreme Court invented the doctrine of the police powers of the State and applied it in relation to the civil rights. This doctrine lays down the principle that the State has inreherent powers to impose such restrictions on civil liberties as will be necessary to preserve the community from injury.

The Indian Supreme Court, on the other hand, inclined to the opinion that it was not necessary to develop any doctrine similar to that of the police powers of the State, in view of the fact that the Constitution of India specifies the permissible restrictions on the civil rights after having guaranteed them. The trend of judicial opinion in India has gone so far in upholding the liberty of the citizen that the Courts have often expressed themselves to the effect that since the exceptions to the absolute freedom of speech and expression (for instance) are specifically and expressly laid down in the Constitution, there can be no other limitations than those which are so specifically and expressly mentioned in Article 19(2). Under the police powers of the State, it has been judicially held in the United States that the right to freedom of speech and of the press may be restricted to protect the State from external aggression or internal disorder, to protect individuals from defamation, to protect the community from the dissemination of obscenity, to safeguard the administration of justice from interference and to guard against incitement to crime. The restrictive clause in the Indian Constitution has adopted these classes of restrictions from the judicial decisions in the United States, but has added to them a category, namely, 'in the interests of friendly relations with foreign States' and also altered incitement to crime to incitement to any offence. The difference therefore between the right to freedom of speech and of the press guaranteed under the First Amendment of the United States Constitution as interpreted by the judiciary, and that guaranteed by Article 19 of the Indian Constitution pertains to those reasonable restrictions permissible under the latter Constitution in relation to incitement to any offence and in the interests of friendly relations with foreign States.

It may also be mentioned that the expression 'reasonable restrictions' in the clause has gvien ample scope for judicial review of any restrictive legislation. The Courts consider that the determination of

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the legislature as to what is reasonable restriction is subject to their supervision. They think that a restriction to be reasonable must be reasonable according to the average reasonable man. This, in practice, would mean 'reasonable' according to the notion of reasonableness of the individual judge or judges concerned.

In spite of this general guarantee of the right to freedom of speech and expression in the Constitution, here are a few laws on the Indian statute book which seem to impinge on the guaranteed right. Most of these laws are a legacy of the British regime, which considered it necessary to have powers to restrict freedom of expression with a view to protecting the "government established by law" from inconvenient adverse critisism. The law of sedition in India is a clear example. Section 124A of the Indian Penal Code provides:

Whoever by words, either spoken or written, or by signs or by visible representation, or otherwise, brings or attempts to bring into hatred or contempt, or excites or attempts to excite disaffection towards the Government established by law in India, shall be punished with transportation for life or any shorter term to which fine may be added, or with imprisonment which may extend to three years, to which fine may be added or with fine.

Explanation 1. The expression 'disaffection' includes disloyalty and all feelings of enmity.

Explanation 2. Comments expressing disapprobation of the measures of the Government with a view to obtain their alteration by lawful means, without exciting or attempting to excite hatred, contempt, or disaffection, do not constitute an offence under this section.

Explanation 3. Comments expressing disapprobation of the administrative or other action of the Government without exciting or attempting to excite hatred, contempt or disaffection, do not constitute an offence under this section.

This comprehensively-worded section may bring within its purview a multitude of acts and words considered quite justifiable according to the standards prevailing in a democratic society. Since the words used in the section are "the Government established by law" the penal sanction of the section can easily be brought to bear upon a political opponent of the Government who may choose to criticise the policy of the Government in such a manner as would appear to bring it or attempt to bring it into contempt. Considering that the people of India have given to themselves a Constitution with a view to constituting India into a sovereign democratic republic and to securing, among other things, liberty of thought and expression for all its citizens, it is time that the republic of India took measures to repeal this section or to amend it in such a manner that only expressions which incite persons to alter by violence the system of government with or without foreign aid are penalised. If it is pointed out that no political opponent is at present prosecuted under the section for adversely criticising the Government, it may be answered that the citizen's basic rights should have better safeguard than the merciful protection afforded by the forbearance of the Executive to prosecute.

In case the section is not repealed or amended in the way suggested, one may hope that the Indian Supreme Court would declare it **ultra vires** the Constitution.

The provision made in the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867, by an amending Act of 1960 to the effect that the printer as well as the publisher of a newspaper should make a declaration before a Magistrate that he is the printer or publisher (or printer and publisher) of the newspaper "before a newspaper can be published" calls for consideration. It is true that a recommendation to this effect was made by the All India Newspaper Editors' Conference as early as 1947. Nevertheless, it is a prior restraint, and a prior restraint which does not appear to be necessary or reasonable. If all the purpose that is sought to be served by the provision is to obtain information and keep records regarding the newspaper, this may as well be done by a provision of law which requires

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that a statement containing the necessary information should be sent to the government within, say, three days after the publication of the first number of the newspaper.

There are a few other provisions on the statute book, which seem to encrocah upon the guaranteed right to freedom of expression. In this brief article, it is not possible to mention all of them.[1]

The above comments are not to be interpreted to detract from the fact that in practice the Indian citizen enjoys as much freedom of expression as his counterpart in any other democratic country. Neither the Premier nor his colleagues nor the government established by law is considered immune from adverse criticism. It is not seldom that the government and its policies are severely criticised in the press, at public meetings and at private gatherings. But, as has been said above, much of this freedom depends on the forbearance of the Executive to prosecute. With a change in the Executive, the executive policy in this regard may change. It is, therefore, necessary that all statutory provisions which impinge upon the citizen's right to freedom of expression be so amended as not to affect adversely that highly valued right guaranteed by the Constitution.

This constitutional guarantee of freedom of expression in India may be brought to bolder relief by a comparison with the guarantee contained in the Netherlands Constitution. Article 7 of the latter declares:

"No person shall require previous permission to publish thoughts or feelings by means of the printing press, without prejudice to everyman's responsibility according to law."

This Article which seeks to protect the freedom of the press in the Netherlands appears to be restricted in its application. It prohibits prior censorship. It does not prohibit the National Parliament from making any law which it considers necessary or expedient to make restricting to any extent the right to freedom of expresssion, other than a law imposing prior censorship on printed publications. As the courts cannot strike down a statutory provision made by the National Parliament as constitutionally invalid, even this prohibition against precensorship may have only an emotional value, though, in practice, the Parliament is scrupulously hesitant to pass a law which infringes a constitutional provision.

What is attempted to indicate here is that, in spite of the fairly long list specifying categories of permissible restrictions contained in Article 19(2), the Indian citizen's right to freedom of expression guaranteed by the constitutional provisions and fortified by his right to challenge a legislative restriction before an independent judiciary, appears to be considerably well-protected.

1. For these provisions, see Minattur, **Freedom of the Press in India,** (Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague, 1961).

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THE ARYANIZATION OF ANCIENT CAMBODIA

By Prof. O. C. GANGOLY

In the October Number of the Modern-Review, references have been made to the Mission of the Sage Agastya—in dessiminating the Aryan Religion and the Cult of Shiva—in the island of Java and in the Malaya-Penisula. Several Years ago, Louis Finot, a great French Scholar, publisned inscriptional evidences proving the Aryanization of Ancient Cambodia (Tchen-la) through the great Mission of another Bramhinical Sage Rishi Kaundinya, who was the first Indian Missionary to visit Cambodia—in a ship across the sea; the tract was then ruled by a dynasty of Primitive tribes—referred to as the Nagas. When Kaundinya visited this tract—carrying a Javelin **(Shula)** said to have been obtained from Asvatthama, son of Dronacharyya, the Indian Missionary was rereived and welcomed by Soma, the daughter of the reigning King, whom Kaundinya accepted as his Sahadharmini, for the purpose of observing religious rites.* The Naga-King gave as a dowry to Kaundinya,—a portion of his Kingdom, which he was asked to demarcate by throwing his Javelin—of magical potency.

The dynasty founded by this marriage—came to be known as the **Soma-Kaundinya Vamsa**. Their issues came to be recognized as Kshatriyas, who assumed Indian names e.g., Srestha-Varman, Bhava-Varman, Surya-Varman, Yaso-Varman and others. Subsequently the dynasty became devided into two branches—namely, the Lunar dynasty and the Solar dynasty. Their Kingdoms came to be designated as Vyadha-pura, and Sambhu-pura. Later inscriptions confirmed in ancient Chinese records which refer to the Bramhin—in the Chinese form—KUEN-TIEN. In the later Cambodian records the sage is referred to under the Cambodian name Prah Thom. In another local record, the famous King Bhava-Varmana, I, is referred to as a direct descendant of Kaundinya.

Another name famous in the History of Kambuja (Cambodia)—is referred to as Maharsi Kambu Svayambhuva—in a famous inscription at Bakesi Camkron. Like, Kaundinya, Kambu also had married a local princess named Apsara Mira. This dynasty later designated as Solar Dynasty—imparted the title of Kambuja-desa—to the tract now known as Modern Cambodia. Later inscriptions refer to an inter-marriage between the two dynasties. The Kingdom founded by Kaundinya was known as the Tchen-la of the Up-land, and Tchen-la of the Sea—was the name assigned to the tract ruled by Kambu.

A string of French Scholars have been investigating into the sources of the history of this Hindu colonization of ancient Kambuja-Desa—digging up new data,—which are divided into three branches—(1) the Reports of Chinese Authors and travellers, (2) the Dynastic Legends recorded in a number of Inscriptions, (3) Modern Cambodian Legends—the latest investigator, Monsieur E. Porree-Maspero has discovered the Ms. of a Royal Chronicle—preserved in the Palace by the reigning King Norodom.

This ancient history formerly regarded as **Legends**, has received confirmation—from many later documents discovered in the neighbouring Provinces of Siam and of Champa—and the Legends are now accepted as authentic historical traditions.

The Nagi-Soma described in the inscriptions:—as **Vamsa-Kari**, the "Foundress of the Dynasty,"—is said to be visibly

**Asit bhujagendra Kanya Someti sa vamsakari prithivyam Kaundinya namna dvija-pungavene Karyyartha patni-tvam anayi Yapi II.*
Third Inscription at Mi-son (Champa)

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portrayed—in the forms of two Monumental Balustrades—across the bridge leading to the famous Temple of Angkor-Vat—in the form of two many-headed Serpents—exquisitely carved,—and, are admired as great masterpieces of monumental sculpture.

In several separate inscriptions—the foundation of the two Indian dynasties of Soma-Kaundinya, and of Kambu-Mera,—by marriage, with a local Princess are alluded to. But in an inscription of the reign of Rajendra-Varman found at Baksei Camkron dated 869 Saka (947 A.D.) both the dynasties are referred to. The passages in the inscriptions as read by French scholars (**Journal Asiatique**—1909) are cited below:

Sri Rudra Varmana—nripati—pramukhastatas Sri-Kaundinya-Soma—duhitr—prabhavah Ksitindrah I Jata jagattraya—Vikirnna—yasah—prakasa Daksah praja—viracane sruta-salinoye II (XVI).

(Translation):

"Thereafter from the daughter of Sri-Kaundinya and Soma—were born King Rudravarmana and others whose fame in raising offsprings skilled in the Vedas and governing their subjects—spread in three worlds."

Svayambhuvan-namata Kamvum udirna—Kirtim Yasyarkka—Somakula—Sangatim apnuvanti Sat Santatic sakala-sastra—tamopa—hantri Tejasvini mrdukara kalayabhi-purna II (XI).

(Translation):

"Honoured Kambhu Svayambhura—endowed with eminent glory, whose celebrated line obtained the alliance of the Solar and Lunar dynasties—whose achievements in the Sciences and in the Arts—dissipated the darkness of ignorance."

Meram udara—yasasam sura-sundarinam Ide triloka—gurunnapi Harena nita Ye daksa srsty—atisayat—sanaya Maharser Aksi—trayadarvata mahisitvam uccaih II (12).

(Translation):

"The highly respected Mera the most glorious of the Apsaras, whom Hara, the guru of the Three Worlds—desired, in his three eyes to make a perfect creation—bestowed as a wife to the great Risi Kambu."

ANTIQUITY OF ANGKOR

By Dr. MANOMOHAN GHOSH, M.A., Ph.D.

Though, it is usually believed that the date of Angkor is definitively known, a closer enquiry into the matter may give one altogether a different view. And the re-examination of the whole question should rightly begin with an enquiry into the origin of the name of the city as we have it at present. Almost all writers on Cambodia, know for certain that "Angkor" is another form of "Nokor" which is derived from Sanskrit *nagara*. But there is a great difficulty in accepting this etymology. For the word *nokor* from Skt. *nagara* is still in use in the same region in the name of the village Nokor Kraou near the Angkor Thom. One fails to understand how the Sanskrit loan-word *nagara* could assume two different forms in such close proximity. It is nothing short of a linguistic miracle. But this apparent miracle will cease to trouble our logical sense, if we take notice of the older form of the name, "Angbor" mentioned by Adhemard Leclere in his *Cambodge: fetes civiles et religieuse*, Paris, 1917 (page 337). "Angbor" is evidently a developed form of Angapura, the intermediate forms being 'Angabura' and 'Angabora.' There is no bar to assuming that this name was given to the place by emigrants from the ancient Indian kingdom of Anga, who settled in Cambodia. This at once pushes back the antiquity of Angkor as well as that of Cambodia beyond 600 B.C. when Anga ceased to exist as a separate state. For it was at this date that

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Anga was conquerred by Magadha and was made its integral part. Our assumption is supported by the *Jataka* according to which (ed. Fausboll, Vol. VI. p. 34) traders from Champa, capital of Anga, sailed to Suvarnabhumi which has been located by scholars in Trans-Gangetic India of Ptolemy (200 A.D.). This Greek geographer mentions also one Aganagara (=Anganagara) which can be compared with Kalinga-nagara in the Kharavela inscription. This Aganagara has, however, been identified with Hanoi (North Vietnam) by some scholars, and it was a different city. In Cambodia there is also another ::Angbor" in Angkor-borei. It is probably in comparison with this, that Angkor has been called Angkor Thom or 'the Great Angkor.' The name of Anga occurred also in personal names of Cambodians. For example, several Cambodian kings were named Ang Chan, *i.e.*, Anga-chandra (the Moon of Anga).

While writing my *History of Cambodia*, Saigon, 1960, I did not come across the information mentioned above. I wrote then as follows: 'According to Rawlinson, "Commerce between the mouth of the Indus and the Persian gulf was unbroken down to Buddhist times, while we have direct evidence of early trade by sea between Phoenicians of the Levant and Western India as early as 975 B.C." These facts give us an idea of the antiquity of western India's contact with the other parts of Asia, and there is no reason why the antiquity of eastern India's contact with the countries of South-east Asia should not be much higher than it is usually believed.' From the conclusion made above, it is now possible to say definitely that India's cultural relation with the Suvarnabhumi including Cambodia, Champa, etc., began much earlier than 600 B.C. when Anga was a powerful state of Eastern India, which sent out traders to countries of South-east Asia by sea.

THE SCHOOL CITY

(Contributed)

LITTLE old New York wasn't really little, of course, even in the second decade of this century. And many New Yorkers were horrified to think that a new, raw little upstart of a steel town out in the Midwest should tamper with any of their time-honored customs.

So they rioted in the streets and schools; they formed anti-Gary leagues; they called for grand jury probes; they fought it out in the newspapers. And they finally chose a mayor of New York largely on the basis of whether the candidates were for or against—of all things—Gary, Indiana!

The battle was over a question being asked in many places in the U.S. in 1917: should the public schools be "Garyized?"

The man behind it all was William A. Wirt, whose revolutionary ideas on education had molded the Gary schools into a national show-case. As the first superintendent of schools in the "City on Sand" which U.S. Steel had founded in 1906, Wirt had been given the opportunity to install a radically different approach to education—the "work-study-play" school.

Wirt's system was at the same time complicated and simple. It was designed to serve a rapidly growing industrial town already populated with citizens who spoke three dozen languages, were mostly working people and craftsmen, and whose children, by and large, would go into the labour market without attending college.

Wirt wanted the Gary youngsters to learn trades and crafts in school. He wanted them to speak English well. He saw school days as their best chance for "enrichment"—learning something of art and music, drama and the social graces. And he wanted to make many of the same things available to their parents. At the same time, he held out for well-built schools staffed with good teachers, yet costing as little as possible to construct and operate.

His solution was ingenious, to say the least. Instead of packing a school building with tradi-

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Auditorium-cum-lunch counter-cum-Social Centre

tional classrooms, he left roughly half of it in much larger units—auditorium, gymnasium, shops, laboratories. At a given time during use, half the pupils could be found in classrooms, the other half in the larger quarters or outdoors, where fewer teachers could supervise many more students. (Several classes at a time gathered in the auditorium, where planned programs featured speech development and therapy, drama, music and other activities.)

Came the hourly break between periods, and every class got up and trooped somewhere else—giving rise to one of the many names for the Wirt plan, the "platoon system."

The system had drawbacks, not the least of which was considerable confusion. The classroom teachers specialized in subjects which they taught to successive classes even in the lower grades the result was less personal contact between teacher and pupil. And the teacher-pupil ratio was in poor balance in the large assemblies.

Yet the plan succeeded so well in many of its goals that schools all over the country were soon studying it. Visitors began arriving in such numbers that the school board had to restrict them to special visiting weeks. Gary-plan scoools were set up from Portland to New York. In modified form, they were installed in Seattle, Detroit, Newark and points between.

Just about every American educator had his say about the system. Comparative tests were given pupils of Gary and other cities. When the earliest students became adults, *they* were studied. *Collier's* and the *Literary Digest* published major

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articles about Mr. Wirt's unusual schools. An *NEA* (National Education Association) *Journal* writer spoofed them with a fictional account of a boarding house run on the platoon system.

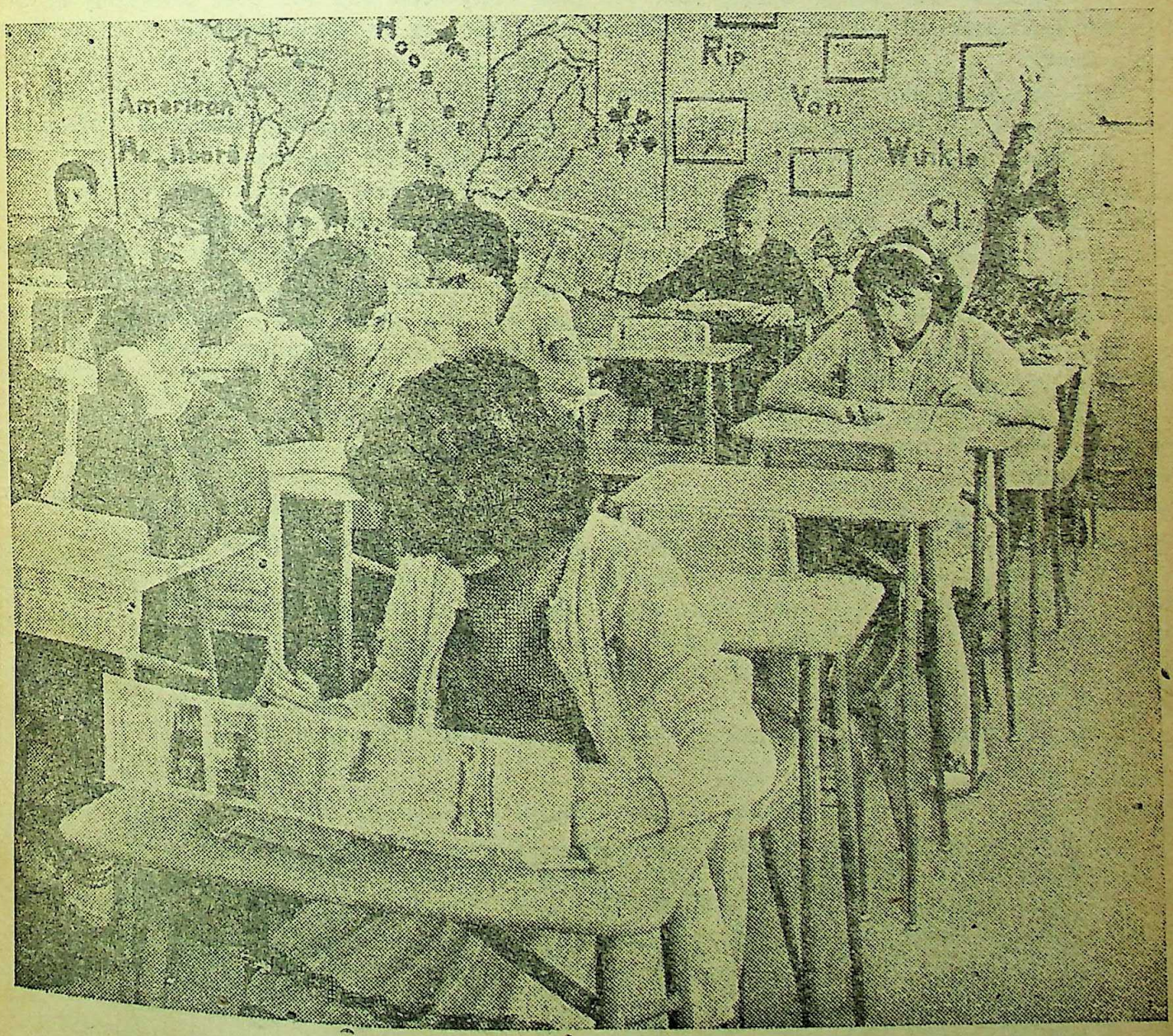
Yet today, hardly a grade or secondary school in the United States is not "Garyized" to some extent. On the other hand, there probably is not a school anywhere (including Gary) which incorporates the entire Wirt plan.

But the Gary schools have preserved many of Writ's innovations, and local citizens still proudly call this the "School City." It now is Indiana's second-largest municipality, with 46 public schools, and is growing at a rate that requires 100 to 150 new classrooms annually.

The strong imprint left by Wirt's ideals can be seen readily in two new secondary schools that went into service early this year. At the Bailly and Beckman schools there is less scrambling around than in former times, to be sure, but the students are still quite mobile. The emphasis on crafts, culture and physical fitness is still strong.

Machine shops and foundries, machanical drawing rooms, and home economics facilities are spacious, well equipped and well used. Down the hall, students put ranks of easels and music stands to work. Multi-purpose gymnasiums handle anything from single classes spectator-sport crowds of 1,500.

Now serving double duty as cafeterias, the



A class room in action

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auditoriums remain the schools' focal points in some respects. Students pick up their centrally distributed airline-type lunches and consume them there in unusually informal and social fashion; the gleaming surroundings would have been a revelation to Superintendent Wirt.

The Gary schools' operations are highly centralized, and hark back to the emphasis on economy that marked the early days. But the goal remains to achieve quality and efficiency without cutting corners, and a unique system of administration, purchasing and distribution has been developed for the purpose.

When out-of-town school delegations show up in Gary these days—and it still happens frequently—they often divide their time between the system's scholastic and logistic wings, both of which are headquartered in the big Gary Schools Service Center.

On the one hand, they hear about the widely emulated educational program now administered by Supt. Alden H. Blankenship, who previously was instrumental in setting up the model school at Oak Ridge, Tennessee. Among the things they learn about the Gary schools are such unusual aspects as the book-rental system, secondary school ROTC (Reserve Officers Training Corps) training, and the highly organized Instructional Materials Center maintained in each school.

On the other hand, the visitors also learn how a multitude of necessary items get where they're needed.

For the most part, these are sent out from a huge warehouse that is part of the service center. About a quarter of a million dollars' worth of supplies and equipment are on hand there regularly, and each item is listed and priced in a catalog kept up to date by Paul V. Fegey, the schools' director of purchasing.

From the mechanized warehouse, a small truck makes a daily 65-mile (104-kilometer) r to all 46 schools with mail and small parcels. larger truck makes the rounds with bulkier eare delivering to each school once a week.

Fegley keeps a running inventory of every thing, and when the supply begins to run sho he sends out a bulk purchase order to service t entire system. It may be for 4,000 gallons (15 hectoliters) of floor wax, for example. (Traditi onally, the schools provide pupils with paper a pencils. Fegley may order as many as 150,0 pencils at once—and so realize a healthy quanti discount.)

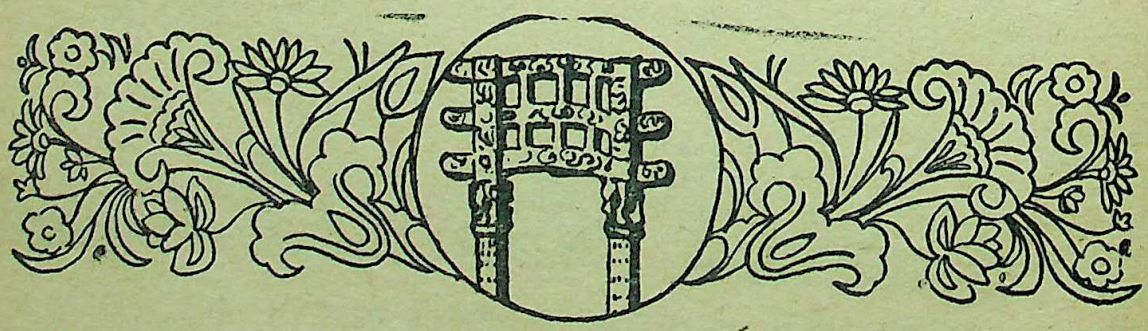
The visitors also see how, through compet tive bidding, long-term contracts and bulk stora facilities, the Gary schools have found a way hold down costs and still offer practically all t added services to the community that Mr. Wi instigated.

Finally, if they're fortunate, the touri delegates may have a chat with Mrs. Lela Plan general elementary supervisor. As a very youn teacher, Mrs. Plant was part of the original Wi plan when it was in full bloom.

"Schedules were our greatest problem," sh remembers. "Each of us had to have a comple one, and they were terribly complicated. It to several days to draw up the entire school's dai program, and then if something went wron revisions could be just as difficult. Some childre had trouble learing their routines, and othe found it all too easy to stray off on their ow for a period or two. But for the most part, th plan worked remarkably well."

Then, with a smile, Mrs. Plant is likely t add, "We all felt like pioneers. I wouldn't wa our schools to go back to the original system, c course, but those certainly were exciting days."

As a matter of fact, things are far from du in the School City even now.



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THE ROLE OF A MODERN STATE

By SISIR KANTI BHATTACHARJEE,
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THE problem of state interference may be said to be as old as human history. From time immemorial there had awlays been a conflict between authority and liberty—between the head of the family and the other members, between the tribal chief and the members of the tribe, between the king and his subjects, between democratic governments and the citizens. The nature of government has changed completely from the personal rule of the Pharaos to direct rule by the people as in the Swiss cantons ; but the problem of the proper sphere of government and of the individual has remained undissipated nonetheless and according to some, like J. S. Mill, the problem is more acute in democracy.

No fixed principle of state interference can be applicable for all ages, but for our age we may consider some principles about the way the state should act for the establishment of common good and for the best realisation of the potentialities of man.

Our general position is that the state cannot fulfil the various hopes which a twentieth century citizen has for the state without the latter's assuming the role of a welfare organ. There is no need to raise the state to the mystical height as the Hegelians do, nor any necessity to assign to it the ignominous role that Spencer selected for it and that too grudgingly. It is better to utilise it as best as we can for our good, keeping always in mind that we can never dispense with its service even if it fails at times to live up to our expectation. In this respect we fully agree with J. S. Mill's contention that the "proper end of the government is to reduce the wretched wastes due to neutralization of the best efforts and talents of men to the smallest possible amount by taking such measures as shall cause the energies now spent by mankind in injuring one another or in protecting themselves against injury, to be turned to the legitimate employment of human factulties, that of compelling the power of nature to be more and more subservient to the physical and moral good." We would like to emphasise on Burke's argument that the state "is not a partnership in things subservient only to the gross animal existence of a temporary and perishable nature."[1] It should aim at much higher moral attainment.

It is argued by some that the state should not interfere at least in the following fields viz., (1) exclusively personal affairs, and the likes and dislikes of individuals, (2) family relations and the domestic life (3) ecclesiastical and religious affairs, (4) morality.

Regarding the first point we may say that there is hardly any activity of the individual which will not have a bearing directly or indirectly on others. J. S. Mill is criticised for his arguments to separate self-regarding actions from other-regarding actions. In spite of the atomistic theory of the utilitarians and the individualism of Spencer we find that we do not live in isolation in society.

As regards family matters the state has to interfere to settle disputes arising out of succession to property, compulsory education for the children, enforcement of sanitary regulation in case of epidemic and so on. One may raise serious doubts about the possibility of enjoying any amount of liberty when the state wants to regulate the number of children a man and a woman may have. In one sense the idea of family planning and state support for it, takes away from the people their liberty in their private affairs and no limitation, it is held, can be placed on state interference if even this right is not enjoyed smoothly. But this argument misses the vital point, *viz.*, that one should not take the responsibility which one cannot carry out properly. The parents who go on adding to their number of issues without caring for their maintenance and education, create social problems by giving rise to delinquency and other problems. These underfed, uneducated urchins who develop as half men are great social cancers and the state which has to be responsible for the general welfare or common good of the people cannot take an indifferent attitude. J. S. Mill, though a great champion of

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the sacredness of self-regarding actions, did not give this right of multiplication to the irresponsibile father. This problem has assumed tremendous importance in underdeveloped countries like India where whatever effort is made by the country to improve the standard of living by increased production, greater employment facility and social security is neutralised by the disproportionately large number of mouths produced in a given period. If the state is charged with the responsibility of providing better life it should be given the power to take means to achieve this end. One need not get frightened at this, as we shall later argue that the state should undertake only those measures which are supported by the democratically elected legislature and by a free, frank public opinion. Anyway, the state's abstention from the major area of family precincts does not mean its inability ; rather it can interfere whenever it thinks fit to achieve some common interest.

But in the religious field we believe that the state should keep its hands off from it mainly. Belief in God or non-belief in any religion are things which do not affect the life of the state. (Sir James F. Stephen had a different opinion).[2] No state can prove beyond doubt that there is a God or that disbelief in a particular religion is a great hindrance to good citizenship.

Regarding morality we accept MacIver's view that to turn all moral obligations into legal obligations is to destroy morality. The state as he says, is a clumsy instrument to perform certain functions which need individual spontaneity like those duties in a man's life which he performs because of his moral urge.[3] Yet we can say with Green that the state cannot be a non-chalant onlooker while the morality of the people takes a downward course. In modern times it is not wise for the state to wait and see tiil a morally degraded man commits some crime which would fall within the province of law and only then take measures to set him right. For the morality of the people is linked up with their social values. Many moral crimes are not legal crimes but they may be social crimes, *e.g.*, hatred, jealousy, intemperance or loose moral character, against which the state should take inidirect action by education, by the creation of a healthy atmosphere, by giving economic security to life and possession and so on. If one has no faith in a particular religion one is not a great problem to a state on that account alone. But if one has no moral scruple, he is a menace to both society and the state. It is difficult to make a good citizen out of a bad, immoral man. A few examples of a Socrates or a Gandhi where a good man is a bad citizen are only exceptions. A good man may be considered a bad citizen in a bad state for the time being but ultimately his moral principle would have great impact on public opinion and laws making them good. So a good state depends on good citizens, but a good citizen can be created out of a good man only. But a man who attaches no importance to moral values can never be an asset to the state in the ultimate analysis, for, as has been well said "morality lies without the constitution but within the state."[4]

The state has the right of censorship and is justified in disapproving obnoxious literature and obscence pictures though it should not always lay down rigid ideas of what constiutes obscenity. The notion is bound to change with the change of time and vary from person to person. Though it is true that those who are on the Board of Censors should not be considered the best judges or guardians of morality in the country yet the men who run the affairs of the state—legislative executive and judicial—must have power to introduce some uniformity. This is because if there is social degeneration and political insecurity results therefrom it is these people who will have to share the major part of the blame. Moreover in a democracy if there is a strong public opinion and a truly intelligent and representative legislature, no branch of Government can act in a cavalier fashion. The danger is that morality may be linked up with social vices like polygamy, untouchability, colour bar or suttee. While prohibiting all these, the state officers should generally act under the broad principles laid down by the legislature allowing the officers to use their good sense and intelligence. But in all cases they must be controlled and regulated by that body and whenever needed the censors themselves should be censored by the people's representatives.

It must however be remembered that in all these fields, viz., the individual sphere, family or morality where the state is to interfere the better method would be to adopt peaceful means of persuasion and education but not the method of force or compulsion. A wise policy would not seek unnecessarily to impose laws that will clash

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with custom, beliefs or traditions of the people as is done in an autocratic state. Too much use of force without moral education and understanding will make the people hostie to government activities.

Today we do not consider the Government as a necessary evil because with the passage of time it has transformed itself into an indispenable welfare organ. Moreover, the gradual transference of power from the one to the many has also helped to change its nature and role. Suffering and discomfort, unhappiness and want are seen on every hand. Some of these are undoubtedly inseparable from the imperfections of human nature as it exists in its present fallen condition. Yet it has been proved in many welfare states (e.g. Britain, the Scandinavian countries etc.) of our time that conscious actions of the individuals may do much to lessen particular evils. Aristotle was advanced for his time when he prescribed in his Politics that a permanent plan should be set up not only for the relief but also for the prevention of economic privation. Government acting in the name and with the united power of the whole community, has a much greater capacity to grapple with such evils than the simple citizen can ever have. The extreme forms of individualism and socialism suffer from exaggerations. The right attitude towards the state should be that the individual finds his sphere to be no narrower than the state itself, while the sphere of the Government may be logically extended to embrace almost all the interests and actions of every man and woman. This is the theory of organic unity according to which it is absurd to draw a line between two things whose essential nature lies in their connection with each other. The socialistic and the individualistic approaches are in the political world what the forces of attraction and repulsion are in the natural world. They seem opposed, yet neither could exist without the other. The two may be described in the words of Kant as the "unsocial sociability of man"—the fundamental contradiction of human nature which forces man to seek one another's society, and yet cause each one to endeavour "to direct everything merely according to his own mind."[5] While nothing is suffered to remain outside the state, proper provision must be made for every individual to enjoy a full free life within it.

This is a theoretical answer no doubt but it is not easy to give any more detail in a theoretical study like ours. We can only say that the actual province of any government is just whatever is entrusted to it by the sovereign legislature as the source of positive law and as the mirror of the demands and wishes of the people. It is not true to argue that the welfare state, planning and democracy are incompatible and that if there is too much planning, democracy cannot function. For, we can cite the examples of Sweden, Denmark and also Britain to a certain extent where planning and welfare works organised by the Government have not led them to the "road to serfdom." Rather these plans have enabled the citizens not only to enjoy life and liberty in a real sense but also to contribute to the strength and progress of the State. Mutilated, deformed and half-fed men are more liabilities than assets to a state.

It is no good to brood over the failures and defects of the democratic system and castigate it. For there is no other system so far discovered which is as good as the democratic. We do not claim that democracw has absolute virtue. Our contention is that we may cure it of its drawbacks. We should not kill it because of its failures. If we ride a motor car, sometimes we are put to much inconvenience by its mechanical defects. But on that ground we do not give it up for ever and travel by the bullock cart. We should make the motor car more perfect and avoid breakdowns. Whatever change is brought in the life of a nation—politically, socially or otherwise—the process must be democratic and physical coercion should have a very limited area of action. Men must always endeavour to improve their condition according to the demands of a new age to which ideal they may approximate but whose total realisation may never be attained because the concept of perfection has no fixed content.

In the early part of the nineteenth century factory legislation was resented but with the change of time public opinion became conscious of the vices of the factory system and people's representatives in Parliament passed laws giving greater scope to the workers.

Similar is the case with private property. Though this institution was considered sacred and inviolable from the time of Aristotle down to the first half of the last century, it is not considered so now. It is held that the state has

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every right to take away property from the people who have it in abnormally greater amount and use it to establish more equitable standards of life. Even in the USA whose constitution guarantees the right to property to the citizens (Amendment XIV), the state has had recourse to such doctrines as the "power of eminent domain."[6] and the "police power of the state"[7] in using private property for the common good and the country's protection. In the communist countries this acquisition of private property has been done by outright confiscation whereas in some other countries like the U.S.A. it has been done by giving owners adequate compensation. Perhaps outright confiscation without compensation would make the state an instrument of coercion. It carries with it the odium of force.

We do not support the argument that if the state punishes a citizen for forcefully taking away the neighbour's property it itself should not create the impression of a mightier robber by coveting people's property. This argument is not convincing as there is a fundamental distinction between the state acquisition of property and an individual's grabbing of his neighbour's property. The former is motivated by the desire to promote a common good, the latter by private good. But our objection to this method is that this method apart from giving the state huge powers, may alienate the sympathy of a minority permanently and no democracy can be virile if there is always in it a hostile, revolting minority. We think it is better to control the property, business or industry of the citizens through laws and taxation and to establish state's own factories on as wide a scale as possible to give employment and other benefits to the people. Nationalisation with adequate compensation is also no good as it would mean huge drainage from the state treasury to the owners of property without augmenting the total wealth in the country. But if on the other hand this huge sum is invested by the state to found new factories, schools and hospitals and at the same time laws are passed to regulate the present owners of property, factories or business so that they may not exploit the labourers and consumers, the result would be more beneficial than any doctrinaire method of appropriation. Moreover the mind must be prepared to accept the socialistic system of communal life which can be done only by a gradual process. Miss Follett has rightly argued that "socialisation of property must not precede the socialisation of the will."[8] As we have already said we believe in the democratic process and hence the imposition of socialism by violent abrupt means does not appear to us right because force perverts aims and does not care for the means. This much we can say that as things stand in the political and economic fields in our time the state has to take the responsibility of providing full employment, education and other social benefits to the citizens because the isolated efforts of the individuals are quite inadequate to tackle the mighty problems of modern life. A wise Government will always see that in the process of doing this it does not transform itself into a totalitarian oligarchy. For, in that case all the good services rendered will be valueless, as the people will be reduced to the category of automatons. We must remember that men do not live by bread alone.

The best security to check the natural tendency of the power to become corrupted is to grant freedom of thought and expression and a democratic machinery. If eternal vigilance is the price of liberty the citizen must be ready to sacrifice himself for it. There may be many attacks on freedom of thought, the citizens must face it squarely. To build up that sturdy independence of character and a critical mind there must be freedom of expression. But it is needless to say that this right as also the other rights cannot be absolute. Apart from checking everyone against using indecent or defamatory utterances, no state can guarantee freedom of speech which would create chaos or overthrow the very set up which grants freedom of speech. "Free and frank discussion", said Right Hon. Lord Justice Denning of England, "and criticism of matters of public interest must in no way be curtailed. But there comes a point at which 'every country' must draw the line ; and that is when there is a threat to overturn the state by force." "Every society must have the means to protect itself from marauders."[9] In India all the seven rights to freedom under Article 19(1) of the Constitution are subject to "reasonable restrictions" to be decided by the court. Even in the U.S.A. the Supreme Court on various occasions had to curb the right of freedom of expression by establishing maxims like the "clear and present danger" (Schenk V. United States 1919) declared by Mr.

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Justice Holmes. This was supported by Mr. Justice Black while giving judgment in Bridges V. California in 1941.[10] Whereas though not fully agreeing with the Holmes formula of "clear and present danger" Mr. Justice Brandeis gave greater weight to the formula of "reasonable ground" in Whitney V. California (1927). In other words according to Mr. Brandeis, "to justify suppression of speech there must be reasonable ground to fear that serious evil will result if free speech is practised" and instead of "clear and present danger" he emphasised on "imminent" and "serious" danger.[11] Generally speaking we have no objection to accept the opinion expressed by the U. S. Supreme Court in Gitlow V. New York (1925), "that utterances inciting to the overthrow of organised Government by unlawful means, present a sufficient danger of substantive evil to bring their punishment within the range of legislative discretion, is clear."[12] But we think that in the ultimate analysis if the state becomes so corrupt and the majority in the legislature so tyrannical that in spite of appealing through all constitutional means no effect has been produced the citizens must have the right to preach the removal of the government directly and may defy the law of such a government. Here incidentally we may distinguish between the state and the government and without denying allegiance to the state a conscious citizen in this rare case may refuse obedience to the particular law of a particular government. But this is a very dangerous right and should be used very rarely after exhausting all the other means of redress and this disobedience to the laws of the government should not generally be a violent one.

A government can and should allow very wide freedom of expression which may be used to criticise the government but it may not allow that much of freedom of action because an anarchistic idea, for example, may not create much disorder so long as it travels from person to person but it may cause irreparable loss to the stability of social and political life if allowed to materialise in practice. In this regard certain conditions may be laid down : (i) The dissenting individual or party should be allowed freely to plead every argument against the disputed measure and check ought to be applied only when freedom of discussion has been used as an instrument of obstruction. (ii) The majority should always take sympathetic attitude towards the minority before overruling it by sheer force of numbers and attempt should be made to convert the minority by persuasion. (iii) When force is applied it should be minimum and as the last resort. (iv) The minority ought to acquiesce when fairly beaten ; accept the conclusion arrived at as its own ; and work for its success, thus rendering coercion unnecessary.[13] There should be always supremacy of the laws and not of the individuals.

Apart from this political question of majority and minority which always presupposes that the two sides are on equal footing in their mental and moral development and that their relation is that between brother and brother, we have to take into account quite a number of citizens who, it should be admitted frankly, are not sufficiently equipped intellectually to be their own guide. It is difficult for a sick man to pursue the good life, it is no less difficult for an uneducated or intellectually backward man to do the same. Without becoming a Carlylean it may be submitted that the state has to play the role of the father in these cases and in addition to the sympathy and the love of a brother there may be the need of the affectionate guidance and care of a father. But on that ground we do not support the Platonic conception that the ordinary man has neither the knowledge, nor the self-discipline to enable him to exercise the powers of Government. Supporting the democratic theory of government we pointed out the exceptions when guidance may be needed temporarily.

Certain factors are responsible necessitating the state to assume greater responsibilities of the citizens which in a sense mean more interference in and control of their lives and liberty. Apart from the need that arose to check the undesirable forces of the Industrial Revolution there are at least three other important factors which have become significant in the twentieth century. They are : firstly, frequent rise of emergencies like (a) internal discontent, (b) economic crisis, (c) external danger from war or threat of war, etc. Secondly, the concept of welfare state and the impact of socialism after the successful revolution in the U.S.S.R. Thirdly, the defeat of democratic tradition at the hands of totalitarian dictatorships in many parts of the world. In the nineteenth century Spencer accepted very reluctantly even the policing duty of the state whereas in the twentieth century Hitler went to the extent of fixing the menu for the dinner table in

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every house.[14] We cannot deny that in our day too many emergencies occur too often calling for the attention and control of the state. Sometimes the state has to take measures before-hand so that they may not take place. Toal war obliterating the old distinction between the combatants and non-combatants is taking place demanding sacrifice of life, liberty and property of the citizens. Only by a colossal effort of the entire nation managed under a powerful governmental leadership can the nation be saved from complete disaster.

With the passage of time people are becoming conscious that only the state can bring the prospect of a good life and so it is thought desirable not to waste the limited resources of the country in cut-throat competitions, advertisement or over-production. Better to plan them economically according to the requirements of the people. Planned society may mean curtailment of liberty in its abstract sense but if freedom from hunger is the most important freedom, we should not lament the loss of a little abstract liberty whose enjoyment is of dubious value if the stomach is constantly empty, if the mind is uneducated, if the body is exposed to the cold, rain and sun.

We know that too much planning of life will surely land us in the domain of Stalinism or Hitlerism which, instead of developing the latent faculties of citizens, would make them barren. That is why we have laid emphasis repeatedly on the importance of creating the democratic tradition, on legislature and on the necessity of a strong, vigilant public opinion. Planning and welfare state do not automatically bring a curtailment of real liberty. Care must be taken to regulate the planners and the executors of plans. And instead of restricting the real liberty these systems will herald the dawn of a new age of well-being, real liberty and good life. By giving these the state can justify its continued existence. Political democracy will be an empty phrase if it is not based on economic democracy. There is no gainsaying the fact that by a steeply graded income tax, an excess profit tax, death duties and estate duties, the huge income of a few has been brought down and there are now fewer millionaires say, in England today, than those before the 2nd world war. Yet it cannot be denied that this loss of a few has been more than compensated by the general prosperity and security of life and liberty that the state in England has given to all classes of citizens in the form of Old Age Pension, Unempolyment and Health Insurance Benefits, free education, state scholarships, medical aid, legal aid and so on. One may argue that this is the price the rich have to pay to the poor for their security. In a sense it may be contended, as Laski has pointed out, that "it is a proof of the Hegelian thesis that history is the revelation of freedom that constantly widens."[15] Moreover as there is no end to what the state can do, specially in the material field for the betterment of the people, its service is constantly being extended in newer and unexplored spheres with the march of time.

The significance of free democracy is not linked up with the laissez-faire theory or individualism. Historically speaking modern democracies arose after the breakdown of mercantilism and the growth of industrial capitalism. At that time democracy and laissez-faire stood for each other. But the nature of democracy is such that it can "if the trend of opinion ran long enough and strong enough in that direction," said MacIver, "change gradually from capitalism to a thorough going socialism."[16]

The most effective criticism against a planned society is that it creates mediocrity as there is less initiative and imagination in state managed affairs and every thing is done as a routine affair. But this argument has lost much, though not all, of its force today because of the astounding discoveries in science needing exceptionally brilliant brain and imagination as they are in the most planned society of the world, the Soviet Union. It is true that by the order and force of the state only poor quality of literature was produced under the Stalin era. But somehow the Soviet Union has passed that era and proved that at least in science and technology they are in no way behind the achievements of the most affluent society of the world (i.e. U.S.A.). They have done all these in a surprisingly short period unaided by the advanced knowledge of the West except at the initial period after the Revolution of 1917 and at the beginning of the First Plan in the late twenties and early thirties. We do not like to be blind to the coercive aspect and the regimentation, the brainwashing that prevail in a totalitarian state like the U.S.S.R. Our main aim is to combine planning

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with freedom and pave the way to progress, material and moral.

Regarding the state's role in the cultural functions of the people it may be pointed out that there is no harm in the state patronising them. Athens in the best period of her life organised and superintended a considerable variety of cultural functions of her citizens. These functions were part of the way of life of the Athenians and what the state did was to promote them and to give them dignity. At the same time, as Pericles is stated to have remarked, care was taken so that no orthodoxy was clamped on the free cultural life of the people. But these Athenian constitutional provisions as recorded in Aristotle's Athenian Constitution, differ sharply from the constitutional provisions of Plato's Republic and the Laws where Plato wanted to "co-ordinate" the life of the citizens under a rigorous cultural code. He prohibited all arts, philosophies and poetry and opinions which were against his own ideas. Modern dictators find an easy support for their interference in the freedom of opinion of the people in Plato's Laws where poets and writers are asked to submit their works to the magistrates who are to decide if these works are good for the spiritual health of the citizens. When Stalin asked the writers to write novels and plays glorifying the Revolution of 1917 and praising the system of collective farming and other aspects of the new system he only succeeded in drying up the wonderful source of Russian literature. Therefore we fully realise that art and culture to be creative must come out of the depths of the heart of the people, they can not be created by an executive order. But on that account we do not find any reason why the state should not help a needy artist or a poet or render whatever assistance it can in building up a richer culture of the people, and help them to share the heritage of mankind. But we must stress the point that the state should not impose its own views everywhere, it can disallow only such views as can create immediate, not remote, social or political disorder.

There are three different ways by which the state can interfere, viz., (1) state ownership, (2) government administration, (3) legislative control. They may be secured using different techniques. (a) The state prohibits this and that; (b) it compels persons to do this and that positively and punishes them if they do not do this; (c) the state encourages by giving protection (physical, legal) or help (financial) to those who do certain acts or refrain from doing certain things; (d) the state does something and prevents the people from doing it or competing with the government (e.g. the setting aside of a certain field in economic activity for the "public sector" exclusively as in India); (e) the state does something and gives freedom to individuals to do similar things and thus compete with it (e.g. the "common sector" in economic activity); (f) the state may indulge in propaganda (by publishing news, articles, pamphlets, or broadcasting news through radio or giving financial help to associations to do these things for it) for creating the necessary motive in the individuals etc., etc. We think that in modern times the state cannot give its citizens various opportunities and blessings of modern life unless it takes up more or less socialistic or at least welfare programmes of development. Though socialistic or welfare state means greater state control and interference, the converse is not always true—greater control by the state does not mean socialism or welfare, it may be naked regimentation under a totalitarian dictatorship.

Anyway, of the three types of interference state ownership and legislative control appear to us to be better than administrative control and regulation. In administrative control there is every possibility of arbitrariness and the personal interest may influence the step to be taken to secure the general well-being. Mere legislative control of private business enterprise and institution is also not sufficient, for this method can interfere in a negative way through "Do's" and "Dont's". But as we have already argued, in a welfare state the state has to take the great burden of providing employment, medical benefit, education, social security, etc., to the citizens. All these cannot be achieved unless the state begins to establish its own institutions and undertakings. In these state undertakings authorisation for such activity must come from Parliament and not from the administrative department. But it is to be noted that we support Parliamentary control and authorisation but not Parliamentary management of state undertakings. The folly of this policy was proved when the Long Parliament in Britain after its open breach with king Charles tried to take the reins of administration into its own hands.

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State activity is to be carriew in such a way as not to affect private initiative, and the imagination and the will to work of the people. The general nature of state interference should be medicine-like and like good food. Medicine is not needed when the body is fit, but good food is always needed to keep the body fit. Hence sometimes indirectly and sometimes directly the state has to help the individual to stand on his own feet. But the state will defeat its aim if in the process of helping, it allows the feet to grow weaker and weaker and provides stronger crutches to rely on. Perhaps with the gradual progress of civilisation there will be less and less interference in the intellectual and moral field of human activity. Interferences would be restricted to the sphere of material well-being only. On the whole the state is to adjust its means to attain the true end embracing the most despised of individuals and the remotest posterity as essential parts, and embodying social, moral and spiritual interests as well as material ones. It must recognise too its obligations to other states and to humanity as a whole.

If the state assumes larger numbers of responsibilities there is a grave potential danger that those who are in charge of the machinery of the state may use it for their own benefit and deprive the people of their legitimate share. Hence we think, the human element is the most decisive factor in a welfare state. Whether a law passed following certain good principles of state interference will have good effect on the people ensuring them greater well-being or not, will depend vitally not on the substance of the law but on the nature and character of those who enforce and administer the law. In India there is the much hated and criticised Preventive Detention Act by which a man may be arrested before he has committed any actual crime and may be kept behind the bars without trial, because of his questionable and anti-social character. Theoretically the aim of the law is not so bad ; for, it may be found sometimes that the authorities are not in a position to give any direct or concerte proof of a man's crime yet at the same time may consider him a menace to social peace for his past or present behaviour. So before he causes any damage to society he is put under custody as a preventive measure. But there will be a serious danger to the liberty of the people if the police officer or the party in power taking advantage of this law uses it to satisfy personal vengeance or party interest. Then instead of achieving social peace and harmony it will destroy them along with the liberty and security of the people. The state will gradually move in the direction of medieaval despotism.

On the other hand the deficiency in the words and aims of a law can be made up considerably if the judge while trying cases takes a progressive and humane attitude to social problems and gives verdicts accordingly. The success or failure of a particular principle of state interference will depend sometimes on the explanation and administration of law as these are done by those who are in charge of the law. If they stick to the old outdated notion of right and political opinion (as was the case with the U.S. Supreme Court judges who nullified one by one all the progresive measures introduced under the New Deal by President Roosevelt until 1937 when fortunately new judges were appointed and the New Deal became operative) the citizens can never gain in a dynamic world. So what is important is the training of mind and character giving importance to certain social and individual values. This education should be provided by the state without however closing the doors to the adult educated mind to gather knowledge and information from the wide open world. Now what will be these values according to which education is to be imparted will be decided democratically by the people through organised public opinion and through their representatives in the legislature in accordance with the demands of a particular age.

The problem of the role of the state is so difficult that it is not easy to tell with certainty whether a course pursued by the state will be best suited to meet the hundreds and thousands of intricate problems that the officers of the state have to face every day and every hour. Nevertheless the state cannot sit idle or keep quiet. The officers of the state are to use their conscience, reason and initiative while discharging their duties under some broad principles of state interference laid down by the democratic legislature or wanted by the public opinion. Administrative discretion should not be wide and there should be effective checks on the powers of the administration. We cannot ignore the fact that without special knowledge and experience

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modern government cannot be run by ordinary people as it was in ancient Athens (the system of election of magistrates being lottery there). Hence some aristocratic and bureaucratic element is bound to come into every efficient government and some more powers than those possessed by ordinary citizens are sure to devolve on these officers of the state. But at the same time every one must have the right to invoke the law of the land in his defence against the highest in the land and no official of the state is to be given any chance to oppress the citizen with impunity under any pretext except as directed by the laws passed by the Parliament of the People. In this respect the example of the British cabinet system of government can serve the double purpose of (a) specialised knowledge supplied by the permanent civil servants and the (b) democratic control imposed on these civil servants by the democratically elected ministers who are in their turn responsible to the people's Parliament.

We would like to make the point clear that even this Parliamentary check is not sufficient unless the people themselves are conscious of their rights. As we know even in a highly educated and advanced country like Germany Hitler became a dictator using the democratic machinery. We should remember Lord Acton's warning that "power always corrupts and absolute power absolutely corrupts. All great men are bad." To make its policies effective the democratic government should utilise all modern methods of feeling the pulse of the people, should sense the current of opinion and formulate its principles accordingly and after implementing its policies should record the reaction of the people and again reformulate the policies if needed in the light of people's reactions.[17]

In conclusion we may say that state interference should be directed to those fields (1) where private efforts would involve great human and material cost, (2) where the powers and resources of private organisations are too inadequate or where the profit is not sufficient to induce private agencies to work but the need is great, e.g., scientific exploration into the space or the establishment of huge industrial plants. Apart from these we have already said that we do not see any harm if the state without suppressing private organisations establishes its own instutitions side by side with the private institutions with the sole intention of doing good to the people. Moreover we cannot deny that the state has the "primary responsibility of safeguarding the whole against the part, and in our world of organised interests this responsibility of safeguarding the whole against the part, has grown ever more comprehensive and more complicated."[18]

We have tried to prove that it is neither possible nor desirable to be guided by any rigid formula of state interference either of individualism or of socialism. It is better to regard the state as a welfare organ and use it for the benefit of the people as a whole without giving special favour to this class or that except on merit or worth. That the state has made mistaken interferences in the past is no proof that it will err again in the future or that its defects are incurable. The past failures may be due to imperfect machinery, arrogant and corrupt bureaucracy or to the inadequate information and statistics on which the state had to base its policies. But we believe, with the progress of our civilisation in science and human understanding many of the gaps in the past policies may be filled up by the experience and knowledge gained, by adopting a humanistic approach to solve any problem and by making the administration more responsible to the people through Parliamentary and other checks. The question of ultimate value cannot be decided by arguments, it will vary from man to man. Even great logical minds like Aristotle and Locke could support slavery and the exclusion of the Roman Catholics respectively from citizenship and Hitler did the same thing in the case of the Jews though to a modern impartial mind all of them are unjustified. It is then a matter of personal conviction and so there will be doubts in this or that mind about the ethics of each and every act of the state. Yet we cannot help living in the state except in the association of others and therefore we have to find out a workable method by mutual give and take and ask the state to take measures so that our life may be richer, fuller and more beautiful.

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1. Burke, E., *Reflections on the French Revolution*, P. 143.
2. Stephen, James, *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity*, Chap. III.
3. MacIver, R. M., *The Modern State*, Bk. II, Sec. I.
4. M. Kechnie, W.S., *The State and the Individual*, P. 96.

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5. Kant, *Principles of Politics*, translated by Hastie, P. 10.

6. According to Prof. Willis the "power of eminent domain is the legal capacity of Government to take the private property of individuals for a public use upon the payment of just compensation. Eminent domain is the superior dominion of the state over all the property within the state. .....Eminent domain differs from Police power in that the police power is not a taking of any right, whether of property or a person from people, but a limitation on the exercise of such rights by the people, although the police power may result in making people lose their property" —Willis : *Constitutional Law of the United States*, Pp. 224-25, 716-17.

7. The police power under the U.S. Constitution is very comprehensive. It means the power of the state "to prescribe regulations to promote the health, peace, morals, education and good order of the people and to legislate so as to increase the industries of the state, develop its resources and add to its wealth and prosperity"— Barbier V. Connolly, *Supreme Court of the United States*, 1885, 113, U. S. 27.

8. Follet, M. P. *The New State*, P. 74.

9. Denning, *Freedom Under the Law*, Pp. 44, 5.

10. Strong, *Ibid.*, Pp. 853-54.

11. Dowling, *Cases on Constitutional Law*, Pp. 941-46.

12. *The Supreme Court of the U.S.A.*, 1925, 268, U.S. 652.

13. M. Kechnie, W. S. *The State and the Individual*, Pp. 315-16.

14. Laski, H.J., *The State in Theory and Practice*, P. 100.

15. Laski, H.J., *The State in Theory and Practice*, P. 75.

16. MacIver, R.M., *The Leviathan and the People*, P. 161.

17. MacIver, R.M., *The Web of Government*, P. 330.

18. MacIver, R.M., *Ibid*, P. 350.

THE CLASSICAL CONCEPTION OF THE POET IN INDIA AND THE WEST

By SARBESWAR DAS

THE classical ages in India and in ancient Greece and Rome saw a unique flowering of literature, both creative and critical. Apart from the great writers who produced masterpieces of literature there were many who thought on the nature and functions of the different branches of literature, on the poets and dramatists, their duties, purposes and equipments. A comparison of the views of these thinkers of the east and the west would be most fruitful, for it would reveal how men separated by thousands of miles and numbers of centuries often thought alike in many respects, how they strove in almost similar ways to build the edifice of literary art. The poets, the weavers of magical musical words, cast their spells on them, and so they set about looking for the springs of poetry, set about thinking on the nature and the function of the poet.

In India, from the earliest times, there have appeared one after the other works on poetics that have dealt with this topic. Bharata's Natyasastra is, no doubt, primarily a work on dramaturgy, and yet it has to be remembered that Bharata held poetry as an inevitable aid to the art of drama and recorded some modes of poetical ornament as also some metrical patterns. Thus his views on the dramaturgists may as well be taken as his views on the poets. In Ch. 1. vv. 23, he says "The sages (muni) who know the mystery of the Vedas and have fulfilled their vows, are capable of maintaining and putting this into practice." Thereby he has identified the dramatic poets with sages who have attained wisdom. He holds that "there is no wise maxim, no learning, no art or craft, no device, no action that is not found in the drama,"* that in drama "meet all the departments of knowledge, different arts and various actions,"† and thus it is obvious that he expected the dramatic poet to acquire mastery over all these, an understanding of the state of the three worlds which the drama represents.

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* Natya sastra. Ch. 1. V. 116.
† Ibid. Ch. II. V. 117 & 118.

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Aristotle in ancient Greece, too, thought alike and held that poetry being an imitation of life, the poet must be aware of life in all its variety. It will be seen later, how the writers on poetics, too, enjoined such learning and such experience on the poets.

Bhamaha, one of the earliest writers on poetics in India, states that "composition of good poetry produces ability in (or makes one able, or capable in the pursuit of) Dharma, Artha, Kama, Moksha : also in arts. It also confers joy and fame." It is the poet alone, he thinks, who creatively utilises his knowledge, for "The knowledge of Sastras possessed by one who is not a poet is like the pauper's charitableness, the eunuch's dexterity in arms, and the fool's self-confidence." Poetry is not the product of learning but of an inborn talent, a natural genius. Even the dull-witted can learn sastra (science) with the help of a teacher. Poetry, however, is to him who has a natural capacity and that too not invariably." Immortality is assured for the poet. Even to those who have passed away to Swarga (the other world) but who have composed good literary works there surely exists (here) a body consisting of their works which is both beautiful and free from disease (or decay)." "Further as long as his imperishable Fame continues to last in (beseige) this and the upper world, so long does he, the blessed one, continue to occupy a place among the Devas." Then Bhamaha enjoins on the poet to acquire mastery over grammar, the science of metre, the nature of words in their primary and secondary senses, the meanings of words, the stories of Itihasas, the ways of the world, logic and the arts." This even is not enough. He requires the poet to serve the masters, study other kavyas. Not being an author means nothing, "but being a bad author is, according to the wise, nothing less than death." Thus we find that while Bhamaha recognises natural talent or प्रतिभा as the prime fount of poetic art without which all learning is fruitless, he holds that it must be aided and supplemented by learning and by the study of poetical models of the past.

Next we come to Dandin, the author of "Kavyadarsa." He holds that "an inborn genius, clear or flawless learning and no slight application" as the causes of the excellence in poetry. This inborn genius or नैसर्गिकी प्रतिभा is further described as पूर्ववासनागुणानुबन्धि अद्भुतम प्रतिभानम् i.e., as the extra-ordinary genius based on the earlier latent impressions,—in other words, the lingering impressions of the previous birth. Though this natural talent is first stated by him as being at the root of all poetry he subsequently modifies the idea when he states that even in the absence of the natural genius,

श्रुतेन यत्नेन च उपासिता वाक्

i.e., "speech cultivated with study and effort certainly grants her own favour." And this idea is further enforced when he says that "those seeking fame should put away sloth and persistently cultivate speech. For even though the poetic power be meagre, yet people who have made effort are able to hold their own in the assemblies of the wise. So he enjoins through a question that "the poet to be must learn the Sastras and know the distinction between excellences and blemishes." Thus Dandi does not seem to lay as much stress on natural talent or प्रतिभा as Bhamaha does, greatly as he values it.

Vamana in his Kavyalankara-sutra-vritti writes कवित्ववीजं प्रतिभानमें The seed of poetry is which is explained by the commentator as जन्मान्तरगतसंस्कारविशेषः कश्चित् Obviously by प्रतिभा the same as what was meant by Bhamaha, i.e., the impressions carried on from the previous birth. Again later he states that "the world, the science and the miscellaneous are the elements of poetry" meaning thereby that one has to master them to be a poet in the true sense. By world he means worldly usage, tradition of words, lexicography of meaning; by science he means metres, doctrines of art, science of love and politics; by miscellaneous he means perception of aim, i.e., acquaintance with other poets, application, i.e., exertion in composing poetry, attendance upon seniors, i.e., listening to those who are authorities in teaching poetry, trial, i.e., adoption and rejection of words. Thus he seems to have developed upon Bhamaha further elaborating upon the training necessary for a poet. Fancy he considers to be the very seed of poetry. Concentration of mind is viewed as indispensable. A solitary place and the fourth watch of the night, he considers, as particularly suitable for composing poetry.

Rudrata, in his "Kavyalankara" states that शक्तिः, व्युप्रत्ति and अभ्यासः or natural genius, culture and practice make a good poet. By the faculty of natural genius शक्तिः he means "that whereby there is constantly in concentrated mind

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a flashing of ideas in various ways and unlaboured words present themselves." He speaks of fancy of two types, the natural and the created, and holds the natural fancy as superior to every thing. Through culture the secondary fancy is created. By culture or व्युत्पत्तिः he means knowledge of metre, grammar, arts, the world, words and meanings, discrimination of the suitable and the unsuitable. Culture is ominscience for in this world there is no matter, no expression that cannot be the subject-matter of poetry. These are to be acquired under the guidance of a good poet. Besides, constant practice—practice day and night—is necessary for acquiring proficiency in poetry.

Anandavardhana in his "Dhvanyaloka" refers to the अलीकसामान्यप्रतिभाविशेषम् of the poet. From to time he mentions the प्रतिभा of the poet. Besides the poet according to him is a तत्वज्ञः He is रसादिमयः His प्रतिभागुण is at the root of artistic virtues.

Bhattatauta states in his "Kavyakautuka," प्रज्ञानवनवोन्मेषशालिनी प्रतिभा मता । तनुप्रणानाजीवद्वर्षनानि पुणाः कविः ।
He further points out that "the poet has the power to observe beauty and convey it in appropriate language."

Bhoja in his "Saraswatikanthabharanam" describes the poet as रसवत् who by composing kavya attains glory and pleasure. The poet attains सहृदयत्वम् i.e., his mind becomes a spotless mirror as it were of every thing in the world. Through practice of poetry his heart develops such sympathy as makes him fit for identifying himself with the matter described. He develops सामाजिकत्वम् i.e., he becomes a discerning critic in relation to his own works.

Manmata says in his "Kavyaprakasha" that "natural genius, skill arising out of the study of the world, the sciences and the works of the previous poets, learning through education and practice are at the root of poetry."

The poet is a creator. In the invocation Manmata says, "Glorious is the poet's speech comprehending a creation ungoverned by Nature's laws, pleasurable in its entirety, independent (of accessories) and agreeable through ninefold poetic sentiments."

"Vagabhattalankara" of Vagbhatta states that प्रतिभा is the prime cause of poetry. Vagabhatta defines प्रतिभा as प्रतिभाप्रसन्नपदनव्यार्थ पुक्त्युद्बोधविधायि स्फुरन्ती सत्कवेर्व द्धि प्रतिभा सर्वतोमुखी प्रतिभा is the finishing intelligence of the good poet that is directed on all sides and is responsible for the coining of pleasant words, new meanings, and the power of reason. व्युत्पत्तिः or culture is no other than "unusual intelligence, based upon instructions in the doctrines of words, morals, action, love and so forth." In this he is but echoing the previous rhetoricians, अभ्यासः or practice is "incessant devotion to poetic composition under a senior." Vagbhatta is against plagiarising but holds that "taking of another's poetry for verse filling may be a merit in a poet."

Acharya Hemachandra in his "Kavyanusasana" states that the main cause of poetry is vivid imagination or bright conception. प्रतिभा he explains, as the genius that has the characteristic of creating new things and is of two types *e.g.*, सहज प्रतिभा which reveals itself when obstacles like ज्ञानवरण are removed. And artificial and conditional प्रतिभा is secured by muttering the words of sacred works or mystic incantations. The सहज प्रतिभा is the superior virtue, the prime factor underlying poetry. Now these two types of प्रतिभा are developed by व्युत्पत्तिः and अभ्यासः

Most of the writers on poetics have given those virtues necessary for a poet under the heading "Kavyahetu". But as times passed by, some thought of including a section called "Kavya Siksha". Kshemendra, Rajasekhara, Nemikumara, Vagbhatta belong to this latter group.

Rajasekhara in his "Kavya Mimansa" says: सा (शक्ति,) केवलं काव्वहेगुरिव यायावरीय and elsewhere says, व्युत्पत्तिप्रतिभे इति शक्तिः Thus he holds natural talent as the primary cause of poetry. It is this natural talent or प्रतिभा which according to यायावरीय gives rise to प्रतिभा and व्युत्पत्तिः . He divides प्रतिभा into two types, कारयित्री or creative and भावयित्री or discriminative. He broadly divides the poets into three classes, *e.g.*, Sastrakavi, Kavyakavi and Ubhayakavi, and further sub-divides each of these classes. In the tenth chapter he deals with कविचर्या wherein he gives a number of instructions and in the following two chapters he points out to what extent and in what manner a poet can appropriate the words and thoughts of the predecessors.

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Kshemendra in his "Kavikanthabharana" states that two impulses underlie poetic creation. They are Divine help (दिव्यप्रयत्नवः) and individual effort or personality पौरुषः and he believes that the capacity of creating poetry is given to the fit and the few. He divides the poets into three classes. He gives elaborate instructions for the regulation of the life of the poet and gives a long list of subjects to be studied by one aspiring to be a poet, *e.g.*, Tarka. Vyakarana-Bharata-Chanakya-Vatsayana-Bharata-Ramayana, Moksha-payatmagnana-Dhatuvada-Ratna-Pariksha-Vaidyaka, Jyotish-Dhanurveda-Gajaturaga-Purushalakhshmana, Dyutendrajala, Prakirna Kavi-Samrajyabharana.

He describes five modes of imitation. Vagbhatta son of Nemikumara, and Rajasekshara too, give elaborate instructions with regard to the methods of imitation.

Vagbhatta the author of Kavyanusasana in his own commentary "Alankara-tilaka" states :—

प्रतिभैव च कवीनां काव्यकरणकारणम्

व्युत्प त्यभ्यासौ तस्या एव संस्कारकारकौ न तु काव्यहेतु

Thus, broadly, प्रतिभा, व्युत्पत्तिः and अभ्यासः are held to be the prime factors of poetry. Some like Jagannatha, Vamana, Vagbhatta hold प्रतिभा to be the primary cause while others hold अभ्यासः and व्युत्पत्तिः to be equally important, but with this broad difference all recognise the practical aspects of the art of poetry, the need of pursuing it as an art governed by certain laws and not depending simply upon natural genius or spontaneous inspirations.

We can now profitably consider the views of the classical critics of the west on the poet and his equipments.

The term 'poet' itself philologically means the 'creator' and how similar is the idea found in the invocatory verse of Manmata's "Kavyaprakasha", or in the statement of Anandavardhana in his Dhvanyaloka—

अपारे काव्यसंसारे कविरेव जापतिः । यथास्मै रोचते विस्वं तथैदं परिवर्त्तते

The ancients in India invoked the aid of Vag Devi or Saraswati or the presiding Deities of their families for poetic inspiration. Bharata in his "Natyasastra" described that the Natyaveda was composed by Brahma himself. Thus the hand of Divinity was recognised at the foundation of literary art. Kshemendra expressly speaks of दिव्यप्रयत्नः or Divine help. Jagannatha traces प्रतिभा to God. In Greece Homer appealed to the Muses for inspiration. Hesiod in his Preface to 'Theogony' stated that "Muse breathed into him the art of Divine music." The Indian conception of शक्तिः or प्रतिभा —natural genius, inborn unusual power of imagination as the basis of poetic art, has its counter part in the theory of inspiration as the basis of art found in the West during the classical times. Inspiration is independent of knowledge ; it is the natural talent in the really good poet. Pindar, the Greek writer of Pastoral odes, holds inspiration or natural genius as the prime basis of poetic art. He distinguishes between 'the man who knows by nature' and 'the man who learns' and holds the former superior. Art is a necessity but inspiration is of greater importance.

Georgias defines poetry as nothing more than material speech, but elsewhere refers to it as "the inspired chants that bring pleasure and remove pain"; "their power" he says, "charms, and persuades, and transforms (the soul) by its magic." Thus he traces the magical property of poetry to its inspirational origin.

Socrates refers to the poet as "wise and inspired." Plato too considers 'inspiration' as supreme in poetry. He looks upon poets as "Children and Prophets of God". He believes that the poet depends upon natural genius, on Divine inspiration which cannot find a national justification. The poet is thus distinct from physicians and others for whom technique or craftsmanship counts more. Poetry, he says, is based on a kind of madness, which is a "divine release of the soul from the yoke of custom and convention". And from this standpoint he holds that prophets, poets and lovers are of one class. Thus the stress is laid by him on प्रतिभा

But like Pindar he does not ignore art. Rather he insists on a cultivation of the art for keeping the expression of inspiration within the bounds of propriety—a thought that hardly occurs in the writers on poetics on India. Aristotle in his "Rhetorics" says, "Poetry is a thing inspired." But the inspiration varies from person to person with variation of temperaments. He holds that there are "Great wits"—men of great natural ability and there are others touched by a divine frenzy and both have "sensitiveness of soul" and "a capacity for strong feeling". He recognises two permanent types of poets, *i.e.*, the plastic

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poets of great natural gifts and many-sidedness of talent and the enthusiasic poets who are dominated by strong feelings. Aristotle recognises the value of inspiration but he values art greatly and so the "Poetics" has come about. Like most Greeks, he, too, thinks that poets need careful training to be worthy of their roles and so he stresses exercises and skill to be attained through practice or अभ्यासः as the Indians term it. He stresses the knowledge of artistic principles even as most of the Indian poeticians do. Poetry according to Aristotle is cathartic for the poet too and in this his views are similar to those of Bhamaha, as revealed in vv. 2. Ch. I of his book relating to the good effects of poetry on the poet himself.

Isocrates, too, recognises natural ability as the supreme basis of poetic art without which the technique by itself can do so little and in this his ideas are similar to those of Bhamaha (Ch. I verse 3). But he (Isocrates), too, insists on constant practice and a knowledge of the resources of art, in other words on अभ्यासः and व्युत्पत्तिः as Bhamaha puts it. Like the Indian poeticians he, too, insists on the study of models.

Neoptolamus in his "Poetics" also states that technical skill is not enough though it is necessary. The true poet is endowed with natural gifts. Thus he subscribes to the school of poeticians stressing on प्रतिभा or inspiration of Jagannatha and others in India and Plato in Greece.

Thus, as the Indian Poeticians consider the relative values of प्रतिभा on the one hand and व्युत्पत्तिः and अभ्यासः on the other, the classical Greek masters too consider the relative values of natural ability or inspiration on the one hand and art that depends upon practice and acquaintance with the technique of poetry and study of the ancient models on the other. But rarely has anyone of them chosen to ignore the value of either of them.

The first of the great Romans to write on poetry was Cicero, more famous for his "De Oratore". He holds the poet as closely akin to the Orator in many respects and for the Orator he prescribes sound knowledge to be acquired in "the groves of Academy". He demands that "all the emotions of the mind which nature has given to men must be intimately known", ". . . men and women in all their varied natures must be known". In this he seems to echo Bharata. Like Plato he expects of a good orator natural capacity or genius, a sound technical training and a liberal education, or प्रतिभा and व्युत्पत्तिः in the language of the Indian authority on Poetics. He stresses on the need of following models even as the Indian Poeticians and more particularly Kshemendra and Rajasekhara do in their works on Poetics, but he insists on avoiding obvious artificiality. The theory of औचित्यम् prescribed by Kshemendra for poets has its parallel in the theory of propriety that Aristotle and Theophrastus in Greece started and Cicero and Horace developed under the name of Decorum.

Horace in his "Ars Poetica" from LL. 295 onwards deals with poets. He writes on the duty of the poet in preparing himself for his function. He also gives the picture of the perfect poet and contrasts it with the picture of a bad poet given towards the end.

Horace accepts in a way the theory of inspiration but he holds Art to be more important and he is led to that view by the practices of the contemporary poets who produced poems bizzare and absurd in the name of inspiration. He considers the poet as engaged in a creative activity. The perfect poet's aim, he thinks, is to afford profit and delight. The poet is the Priest of the Muses who through him confer immortality on those he writes about. The poet, according to Horace requires, besides inspiration, a strong imaginative power and a noble language. He must be an expert in his craft. Genius is necessary but not the most necessary factor nor an indispensable one. The idea that a poet is less a product of inspiration and more one of proficiency in the art of it was gaining ground and Horace was the most remarkable mouthpiece of this idea. Even as the Indian Poeticians urge the persons aspiring to be poets to study the earlier models of poetry, Horace too, insists on the study of Greek models, but he wants re-creation and not mere imitation. He expects the poet to learn "the art to blot" to attain fine workmanship and to pursue artistic labour. The poet must ever be self critical. He wants the poet to remember that if a poem has not excellence in it it is definitely bad. Like the Indians insisting on व्युत्पत्तिः he insists on the poet having a deep knowledge of the world, life and

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human nature in all its variety and of the philosophy of Plato. He, too, like Cicero, emphasises the principle of decorum or औचित्यम् Kshemendra names it.

Persius refuses to accept the theory of inspiration and gives practical advice to the poets.

Petronius who like the writer of "Dhvanyaloka" holds that the poet writes in a suggestive and twisted language, believes him to be in a divine frenzy when he writes. In an age of insistence on the craft of poetry and cynical suspicion of inspiration, he continues the idealistic Platonic tradition of inspiration and claims for the poet an unusual quantity of passion and imagination because the poet, he believes, lives in a higher world of his own far from the world of prosaic reality.

Paterculus lays stress on the natural genius, but holds that "imitation" helps and stimulates genius and raises it to a higher level.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus holds the view that for political oratory as also for all arts and sciences the three things most helpful are "A gifted nature, accurate study, and laborious practice," in the words of the Indians प्रतिभा व्युत्पत्ति and अभ्यासः

Though primarily a rhetorician, he is of keen poetic sensibility and he holds that imitation with the help of some principles is very helpful for an aspiring poet. Beautiful models stir the soul and evoke high imaginative powers and so every literary artist including the poet must ever have before him the models of poetry culled from the greatest of poets.

Longinus is again primarily a rhetorician and yet his advice in "On the Sublime" is equally applicable to the poets and has influenced numerous poets who have come after him. He has, in fact, laid down the fundamentals of great literary art as it were. Of the five elements which he considers necessary for achieving sublimity, he traces the grandeur of conception to natural genius. The rest he assigns to art. He wants the poet to cultivate grand style. Thus, like Horace, he is for both nature and art. By his famous statement "great utterance is the echo of greatness of soul," he suggests that a great poet has necessarily a great soul as otherwise he could not have been so. Just as Jagannatha in his "Rasagangadhara" says that natural genius may come from great men so also he holds that the grandeur of conception and the dignity in language associated with it may be acquired by intimate acquaintance with great masters. Thus the idea of practice with the great poets serving as models found in the eastern poeticians is found in him also. But while many believe in the theory of careful copying as do Kshemendra and Rajasekhara and while Horace advises assimilation of earlier techniques of poetry, he is for imbibing something of the creative vital spirit of the earlier masters. Amongst the Indian Poeticians, except for the few who give elaborate instructions with regard to the mode of imitation, most of the poeticians suggest by their instructions that by studying the earlier models the new poet would improve both in spirit and art.

An exhaustive treatment of the subject has not been possible within the short span of a paper like this and the views of all the known poeticians or rhetoricians of the east and the west in the classical age have not obviously been considered in detail. But the views of the most eminent of them stated above indicate fundamental similarity, for all seem to have felt the necessity of प्रतिभा, व्युत्पत्तिः and अभ्यासः or natural genius, learning and proficiency in art, and constant practice though emphasis on any one of them has changed from person to person. No doubt, the Latin critics seem to have directed their attention more to the "other harmony" of prose. But they ever held poetics as closely related to rhetorics and their remarks on rhetorics were to a considerable extent applicable to poetry. The controversies between the theories of inspiration and imitation and the theories of nature and art had their bearing not merely on rhetorics but on all provinces of art including poetry. In India except for Bharata who subordinated poetry to drama, the rest of the critical thinkers on literature wrote only on the art of poetry and stated their views on the poet, his duties and his virtues. What marks out these ancient critics of the east and the west from most of the later literary critics is their sense of art which is often intenser than their sense of natural genius and which they seem to have pursued with a religious sincerity. The poet was to most of them a seer and a prophet, a blessed being who had deeply drunk at the fount of Mt. Helicon or Parnassus, or had received the benediction from goddess Saraswati herself and

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in him lay the power to immortalise any thing he liked and to invest all the paths of our life with ineffable charm. A Kalhana in the east sang out in fulsome enthusiasm "Homage we pay to the innate wonder of the poets' art without whose favour are forgotten even those mighty kings in the shadow of whose strong arms the earth girdled by the ocean lay secure as under the forest trees," and in the west a Cicero said with regard to the works of the poet that they were "the food of youth and the delight of old age, they adorn prosperity, offer to misfortune a refuge and a comfort, at home they give pleasure, abroad they are no hinderance, they pass with us the night, they accompany us on our travel and they share our holidays." But these poets "the children and the prophets of the Gods" in the words of Plato have ever been viewed by most of the classical critics of India and the West as primarily Artists.

A FORGOTTEN KINGDOM OF THE HIMALAYAS

By AMIYA KUMAR CHAKRAVARTY, M.A.

He have plenty of books by different scholars regarding the Cultural History of India of the Vedic and post-Vedic periods ; but we have indeed very few dealing with the Political History of the periods. Except for a few remarks here and there, most of our historians are, unfortunately, silent about these ages, and have thought fit to mark them as "dark ages" or "pre-historic periods." Their silence about, or their timidity to probe into, the so-called dark ages, is deplorable. Silence is, of course, golden sometimes ; but this golden silence has cost the country a lot. It has failed to give the country a cogent or coherent history of ancient India. It was the boldness of Dr. Hem Chandra Roy Choudhury of the Calcutta University, that gave the country a "*Political History of India from the birth of Parikshit to the accession of Chandragupta Maurya.*" Pargiter's "*Dynasties of the Kali Age*" and "*Ancient Indian Historical Traditions*" are two other epoch-making treatises, though not very favourably looked upon by some scholars. The contributions of Dr. R. L. Mitra, Dr. Bhandarkar, of R. P. Chanda, and others, may also be gratefully remembered in this connection. Their labours have shown that it is possible to construct something tangible and valuable out of so-called hopeless materials, provided there is a courageous will. It is indeed encouraging that some scholars in modern times have devoted themselves to the task of unearthing the closed chapters of our history, on the basis of the Sanskrit and Pali Texts, and we wish them all success.

The present article is only an humble attempt to trace something about the dark ages of our history, which have remained practically neglected so far, but which, nevertheless, offer vast possibilities for constructive work. The Brahmanic literature of the *Vedas* supplies plenty of names of ancient kings and emperors of India, who once ruled vast kingdoms and empires, but whose names have now been almost forgotten. One such king or emperor was Prajapati Daksha of the *Rig-Veda* and the *Brahmanas*, whose name has been casually mentioned along with Aditi and the Adityas in many places. The *Mahabharata* and the *Puranas* all contain narratives of this Daksha, reputed to have been the first father-in-law of Shiva. His title, Prajapati, "Lord of subjects," indicates his social status. The *Brihaddevata* of Saunaka, a book evidently of the 6th Century B.C., briefly narrates the story of Daksha and his 13 daughters, who were all married to Kashyapa, a *Rig-Vedic* seer (IX-114). Although a work primarily dealing with the names of the Devatas (gods and goddesses) worshipped in the Hymns of the *Rig-Veda*, the *Brihaddevata* abounds in narratives regarding the gods and the Rishis, which are termed "Itihasa" (history) and "Akhyanas" (narratives) by the author. These narratives, according to Prof. Macdonell, constitute "the earliest collection of epic matter which we possess, dating as it does from a period when the *Mahabharata* could only have been in an embryonic stage." (Introduction to *Brihaddevata*, page XXII.). The narra

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tive or itihasa concerning Daksha is thus of very special significance to us as being the oldest of its kind in writing. In chapter V, the *Brihad-devata* says :

Prajapati's son was Marichi, and Marichi's son was the seer Kashyapa. Kashyapa had 13 wives, all goddesses, and daughters of Daksha. These were—Aditi, Diti, Danu, Kala, Danayu, Sinhika, Muni, Krodha, Vishva, Varishtha, Surabhi, Vinata and Kadru. Daksha gave them in marriage to Kashyapa. Kashyapa begot many offsprings by these wives, who came to be known as Gods, Asuras, Gandharvas, Rakshasas, Pishachas, and other varieties. The one, Aditi, gave birth to 12 sons, namely, Bhaga, Aryama, Amsha, Mitra, and Varuna, Dhata, Bidhata, Vivashvan of great brilliance, Tvashta, Pusha, and Indra. The twelfth son was Vishnu. Of these 12 sons, Mitra and Varuna were twins.—(Verses 143 to 148.) These 12 sons of Kashyapa by Aditi came to be called the 12 Adityas, very often mentioned in Vedic literature as such.

Now we come to the question :—whether this god Daksha, as many as 13 of whose daughters were given in marriage to seer Kashyapa of the Rig-Veda, was really a king or an emperor (Lord of subjects) in flesh and blood, or merely a symbolic person or figure. The answer is perhaps supplied by the Shatapatha Brahmana of the White Yajurveda,—Madhyandina Recension—Kanda II, Adhyaya IV, Brahmana 4, chapter on Dakshayana Sacrifice. In the preface to this chapter, Prof. Julius Eggeling thus remarks :—

"This peculiar modification of the new and full-moon sacrifice seems to have been originated and generally to have been performed among the Dakshayanas, a royal family which was evidently still flourishing at the time of our author."

Some of the statements (mantras) relating to this Dakshayana sacrifice, are given below as being relevant to our subject :—

1. In the beginning, Prajapati, being desirous of offspring, sacrificed with this sacrifice etc.

2. Now he was indeed Daksha, and because he sacrificed in the beginning with this sacrifice, it is called Dakshayana sacrifice etc.

3. Now that same sacrifice was afterwards performed by Pratidarsha Shvaikna ; and he indeed was an authority to those who emulated him. An authority, therefore, he will become, whosoever knowing this, performs that sacrifice ; etc.

4. Him Shuplan Sarnjaya approached for sanctity, and accordingly he was taught that sacrifice, and another (Sautramani Sacrifice),; and having learnt it, he went back to the Srinjayas. Now they knew that he was coming to them after studying the sacrifice for their sake. They said, "Verily, with the gods he has come to us, who has come after studying the sacrifice"; thus he was called Sahadeva Sarnjaya ; and even now the saying, "Lo, Suplan has taken another name." He performed that sacrifice ; and what race and prosperity of the Srinjayas was thus produced through his performing that sacrifice. etc.,

5. That same sacrifice was afterwards performed by Devabhaga Shrautarsha. He was Purohit (priest) to both the Kurus and Srinjayas. Now a very high position (is held by him) who is the Purohit of one kingdom : how much higher, then, is the position (of one) who is the Purohit of two kingdoms etc.

6. That same sacrifice was afterwards performed by Daksha Parvati, and even to this day these (descendants of his) the Dakshayanas are possessed of the royal dignity ; royal dignity, therefore, here obtains, whosoever, knowing this, performs that sacrifice etc.

From the above mantras or statements, it becomes evident that Prajapati Daksha, originator of the Dakshayana sacrifice, was also the founder of a royal family, which continued till at least the time of composition of the Shatapatha Brahmana. Unfortunately, the genealogy of Prajapati Daksha is not given here or anywhere else, except for a later descendant of his, namely, Daksha Parvati, who was unquestionably posterior to Rishi Devabhaga Shrautarsha, the principal priest of the Kurus and the Srinjayas after Sahadeva Sarnjayas. Dr. S. Das Gupta of the Calcutta University, seems to have mixed up Daksha Prajapati, the founder of the family, with Daksha Parvati, his later descendant, in his book, Bharater Sakti Sadhana O Sakta Sahitya—page 28. In the interval between these two persons, we meet at least 3 different sages, Pratidarsha Shvaikna, Sahadeva Suplan, and, after his death, Devabhaga Shrautarsha. This last-named sage is also mentioned in the Aitareya Brahmana of the Rig-Veda (8|39|9), wherein he is stated to have died early, before being able to communicate the secret of his knowledge to any disciple. He was thus a dead man when the Aitareya Brahmana was being composed. He was also dead when the Shata-

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patha Brahmana, a later work in all conscience than the Aitareya, was in course of composition. He was, therefore, a very early sage. The names of the Kuru and Srinjaya kings on whose behalf he acted as principal priest, are also not found. Otherwise, it would perhaps have been somewhat easier to make some guess as to the period when he might possibly have flourished. Daksha Parvati, of the Daksha royal family, followed sage Devabhaga, and his descendants were on the throne of the family when the Shatapatha Brahmana was being composed.

The principal seer or Rishi of the White Yajurveda was the famous Yajnavalkya. The Shatapatha Brahmana does not appear to be his composition. Probably some disciples or grand-disciples of his were responsible for its composition, as the two recensions, Madhyandina and Kanva, seem to indicate. Sage Yajnavalkya flourished after the Bharata War, he being a grand-disciple, originally, of Krishna Dvaipayana Vyasa (he was originally a disciple of Vaishampayana), and perhaps lived till some time after the death of King Shatanika, grandson of Parikshit of Hastinapur, according to the evidence of the Brihadaranyakopanishad (3|3 :—discourse between sage Artabhaga and Yajnavalkya in king Janaka's court). The Daksha or the Dakshayana royal family must, therefore, have been ruling till at least the time of Shatanika's son, Ashvamedhadatta, or the time of his grandson, Adhisimakrishna. According to the tradition of the Puranas, the interval between the birth of Parikshit and the accession of Mahapadma Nanda, was 1010 or 1050 years. The Nandas reigned for a total of 100 years, after which came Chandragupta, founder of the Maurya Dynasty (B.C. 325 or so). The date of Parikshit's birth (hence of the Bharata War) was thus 1015+000 +325=1440 B.C. or 1050+100+325=1475 B.C. approximately. Taking an average of 30 years per generation, the approximate date of the death of Parikshit's grandson, Shatanika, comes to about 1440—90=1350 B.C., or 1475—90= 1358 B.C.

The title of Parvati, attached to the later Daksha king, appears to be of special significance. The simple meaning that suggests itself, is that he was king of a mountainous region. Puranic traditions unanimously connect the founder of the dynasty, Prajapati Daksha, with Kankhal, a suburb of modern Hardwar on the Ganges, at the foot of the Himalayas. It is thus quite possible that the dynasty ruled all along from Kankhal. Perhaps, due to pressure from the neighbouring powerful kingdoms of Kuru and Srinjaya (Panchal of the later ages), the dynasty was later unable to extend its sway over the Gangetic plain, and hence its absence in the genealogical tables of the various dynasties of Northern India given in the Puranas, where we find mention of some holy places only of the Himalayas. It is therefore, not known when exactly this family ceased to exist as a ruling family at Kankhal. There may be various surmises in this connection :—the family might have moved further inside the Himalayas in course of time ; the family might have become totally extinct as a result of attack by some powerful adversary ; and so on. The later history of a very highly respectable ruling family, founded by a Rig-Vedic God or Devata, is thus shrouded in mystery. That the dynasty maintained some connection with the Neighbouring states of Kuru and Srinjaya, can be easily surmised. Its family priests trained up at least two disciples, who later became very famous as priests among the Rishis of Kuru-Panchala.

I have not been able to find the genealogy of this family in any work so far. If any scholar happens to find the same, he will indeed do a great service to the cause of unfolding a rather closed chapter of the history of ancient India hitherto regarded as mythical.

The ruins of old palaces shown by the inhabitants and Pandas of Hardwar, as belonging to Prajapati Daksha, are evidently not his. Even those erected very much later, that is, long after the days of Yajnavalkya, must have gone underground long ago. The present ruins, if they at all belong to the Daksha family, must have been erected very very very much later ; or, what is more probable, is that they might be the creation of a different dynasty ruling at Kankhal in subsequent periods.

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TRENDS IN INDIAN BANKING

By SANTOSH KUMAR ADHIKARI

The economic development of an undeveloped country like India depends on successful planning for the industrialisation of the country. We have already completed two successive five-year plans and now we have to face the third five-year plan which envisages an investment of funds of not less than twelve thousand crores of rupees. The Banks in India have been particularly asked to share the onerous responsibilities of successfully carrying out the plan, and the most important task the Banks have to face at this juncture is to increase the lending power—the capacity to finance the growing need of the country, in its efforts towards industrialisation.

So long this power to lend was limited. The Banks could provide only short-term loans against raw materials and finished goods, which proved to be inadequate. The need for providing loans to all industrial activities including small industries, for longer periods on machinery or documentary export bills has become necessary. And this increasing demand for money requires **rapid mobilisation of deposits** by Banks. This is the most important task that faces the banking industry at this moment. To quote Sri Tulsidas Kilachand, Chairman, Indian Banks Association, a 20 per cent growth in deposits per annum would be necessary.

To achieve the goal the Banks in India decided to work in co-operation. The banks under the Indian Banks Association entered into an agreement to offer maximum rates of interest on deposits, which was higher than previously allowed. It is believed this higher rate of interest has attracted depositors and checked diversion of deposits to other sectors.

But it was evident that the first and the foremost problem was to restore confidence which had been shaken by failure of banks even in recent times. By several Acts the Reserve Bank of India was given wide powers and the system of licensing of banks was introduced. The Reserve Bank was also empowered to proceed for compulsory amalgamation of weaker units with stronger units and this led to a new era in the history of banking in India.

The most important of the steps taken by the Government of India, was the decision to set up a Deposit Insurance Corporation which came into being at the beginning of 1962. All commercial banks in the country have been covered by this scheme which proposes to pay upto Rs. 1,500 to each individual depositor within a period of five months in case of winding up of a bank.

The banks individually took various steps—first came by way of expansion of branch network, in order to tap all sources of deposits. The total number of branches in India of scheduled banks incesed to 4630 as at the end of year 1962.

All these helped the growth of deposits and during the 2nd Five Year Plan ending on December 1960 the deposits increased by 602 crores of rupees. The deposits increased by 11 per cent in 1961 and at the end of 1962 the aggregate deposits came upto 2037.93 crores of rupees as against 1825.30 crores in 1961.

The Banks have been accepting long term deposits upto five years at present and yet it has been difficult for them to extend the lending power in respect of term loans or medium term financing to industries. We have no industrial bank in this country and the commercial banks have to take the responsibility of catering to the growing needs of industrial expansion

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without jeapardising their position and lowering the liquidity ratio of their assets. The Govt. of India has been conscious of the needs of the country and has set up the under mentioned institutions to finance the capital expenditure of various industries either directly or through banks.

(1) Industrial Finance Corporation of India esatblished for the purpose of granting long-term loans to large-scale industries.

(2) Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation of India established for the purpose of granting lnog-term loans or guaranteeing loans, and providing equity capital to any limited liability undertaking engaged in manufacturing goods.

(3) Refinance Corporation of Industry established for the purpose of **giving assistance to such commercial banks** which have undertaken long-term financing of industries.

The more important in the history of our banking development is the introduction of the guarantee scheme by the Reserve Bank of India. Under the scheme the Reserve Bank guarantees the liabilities of small-scale industries to commercial banks. The small-scale industries under the scheme have been defined as manufacturing concerns wherein capital investment does not exceed five lakhs of rupees. Previously it was difficult for the businessmen engaged in small industrial productions to get financial help from the banking sectors. The introduction of the scheme has been therefore a welcome feature.

The success of our five-year plans depend on our being able to promote exports. The commercial banks have an important role in this respect. They have to supply finance to the exporters on long term basis. Some of the major Indian banks have taken the initiative, though the others are yet shy. The establishment of the Export Risks Insurance Corporation will encourage such banks to extend their lending on export bills.

Banking in India is undergoing rapid transformation and an allout attempt is being made for development. The individual banks are now eager to carry out the responsibilities laid on them and find out means to improve the system. The branch expansion met with a hindrance from dearth of trained personnel. Hence some of the branches have established training centres and are trying to increase the general efficiency of the staff. Mechanisation of the accounting system is another forward step. The Reserve Bank of India has emphasised the importance of maintaining a higher liquidity ratio at 25 per cent exclusive of the cash balance, and strengthening the capital fund by transfer of at least 20 per cent of the profits every year to Reserves.

Lastly, the future of banking appears to be very bright. The third five-year plan has intensified the need for mobilisation of savings on the one hand and expansion of credit facilities on the other. Some of our bankers have been thinking of the American method of granting term loans to Industries for a fixed term of 3 or 5 years. The British method of hire-purchase financing and granting of personal loans are also under study. It has also been proposed that banks should move into the rural areas and extend loans on farming and agriculture at a cheaper rate.

At the end I must confess that the capital market reflects a pessimistic trend since the last budget was formulated and the reactions have adversely affected the general economy of the country. Due to budget levies costs are rising and our exports have dwindled. The increase in tax-burden and the introduction of the C.D.S. Act have caused an atmosphere of uncertainty as a result of which the confidence of the people is on the wane.

The banks are, however, developing a progressive outlook and have come forward to adopt their policies to the changing needs of the country.

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HOW TO PLAN A BETTER CALCUTTA

By SOM NATH CHATTOPADHYAY, M.A.

No better words can express the present pitiable condition of Calcutta than what Poet Kiping described long ago :

"Thus the mid-day halt of Charnock—more
is the pity, Grew a city ;
As the fungus sprouts chaotic from its bed,
So it spread—
Chance directed, chance erected, laid and built
On the silt.
Palace, myre, hovel—poverty and pride
Side by side ;
And above the packed and pestilential town
Death looked down."

Yes, "palace, myre, hovel—poverty and pride —side by side" is the true picture of Calcutta. And to make the city of Job Charnock beautiful seems to be an impossibility because "it spread as the fungus sprouts chaotic from its bed." This fungus-like growth of Calcutta perhaps inspired Dr. B. C. Roy to observe that 'in planning a better Calcutta, it is necessary to tackle the bottle-necks which is no easy matter.' Dr. Roy drew our attention to the peculiar features of the City : tht all imporant Government and non-Government offices are concentrated in Central Calcutta while 90% of the centres of higher education were in North Calcutta. An equally important task is to think ahead, "at least 100 years ahead," and always guard against the slightest possibility of concentration either of men or of institutions. About the magnitude of the problem, our late Chief Minister only cited a simple example :

"There was a time when many including myself thought that Central Avenue had a lot of space with its continuous 70 ft. width. Little did we apprehended then that in 1962, the space for moving vehicular traffic would be cut down to 40 ft., the parked cars being the intruders."

To make Calcutta beautiful, the tasks before the Calcutta Metropolitan Planning Organization (C.M.P.O.) are manifold and varied in nature. The question is to which scheme shall it give priority ? For our discussion, it is better to divide Calcutta into three parts : (1) old Calcutta under the original jurisdicton of the High Court, Circcular Road being its boundary ; (2) Calcutta of the Corporation with its suburban area and (3) greater Calcutta, consisting of the Corporation area and the suburban municipalities of Cossipore, Tollygunge, Garden Reach and Howrah.

Any discussion on the city's improvement must be based on the fact that Calcutta is always growing. Besides that, when we talk about this city's future, we are compelled to consider greater Calcutta with all the suburban municipalities as the unit. To be exact, Calcutta has grown up practically at hapazard manner and then when affairs were found to be intolerable, sporadic improvements were effected. And this has been possible because inspite of the city being originally bounded by Circular Road, long ago she outgrew those limits and no single authority was constituted to control that cancerous growth.

At present, Calcuttans suffer from congestion because of two main reasons : (a) growth of population mainly as a result of partition and (b) lack of facilities for movement from one part of the city to another, specially from the circumference to the centre. One must admit that the roads once built for Palkis cannot serve for tram cars and motors. The trams and motor buses require broad roads if they are to use their proper speed. The sad state of narrow Strand Road is a grim reminder in this regard. *The City Planners must not forget that as a city grows business tends to grow at one or more centres and so they have to be transported from and to their homes every day.* Now, the quicker the journey, the farther they can afford to go. Therefore, quick transport facilities is requisite number one for Calcutta's improvement. I think it wise to quote Mr. Bompass, I.C.S., an expert on Calcutta's development, in this connection :—

"The extension of a city means cheap rents and chap living : for it is only excessive

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competition for land which forces up rents: thus the extension of a city not only counteracts the tendency to overcrowding but also reduces the cost of living. But the existing roads in Calcutta were of course made without any regard to the needs of modern transport and without any reference to the fact that Calcutta might ever extend beyond Circular Rd. It is a plain necessity that roads must be made having regard to both these factors and thus roads should be constructed with an eye to the needs of the future as welll as for the prsent."

Calcutta is always growing. It is growing rapidly. Its plague spots viz., the slums, are also correspondingly growing. And in what condition these slum-dwellers are living? In short, they live in sub-human conditions. Horrible indeed is the condition of these bustee-dwellers. They are deprived of the minimum amenities that civilized men can expect: they cannot expect even the bare necessities even from hygienic point of view. Readers will therefore be not surprised if I term the bustee-dwellers having separate latrines for their own use as "fortunates" in these circumstances. But these "fortunates" even may be counted on finger tips. Bustee forces a man to live a community life—no individual choice, taste or liking. These slum-dwellers are forced to wait in queues to fill their water pitchers or for using latrines as if society always ignore the importance of their physical existence and the necessities of their lives.

It is of little use to improve the present slums if simultaneously new slums grow up all round. True, there are fairly adequate building laws in Calcutta. True, when new buildings are erected, these laws are rigidly enforced at times. But the difficulty arises in applying these laws in case of suburban municipalities. As there are not adequate building regulations, it is in these uncontrolled suburban municipalities the growing population of Calcutta tends to settle. Building laws alone cannot create wonders: they are not sufficient for our purpose. *What the C.M.P.O. should bear in mind is the fact that as a city grows, it must extend towards the Suburbs with adequate roads and open spaces.* This must be stressed not only to develop the handicapped areas of Calcutta but also to relieve congestion on an area which was once sparsely populated.

Parks as Breathing Space

The need for the provision of open space should also be discussed here. What the Calcuttans feel, and feel very strongly, is that the C.M.P.O. must provide some open areas—be that squares, boulevards and parks—as their breathing space. We are appalled at the rate at which the present Calcutta has spread. The result has been that people living in Central Calcutta are virtually miles away from any open space where green things grow, where one can breathe free air and where there is sufficient space for outing or healthy outdoor recreation. U.S.S.R.'s example is quite relevant here. In America, at present the need for staying the onward flow of bricks and mortar by interposing a ring of parkland round a city when it has attained a moderate size is greatly recognized. That is why they have taken up large parks and connected them by a broad wooded parkway. *The lessons of Europe* is that the parks have been mostly secured there by accident through acquisition by imperial rulers for building up forts. Calcutta is also no exception. Her Maidans have been so designed for military exigencies. Can we dream of any Maidan in Calcutta except under military compulsion? And rightly Mr. Bompass argued: "What chance did in the past, foresight now has to do for the future." The need of the hour is to spend proportionately on the Calcutta parks for our future generations. Priority must be given to preserve some green parks or scenic beauty in any event.

Problem of Land Planning

The population density in Calcutta is 1[illegible] persons per acre as against 43 of London, 34 of New York, 55 of Madras and 85 of Bombay per acre. Naturally this makes the land value of Calcutta extremely high because her land resources are limited. Acute scarcity of developed open land in the suburbs further aggravates the position. This problem can only be solved if the use and development of all land within the city and suburbs is regulated and controlled by the State. It is indeed satisfying to note that to enquire into the problems of land planning and to recommend suitable legislation for the above purpose, a Town and Country Planning Legislation Commission has already been set up by the State Government. We can reasonably hope that in the near future suitable legislations will be enacted and suitable

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Town and Country Planning Organizations set up in West Bengal.

Several Projects to Relieve Calcutta's Congestion

Steps have already been taken to make dispersal of population possible from Calcutta. Reclamation of North Salt Lakes is a very right step in this direction. This scheme will relieve Calcutta's congestion, provide dwelling accommodation in better surroundings by making available 20,000 household plots and will accommodate a lac of low and middle income group people.

The West Bengal Development Corporation has further drawn up Kona (Howrah, West of Dasnagar) township development scheme for a population of about 30,000 and also at Purba Barisha (south of Behala) for a population of about 60,000. These two new townships will establish Industrial Estates in their industrial zones and thus provide all possible amenities for industrial workers.

The Calcutta Improvement Trust is also not lagging behind. The C. I. T. and Housing Board of the State Government have devoted all their energies to draw up subsidised industrial housing schemes. The C.I.T. aims to frame Bustee Rehousing Schemes in Manicktala and Ultadanga areas and further rental housing schemes for low income group pople. Even the Calcutta Corporation has in mind plans to construct tenements for their Harijan employees. And lastly, the C.M.P.O. is seriously considering a self-sufficient slum-clearance scheme—"Work-shelter Scheme"—to provide accommodation and place of work at the same place for the bustee dwellers.

The lack of open *breathing space* I have already referred to. To meet the crying need of sufficient play grounds and parks all over the city, C. I. T. has already drawn up schemes for a few small parks and a lake, *viz.* "Subhas Sarobar" in Narkeldanga (Beliaghata area). This area will further offer recreation facilities in the form of playgrounds, parks, well-laid-out gardens, swimming pools, etc. South Calcutta is fortunate enough to have a fine stadium at Rabindra Sarobar at present. It is expected that a composite stadium at Maidan will be constructed by the Government at a very early date.

Reclamation of Northern Salt Lake

The existing land of the city is quite insufficient to provide accommodation for the increasing population. So, schemes in the nature of Salt Lakes reclamation have already been taken in hand to provide breathing space for the city-dwellers. This scheme is welcomed because of the two main advantages : (1) the extended units will be nearer to the heart of the city and will enjoy all the amenities of the city life, and (2) the immediate eastern environment of the city comprising of swampy land mostly covered with reed fields, sewage drains and ill-maintained fisheries will be wiped out for good.

The experts are of opnion that such an extension is advisable from technical points of view. Thus, they hold that by this scheme the low lying area of the Northern Salt Lakes will be raised to (+) 110 PWD. This level will be a bit higher than the contiguous part of the city.

This scheme is now in progress. Dredging and pumping operations of the scheme has been allotted to a Yugoslav firm, Messrs. Invest Import. This firm has already laid pipelines for transport of the dredged soil. In order to start the proper work, all the preliminaries are on the way to completion with the aid of mechanical equipments like Cutter Suction Dredger, Reclamation Dredger, etc. It is interesting to note that the estimated cost of dredging and pumping work is fixed at Rs. 734 lakhs. This scheme after being completed will offer all the civic amenities like water-supply, electricity, underground sewerage and drainage systems, etc.

The Projects of Calcutta Metropolitan Planning Organization

The C. M. P. O. has also come forward with its schemes to rebuild Calcutta. The cardinal goal of CMPO is to create a new greater Calcutta which will cover an area of about 400 sq. miles—a new Calcutta which will provide amenities and opportunities for a healthy, happy and economically stable existence for the entire population as it may have by 1986.

The objectives of CMPO may be grouped under two heads : (a) short term and (b) long term. Its *short-term* objectives include emergency water supply, second crossing for the Hooghly, emergency drainage, proto-type work-

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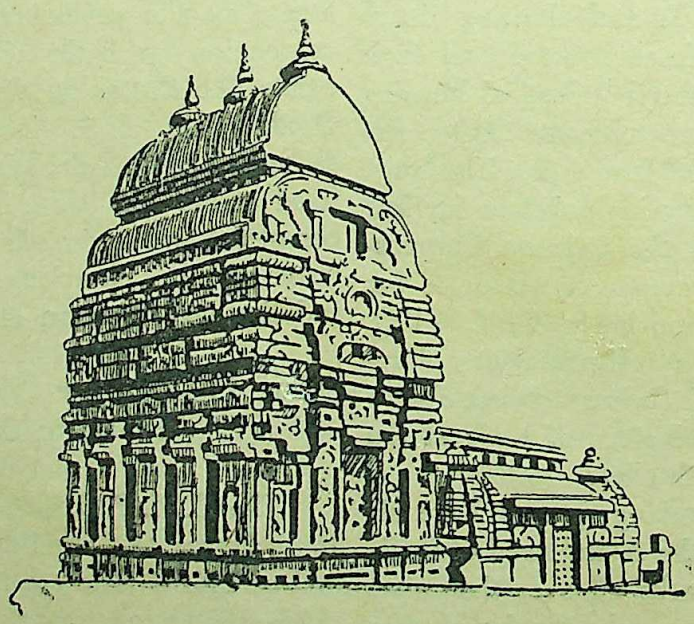
cum-shelter housing and slum improvement. Its *long-term* objectives are : deconcentration of the central city, development of self-contained urbanised areas for population of 2,50,000 each, better communications and transport, better housing in better residential areas, community facilities in the shops and schools, libraries, parks and health and recreation centres, supply of adequate drinking water, abolition of unfiltered water supply, underground sewers, abolition of service-privies and open-surface drains, prevention of street flooding, prevention of smoke nuisance, slum clearance, development of industrial and commercial centres and Haldia Port township.

The importance of better means of communication for a better Calcutta has not been lost sight of. That is why CMPO has included in both its short and long-term objectives schemes for (i) a second crossing for the Hooghly and (ii) better communications and transport to make a network transport possible from the City's central position.

To sum up, "Better Calcutta" is neither a myth nor a misnomer. But before getting a better Calcutta, we must know exactly what we need, what our wants are and we must be armed with suitable legislations to clear the debris, dead wood and the slums that stumble in our way. Here again is needed our united effort. This united effort of town planners, economists, sociologists, public health authorities, neighbouring municipalities etc., is all the more needed to find out a policy of dispersal and decentralization to attract people out of Calcutta and beautify Calcutta at the same time. Because then and then only we will be able to carry out this Herculean task.



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NEW TRENDS IN ECONOMIC POLICY

By KARUNA K. NANDI

In course of an unscheduled policy statement in the Lok Sabha on December 16 last, which does not appear to have attracttd the measure of public notice that it would seem to deserve, Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, Union Finance Mniister, announced Government's decision to abolish present price controls on 16 commodities, mostly industrial raw materials, but which also included such consumer commodities as washing soap, tubes and tyres, sheet glass and paper boards. The Finance Minister, likewise, announced the relaxation of controls in respect of industrial license for units with capital upto Rs. 25 lakhs and raised the minimum level of control on capital issues from the present Rs. 10 lakhs to Rs. 25 lakhs. These are important announcements in themselves, but what is more important and of far-reaching significance in this connection is the indication of the trends of his thinking that the Finance Minister incidentally disclosed on the occasion.

While Mr. Krishnamachari made no secret of the eventual further addition to taxes in his next-year's budget because of the "continuously increasing needs of defence and development," especially in the context of the continuing inelasticity of public borrowings and the urgent need to keep deficit financing within severely restricted limits with a view to keep prices under reasonable check, he also indicated the Government's determination to ensure that the massive investments in the public sector were able to earn a reasonable rate of return to enable them to make the measure of contribution to national development that was expected of them. What, however, he added inter alia that "it may well be that the profits of the public sector enterprises can be raised, in part at any rate, **only by an adjustment of their pricing policies**", is not quite so reassuring. Indeed, such a view of the matter, officially expressed by the Finance Minister would seem to be materially at variance with his earlier statement in course of this pronouncement, that the "related problems of rising prices and inadequate growth" had been causing a great deal of concern in recent months. If public sector enterprises, despite the massive investments that they have called for, have, so far been unable to make their appropriate contributions to the growth of the economy in an adequate measure, the reason in most cases must be held to have been their low production-yields as well as correspondingly low productivity in relation to the performances of the private sector of a like order and the remedy should not be sought in revising pricing policies in respect of the former's products as the Finance Minister seems to warn that it may be necessary, but in ensuring their production performances to conform to expected norms of productivity and gross production-yields. This is a matter which would, we feel, bear a far closer examination than the rather perfunctory treatment given to it in the Finance Minister's policy statement, and which would call for a clearer enunciation of the norms of manegerial efficiency and production performances which do not so far appear to have been sought to be applied to these public sector enterprises. What should be most important to realise in this context is the fact that the present system of fiscal, monetary, price and other controls, a great deal of which would seem to have been designed to cover the inadequacies of performance of the public sector enterprises, have been as they were bound to do, reacting sharply on private sector behaviour also, generating a continuing pressure on overall national production efficiencies and correspondingly on the price structure.

While one does not quite disagree with the Finance Minister in respect of the need

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for a measure of continuing economic discipline in the present stage of the economy, it is hearttening to note that Mr. Krishnamachari has been endeavouring to break hitherto neglected ground when he says that a reasonable measure of restriction in the context of the needs of development may be a continuing necessity, so far as conspicuous consumption was concerned, the real remedy was not so much these restrictions as the need to stimulate the growth rate and expand production, which alone could bring into force those requisite balances in the economy which would take care of both prices and supplies. This would seem to me a complete departure from the policies of his predecesor who invariably seemed to find in restrictions and continuous exhortations for decreasing consumption as the only panacea for all our economic evils It is true that the present Finance Minister does not altogether cut away the mooring strings from a necessary measure of restraint, but he emphasises that he has "no doubt whatever that (we) shall succeed in solving our complex and difficult problems only so far as we succeed in fixing our eyes steadily on expansion and higher production even as we seek to contain our demand within reason at any given time." It is in such a view of the matter, that he explained his recent decision regarding credit expansion to have been taken. The supply of credit, he warns, must be adequate to me the needs of growth, a thesis with which reasonable person should have any quarre But bearing in mind the operations of very large unorganized sector operating the money market, who account for a gre deal of the unaccounted money and the ve large measures of tax-evasions in t country, it is very necessary, we feel, to extremely cautious and circumspect in ma ing such credits available so that they m not join forces with the very largely exta speculative pressures and add to the su total of the already heavy pressure on t price structure, especially in the essenti consumer sectors.

By and large, the Finance Minister new economic policy statement should welcomed as a very needed and timely orientation of the Governmen's policies the needed direction. Given cautious app cation and wholesome employment, t should contribute to a stimulation of t twin purposes of growth and price stabili tion. But it is the application of the poli which is of the greatest moment for one not quite sure that the present administr tive machinery at the disposal of the G ernment, which would have in very la measure, to be responsible for its approp ate and wholesome implementation is ac quately qualified in terms of both efficien and rectitude, to serve its needs.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published. *Reviews and notices of books in Gujrati* :

Authors and publishers of Gujrati books, desirous of having them noticed or reviewed in *The Modern Review*, should send them direct to, Shri Rangildas Kapadia : Gandevi, Dist. Surat, instead of sending them to the Editor, *The Modern Review*.

POVERTY AND UN-BRITISH RULE IN INDIA : *By the Late Dadabhai Naoroji, Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, New Delhi, D/8vo. Pp. 597 (with indices). Price Rs. 10.*

Published in the Publications Division's series Classics of Indian History and Economics, the volume under review is a cohesive collection and presentation of the innumrable speeches, papers, pamphlets, correspondence with officials, evidences before Committees and Commissions, of the late Dadabhai Naoroji, all of which serve to highlight the utter misery and depthless poverty of the Indian people of his times which derived from the despotic system of Government carried out in this country which, the Dadabhai maintained, was not merely destructive to Indians but was, moreover, suicidal to Britain herself.

This pioneering work in the condition of the people on the basis of a realistic assessment of the economics of British rule in India and the political reactions that flowed therefrom as an inevitable result has, as the publishers claim, two major aspects, economic and political and contains a great deal of indispensable foundation material for researches in the constitutional and economic history of this vast sub-continent. The work covers such varied grounds as production and distribution, taxation, railways, foreign trade, income and wages, currency and exchange public debt and the drain of wealth from India as far as they related to the purely economic aspect of British rule in India.

It also deals with the goal of British rule in this country as propounded from time to time by the highest Official and political authorities of the ruling country and the proven failure by the Indian administration to fulfil the commitments and honour the pledges made from time to time to the Indian people by the British Crown and Parliament. Both in respect of the economics of the country as well as in her political structure, the one dominant note in all the Dadabhai's pronouncements would be found to be his earnest pleadings for associating, by the rulers, the representatives of the natives of the country at all levels of the administration. He seemed to believe quite sincerely that given such a policy and its inevitable natural fulfilment, a glorious common future awaited both India and Britain.

An ardent admirer of the British political system and a sincere believer in the British race and its good faith with the Commonwealth of nations that constituted the British Empire, Dadabhai Naoroji was one of those outstanding political leaders and economic thinkers of the last century who never visualized nor even desired an end of the British political connection with India. He was a firm believer in the ultimate goodness of the Parliamentary system of democracy that distinguished the British political system at home and believed that its gradual and progressive extension to individual units of the empire to make them progressively self-reliant and self-governing, would eventually build up the strongest confederacy of nations in this world, cohesive, interdependent and closely bound to one another by ties of not exploitation and deprivation as, unfortunately happened, so far, to be the case as far as India was concerned, but common ideals, goals and interests.

It is, perhaps, not merely historical coincidence, that the concept of the British Empire has, over the years, and especially under the impact of the great political and social changes that have

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emerged since the end of the Second World War, gradually yielded place to one of a Commonwealth of free, self-reliant and self-respecting nations as so earnestly visualized by Dadabhai Naoroji more than three quarters of a century ago and, if the British Empire has virtually ceased to exist today, the Commonwealth of nations that has now banished this old and outmoded empire is, perhaps, no less closely knit together by bonds of common ideals and goals which, one may hope, would prove far more enduring and eventually more closely integrated than the old empire. In a sense, therefore, the wishes of the late Dadabhai Naoroji who had dedicated a whole life time to the service of his country and her people, may now be said to have been realised in very large measure.

Unfortunately, however, the poverty of the people against which the Dadabhai had waged a life-long and relentless war is yet a long way away from being eliminated from the land. The publishers claim that this book "forms the background to the *planned development* (emphasis my own) which Free India has undertaken" which, on a realistic analysis of cause and effect would, however, be found to be very far, indeed, from fact.

Poverty in Free India and under development planning, it can no longer be denied, has been progressively deepening to a degree which has never before been touched in this country, poor as her people have always been traditionally over the centuries. And the exploitation of the poor by the microscopic handful of the favoured rich who seem to have been dictating the directions that the processes of governance must follow in *Free India*, has never before been quite as barefaced as it seems to be now. To claim, therefore, that the Government of the Country have only been pursuing the ideals and goals that the Dadabhai had spelt out more than half a century ago, is both wrong and prevaricative.

However, that may be, there is not the least question that the book under review is one which is not merely grippingly interesting in almost all its varied facets of expression, but is truly one which would provide valuable, even indispensable foundation material for the serious student of modern Indian political and economic history.

KARUNA K. NANDI

AN ALBUM OF SIXTEEN PICTURES : *By Khitindra Nath Mazumdar illustrating the Gita Govinda, Published by Indian Press Publications Private Limited, Allahabad. Price Rs. 25/- only.*

It is an opportune publication with reference to the controversy as to the relative merits of Modern Indian Paintings and the Modernistic Paintings, imitating the "Ism" Paintings of Europe. A group of Moderns is repudiating the great traditions revived by the Tagore School. Khitindranath is a direct disciple of Abanindranath, has demonstrated the high merit of these illustrations interpreting the mystic verses of Jaydev in appropriate forms and designs and rhythmic colour scheme.

The Publishers deserve great praise, for their expensive ventures.

The Album should find its way in all households in Bengal.

O. C. GANGOLY

A SHORT HISTORY OF WESTERN PHILOSOPHY (From Bacon to Hegel) : *By Subodh Kumar Ghose, M.A., LL.B. Published by Book land Pvt. Ltd., 211/1, Cornwallis St., Calcutta. Pp. 212. Price Rs. 10.*

"A Short History of Western Philosophy (from Bacon to Hegel) is professedly a work of restricted compas on the part of a young entrant into the field of present-day philosophical literature, of the status and standard of excellence sponsored by the University Tutorial Series of progressive Universities. Having already made his mark through his "Hand-book of Philosophy of Religion", Prof. S. Ghose embarks upon the second venture of his with a remarkable self-confidence, well-deserved and well-preserved. Through self-restriction in claim and denial, this creditable production of his (as scrutinished by me in manuscript) ensures objectivity of presentation by means of what may be called the 'case History' method, coupled with clarity of critical evaluation and, above all, evinces a characteristic sense of proportion which provides the much-needed safeguard, in a task of this kind, against failure to see the wood for the trees. May this venture be attended with that measure of success which it eminently deserves !

SAROJ KUMAR DAS

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Indian Periodicals

Process Of National Integration

Writing under the above caption in the **Jagriti,** what Shri U. N. Debar has to say should be of especial interest :

The problem of National Integration, it is now acknowledged practically by all, is one of those problems which the country has to meet whether it is for maintaining its liberty or for its progress and development. For the last three years, therefore, we have been concentrating our attention on this problem. From debate and discussion we have passed on to positive action. The seminar is meeting at a time when our Parliament is discussing a measure of supreme importance, a measure which will be put on the statute book of the country, a law requiring that the candidates at elections should take an oath of loyalty to the integrity of the country. A happy reaction of the step is already on the way. You will cease to hear any more a demand for separation in this part of the country (Madras). The process is not confined to legislative measures. It has entered the school room and the college theatre.

National Integration, A Process

National Integration in one sense is a process. On the 22nd last the President of the United States of America, John Fitzgerald Kennedy was assassinated. It is difficult to know exactly the cause of this dastardly act. But the preliminary reaction throughout the world seems to be that he fell a martyr to the cause of integration, as did Abraham Lincoln fall about a hundred years ago.

The American nation has to their credit great contributions to the cause of human liberty and even greater to the cause of human well-being. It was however irksome for President Kennedy that America which he loved so much, should be a defaulter in the cause of human equality. He staked his career on the Civil Rights Bill to make up for the shortfall. Little was it realised that it was not going to be merely staking his career but his life also. That after 170 years of freedom, after the progress of education and science to the extent the American nation has achieved, an American President would be required to stake his life on the issue of equality amongst the American people, shows how difficult and tortuous is the working of the process of integration. It shows that factors independent of education, independent of economics, independent of religion and politics can affect the process of integration. Sometimes education etc., only deal with symptoms and not the source.

Kennedy, Lincoln, Gandhi, Christ, Buddha are martyrs who have tried to give their lives for the integration of their society. They are in a sense the milestones on the road on which the nations have moved to secure integration. Anyone who has studied the lives of these great men will realise that the mainsprings that motivated their actions were different in quality and content. The essential factor that moved them into action was their sterling faith and conviction in the essential equality of man, whatever the colour of his skin, his religious denomination, his political label or his social rank and position. The thought that a human being can think in terms of another human being as an unequal of himself, as anything less than his brother, as anything less than a co-partner in the great enterprise of building up something was an anathema to them. This faith and conviction about the equality of a human being, about the common brotherhood and co-partnership in the great enterprise is the foundation on which integration has been accomplished in the world wherever we find an integrated society.

In India we have a different picture. We are a society divided by castes, creeds, religions, social and economic disparities and now by political labels. To substitute these disintegrating influences by this sterling faith and conviction about the essential equality of every citizen in the land about the common brotherhood and about the co-partnership in the great enterprise of building up this country is a colossal task. It is not sufficient to tell the citizen that he should discard castes, etc., on the ground that they are not suited to the ethics of the twentieth century or that these distinctions belong to the Dark Ages. Nor will it be sufficient to tell him that these are inconsistent with the spiritual belief of the Indian Society in the universality of the soul. These are negative approach. Human mind cannot tolerate a vacuum. If a belief is to be substituted by another belief, social leadership has to convince the society about the necessity for such substitution.

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Society has never been reformed by sermons. History shows that faith or conviction have been transmitted successfully only through action based on faith or conviction. The martyrdom of the great sons and daughters of humanity has this effect and value that it has moved multitudes into changing their past simply by the touch of action based upon faith and conviction. Transparent activity based on transparent faith ignited the new lamps of lights in the hearts and minds of the simple and trusting people as nothing else could do. The distinction between man and man that has torn India into compartments cannot be obliterated on grounds of expediency. It can only be obliterated when the people are convinced that it militates against the faith they must bear. We should reach the sources of faith and love in their hearts for the country. We should water the tree of India's integration at its roots, which lie imbedded in the minds of Indian people in relation to their nation about relationship between an Indian and an Indian.

Human mind, because of its past associations, has been accustomed to work in small circles. The limited circles in which limited perspective of the world and sets also a limit to its perspective of individual interests. Whereas nature functions at a universal level a dichotomy thus develops. Unless there is a deliberate effort to relate the functioning of the human mind to the functioning of nature the contradictions that flow from this dichotomy multiply. In the process human mind is left far behind and soon becomes complacent and static. Indian mind has to realise that there is a constant necessity for a dynamic mutual approach to the building of the life of the nation, if the nation is not to remain static. It is the price which has to be paid by every one thinking in terms of liberty and growth. India is a land of great spiritual traditions and equally of great social, economic and political divisions. This contradiction only shows that the word has spread but not the spirit behind it. "The world is one family" has thus remained a mere slogan and "Everyone is a part of the Universal Self" has remained another slogan. In spite of spiritual traditions our mind has thought in terms of the world limited to one's family or group and interests of the family or the group have inevitably over-riden the interests of the community by and large.

The problem before us is how to remove this dichotomy; how to treat the mind so that it could continuously struggle against getting stuck up in the quagmire of limited interests; how to treat the individual citizen so that he can be a part of a dynamic human family which is forging ahead with the assistance of science and technology. It is a problem of transmitting one's faith to others that the good of the individual is best secured by working for the good of the society as a whole.

Leadership's Role in Developing Faith

People in India are not different from the people in the rest of the world. If they have come to repose trust in working for limited aims or group interests, it is because they have been led by their leaders to believe in social, political and economic fields that that is the best way of preserving their interests. There are still bodies in India which believe in the cult of factionalism and try to perpetuate limited urges which have brought the nation to utter ruin. The tragedy of the situation is that they are ignorant of the suicidal character of their game.

India, therefore, needs a leadership that is capable of looking at the problem of India in a comprehensive manner free from social, religious, political and cultural egoisms. India needs a leadership with faith that diversity is best nurtured in a climate of equality and cooperation rather than in a climate of competition and hostility.

Need for Self-introspection on the Part of Leadership

This new trend in the thinking of leadership is not possible unless there is first of all ample self-introspection on the part of the leadership and effort on its part to cleanse itself of the distortions of limited urges. This alone can revive in the minds and hearts of the Indian people the regard for human equality. When I am speaking of self-introspection, I am speaking principally of the men in chrage of the political destiny of the country and those in the educational field. The former function on an extensive basis and the latter on an intensive one. The nation has to be fortified by the clear conscience of these two media if the nation is to march step by step towards fuller and ever fuller integration.

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Two other Aspects—Religious and Economic Factors

Two more things I should like to emphasise apart from what is being attempted through legislation and education in the social-cum-religious field as well as the social-cum-economic field.

So far as religion is concerned, Indian religions have a three-tier system: ritualistic religion, speculative or metaphysical religion and what is termed as the spiritual side of religion. The leadership at the religious level would be demonstrating its bankruptcy if it mistakes the shadow for the substance and clings to ritualism and speculation. What is of importance is the content of the religion to be imbibed by the devotees of that religion. Tendencies of hate and malice, or greed and fear, whatever be the name tagged on to these tendencies, are a negation of religion. Religion in that limited sense has not only outlived its use but has become a positive menace to the existence of Indain humanity.

Ritualism and speculative philosophy have had a free field in this land. But for the cultural balance given by saints and seers, India would not have survived. Nothing but debris in the form of social degradation would have been left with us. Five crores of untouchables can have no sympathy for a religion that could treat them as sub-humans and deny to them elementary rights of freedom of worship and freedom of activity. Nor can the womanhood of India be grateful for many things which were perpetrated upon it in the name of religion. Religious leadership has even more to come with a clean conscience before the Indian people if it has to serve the cause of religion.

Similarly Indian politician functioning through parliamentary democracy, cannot be held wholly responsible for the socio-economic malaise that endangers process of integration in the country. The leadership in the economic field must share the responsibility in a great measure for it. The democratic apparatus cannot remedy all the imbalances that prevail in the economy of the country unless the leadership in the economic field cooperates at least in a few matters without mental reservation or thought of personal interest. In the first place come the seven crores and fifty lakhs of human beings, the Harijans and the tribals who have been denied, one because of religious ostracism and the other because of political isolation, a proper share in country's wealth. There is no possibility of complete integration so long as these seven crores and fifty lakhs of people remain alien to the economy of the country. Next come about a sixth of the rural population that is landless. They are as yet surplus to the economy of the rural areas. The leadership in the economic field has to work in cooperation with Government to assist these large masses of people to occupy a place of honour in the country's economy so as to give to them a stake in its sustenance and functioning.

Education and its Content

The education of the citizens in all these three respects must begin from childhood till the end of one's life and must proceed from generation to generation. In the world of human beings, the two processes of integration as well as disintegration will work simultaneously till there is an occasion when the forces of disintegration are completely annihilated which is a more speculation. The art of social, economic and political leadership therefore lies in evolving continuously measures which would enable the people to check and control the forces of disintegration whenever they become active. Their leadership should realise for all times that nothing is static in this world and the forces of evil, being always present, in every nation that complacently or ignorantly forgets its duty to resort to dynamic activity by facing these forces of evil, the latter will unfailingly raise their heads and bring harm and travail in their wake. It is in this sense that people of India have to understand the great maxim that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. Eternal vigilance is demanded not only against the enemies that endanger their liberty from outside, but enemies that endanger their security from within. The forces of disintegration constitute one such enemy.

In this sense, the process of integration is a continuous process. The task of the leadership is to instil faith in the minds and hearts of the people in the essential equality of all the people in the common good of all. This has to be achieved through the process of education principally not only in the class room but in the field of politics, religion and economics. Responsibility for this is wholly of the leadership in the particular field.

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Foreign Periodicals

The Legacy of Konrad Adenauer

William Henry Chamberlin writing under the above caption gives an estimate of Konrad Adenauer in the resurgence of modern Germany which is of unusual interest :

It has been widely observed of Konrad Adenauer, who last week retired as Chancellor of the German Federal Republic, that he may well be the greatest German statesman since Bismarck. In some respects, however, *Der Alte* fulfilled an even more difficult task than the Iron Chancellor. Bismarck led from strength, Adenauer from weakness. Ultimately, the forging of a united Germany around a hard Prussian core was a less demanding job than rebuilding the morally and materially shattered Germany of the postwar years into its present position as an equal partner in the Western Alliance.

The German success story, the most striking of the postwar era in Europe, would not have been possible with a man of lesser stature and ability than Adenauer possessed. Nor could it have been brought off if the Chancellor had not met the psychological needs of his age. Adenauer's personal qualities, his perseverance in giving a Western orientation to his nation's foreign policy, his self-confidence and ability to provide strong leadership to a broken and demoralized people, are among the chief factors that have contributed to Germany's astonishing recovery.

After World War I, Germany was seething with agitation for revenge and filled with both Right- and Left-wing extremism. But the aftermath of World War II was profoundly different. I saw a good deal of Germany during the period of the Weimar Republic, and I have visited the country 10 times since the end of World War II. The contrast, on almost every count, has impressed me as being very sharp and seems to warrant confidence in the stability of the free institutions which prevail in the larger and more populous part of Germany that escaped Soviet occupation and the imposition of Communist tyranny.

Today, scarcely a trace remains of the German dream of necessary regeneration through revolution, either of the racist-nationalist or class warfare type. Nazism is discredited, if only because it brought on ruin and desolation not equalled since the time of the Thirty Years War. Communism is equally discredited, because it is identified with the imperialism of a foreign power and because of the sorry fruits it has produced in East Germany.

To a people that had seen its past dreams turn to dust and ashes, that wanted above everything else to get back to normal living, that was sick to death with propaganda and ideology, Adenauer's kind of leadership was welcome. His paternalism (stern at times, benevolent at others), his old-fashioned conservatism, his contempt for personal demagogy—all had their appeal to shellshocked people.

There is much truth in the criticism of *Der Alte* which one hears in Germany, especially from intellectuals. The old man is brusque and domineering. He has been so sure of the rightness of his goals that he has often been willing to cut corners and resort to sharp practice to insure victory at the polls. He does not suffer fools gladly, and his lack of esteem for politicians, including many of his own party, is no secret. Asked for his opinion on the Chancellor, an editor of one of Germany's leading newspapers replied : "A great man, Yes. A good man, No."

Adenauer may be relied upon to look out for his own reputation. His memoirs, announced for early publication, should be one of the most interesting works of its type. He is known to believe that a meeting held at his home after the first postwar German national election in 1949, at which he successfully opposed the "big coalition" with the Social Democrats favored by some of the more Left-inclined members of his own party, was important in paving the way for later close collaboration with the conservative United States of Eisenhower and Dulles. Far more important, though, is the fact that he has handed over to Ludwig Erhard, chief architect of the German "economic miracle," a political situation that has difficulties and problems, but no visible major crises.

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The MODERN REVIEW

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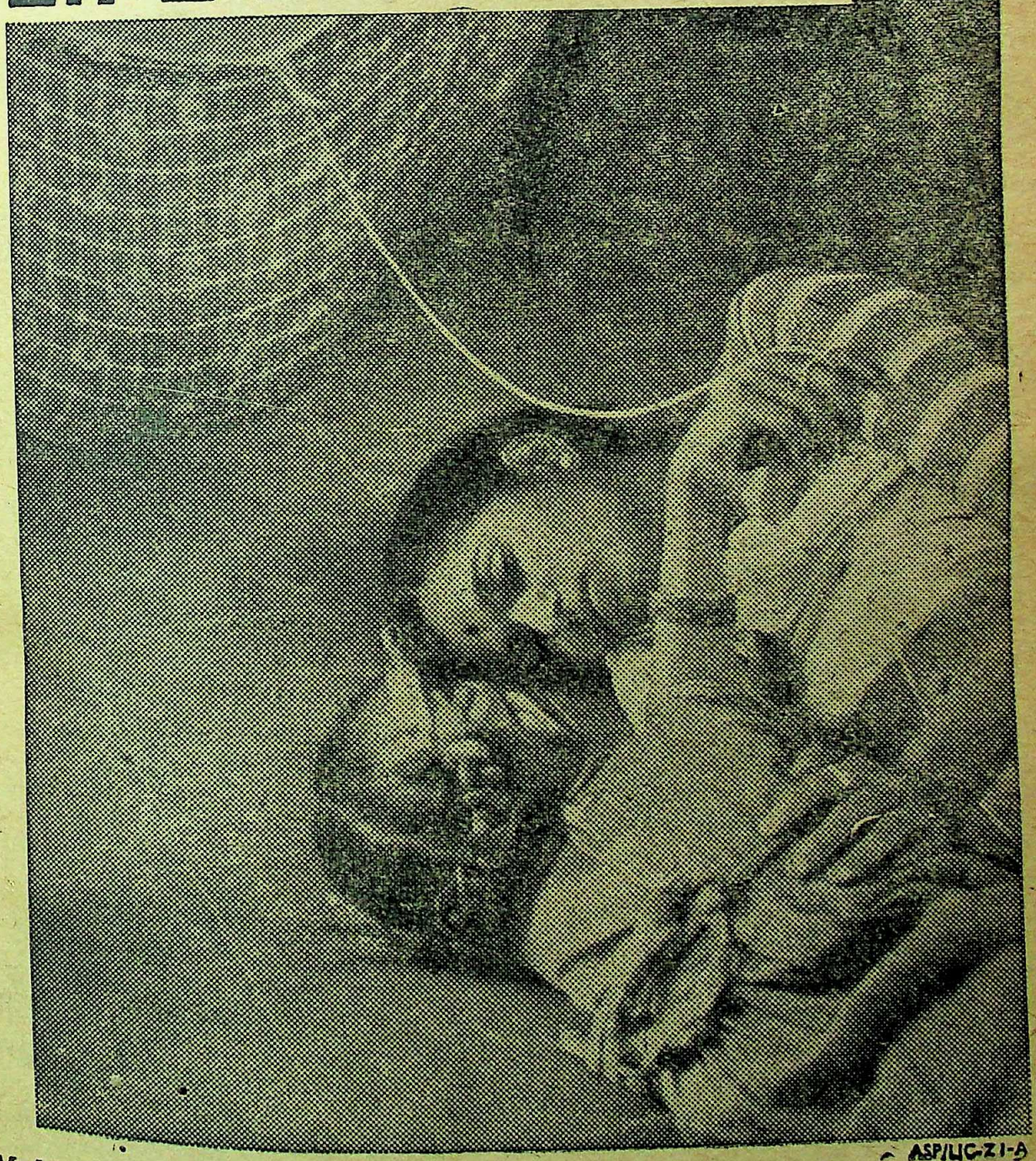

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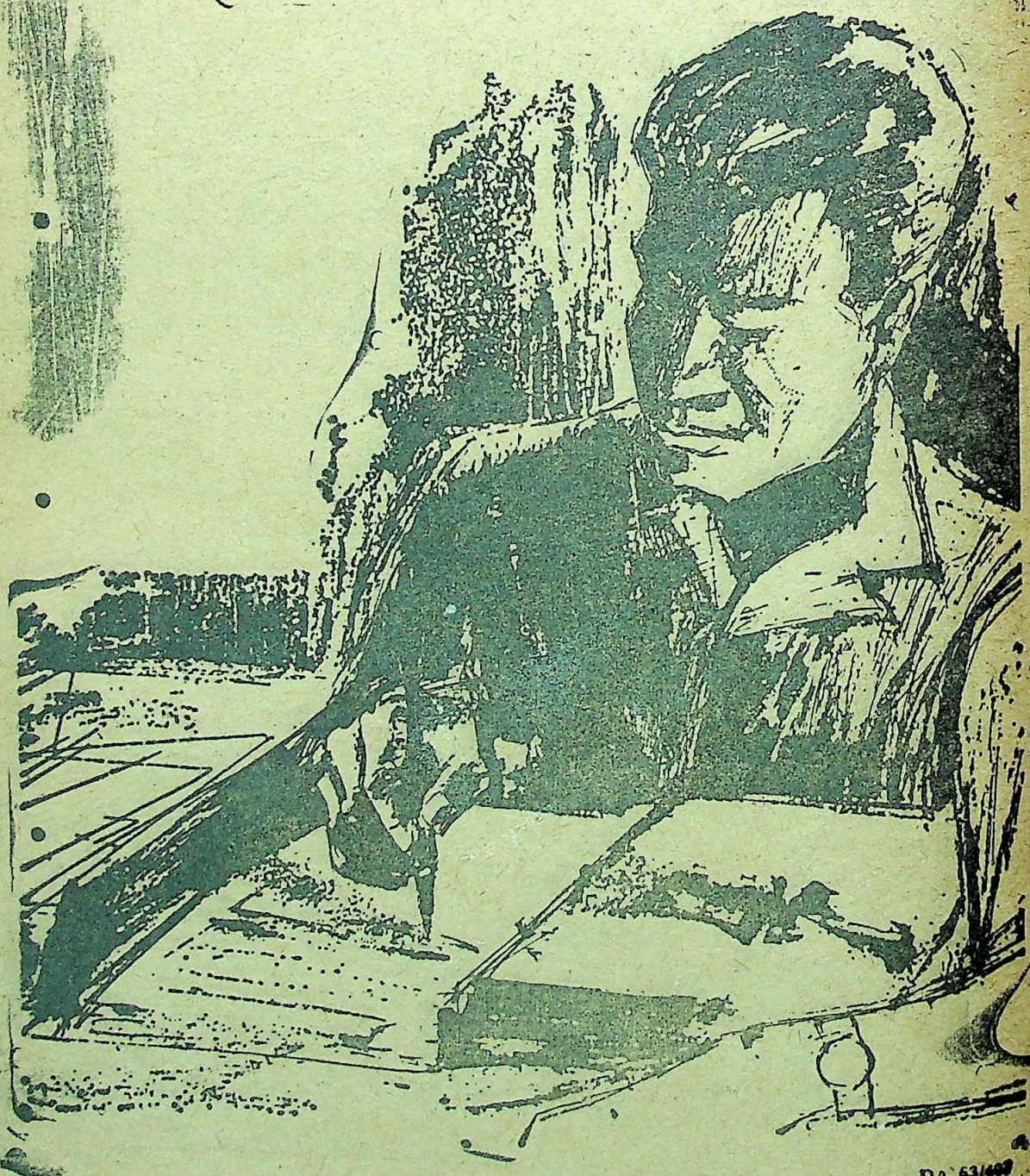

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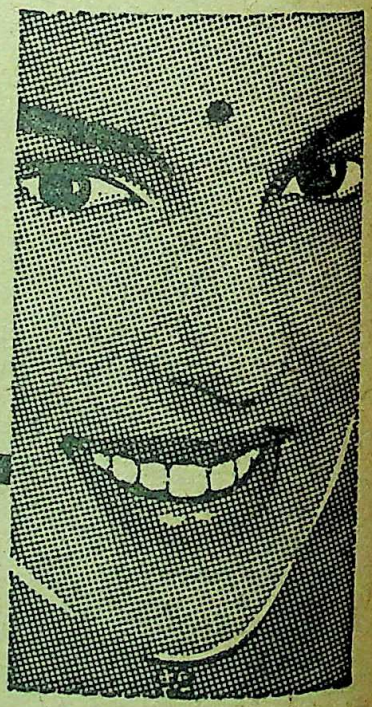

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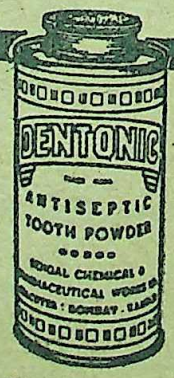

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FEBRUARY 1964

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NOTES

The World

In the major spheres of World Politics there was a lull for some time past. The only new departure in the field of alignments amongst the major powers was the recognition by De Gaulle's France of Red China. This distinct divergence by France from the policies held by the powers of the Western Bloc aroused mild reactions from some and little comment from others. Washington termed the French decision "unfortunate" and reaffirmed the USA's deterination to stand by the regime of Nationalist China in Formosa. Moscow just expressed satisfaction at the French announcement and complimented the French Government for its realism. But it did not miss the chance to remark on France's stand on tests ban by noting that "it would be gratifying if the same realistic approach prevailed in the French attitude to other international problems." Belgrade's expression of approval was similarly qualified by a reference to Peking's negative policies.

Britain made no comment on this move. It should be noted that Britain accorded recognition to Peking before 1950, that is before Red China sent its troops into Korea in defiance of the U.N. thereby causing the intensification of the Korean War. India also has diplomatic relations with Peking, which has been maintained despite the open aggression by Red China on the Himalayan frontiers of India. There was no comments from New Delhi though it is reported that authoritative sources there, have expressed "regret" at the timing of the French move and expressed some apprehension at the possibility of China being able to secure arms and strategic materials from France.

The Formosa Government has evidently taken this new development seriously as the Nationalist Cabinet went into session to consider it. The result is a denunciation of France's move, but Formosa does not intend breaking off diplomatic relations. The theory of "Two Chinas" will receive substantial support thereby and a few more anti-Communist nations may accord recognition to Peking. De Gaulle has stated that his government has arranged with Peking so that he can maintain relations with the Nationalist government of China at Formosa.

Pakistan of course is delighted that her new patron has moved up in the comity of nations. A Pakistani Foreign office spokesman has excelled himself by stating that "France's action was in the interests of the maintenance of peace in South and South-East Asia"! He forgot to add that it might go a good deal in furthering the "peace efforts" of Red China and Pakistan in those areas.

Peking has received recognition from 49 nations out of a total of about 119 States. This by itself of course does not mean that Red China's entry into the U.N. is assured, as it means a support from about 40% of the

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members if all of them back China's entry. If a large number maintain a neutral attitude then the situation will alter. That really would mean tacit support to the "Two Chinas" theory.

Strangely enough De Gaulle's formulation of the "Two Chinas" stand has received its strongest opposition from Peking itself. According to the Chinese Government's view-point Taiwan (Formosa) is a part of Chinese territory and as such "any attempt to detach Taiwan from China or to create" Two Chinas "is not acceptable to the Chinese Government and people." This was clearly expressed in the statement issued to correspondents.

The statement said the Government of the People's Republic of China had entered into negotiations with France "in the capacity of the sole legal Government representing all the Chinese people".

It went on: "According to international practice recognition of the new Government of a country naturally implies ceasing to recognize the old ruling group overthrown by the people of that country."

"Consequently representatives of the old ruling group can no longer be regarded as representatives of that country to be present side by side with the representatives of the new Government in one and the same country or international organization.

"It was with this understanding that the Government of the People's Republic of China reached agreement with the Government of the French Republic on the establishment of diplomatic relations and the exchange of ambassadors between China and France".

The French Foreign Ministry countered this through a statement by one of its spokesmen to the effect that the agreement between the two Governments had been reached "without any condition of any sort" and by affirming that Paris had no intention to break off relations with the Nationalist Government at Taipeh. Indeed President de Gaulle had sent a special emissary to General Chiang Kai-Shek at Taipeh (Formosan Capital) to urge him not to close his country's embassy in Paris.

At the time of writing these the position was unqualified support for the move was from France itself, Pakistan and one or two of the declared pro-Chinese Communist Governments. China herself has laid a condition precedent to her acceptance and the Soviet Group of Eastern European States has followed the lead of the Soviets in giving qualified approval. It remains to be seen whether Pakistan—who has outstripped China in its approval of the French move—has any second thoughts on the Two Chinas "Theory".

President Johnson of the U.S.A. has sent a personal emissary in the person of Mr. Robert Kennedy, the U.S. Attorney General and a brother of the martyred President, to see whether anything could be done to unravel the deep political tangle caused by the determined opposition of Indonesia and a somewhat milder opposition by the Philippines to the formation of Malaysia. Mr. Rr. Robert Kennedy has had long talks with President Soekarno, firstly at Tokyo and then at Djakarta, and has also used his powers of persuation on President Macapagal of the Philippines and on Tengku Abdul Rahman, the Premier of Malayasia. Prince Norodom Sihanonk of Cambodia also visited Kuala Lumpur at the time of Mr. Kennedy's visit and he desired that the meeting of the three heads of States involved in the Malayasian crisis be held in the Cambodian Capital. Mr. Kennedy had suggested Bangkok as the venue of the tripartite talks.

Mr. Robert Kennedy seems to have been successful in persuading the three heads of State to meet and negotiate directly in a neutral country. He has likewise been able to ease the tension somewhat by persuading the most belligerent party, Indonesia, to call off the military demonstrations and guerrilla raids at the borders of Sabah in North Borneo for the time being. The conditions laid down by President Soekarno regarding his acceptance of the proposal for direct negotiations lay stress on the withdrawal of British troops from Borneo. Nothing was known at the time of writing about the results of Mr. Kennedy's talks with the British Premier and his advisers regarding that condition.

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has to be convinced about the wisdom of pulling out British troops from Borneo, before these negotiations can proceed any further.

Pakistan has again taken the "Case of Kashmir" before the Security Council of the U.N.O. This present request by Pakistan is on the basis of rehashed "facts" that contain rejected and stale arguments bolstered up by the pot-pourri of mendacious statements spiced with malice and hatred that is the stock-in-trade of Pakistan. This time the application has been rendered further stringent by a threat of adoption of other measures "if the U.N. does not accede to Pakistan's demand for other people's territories. A military adventure on the part of Pakistan is not unlikely, closely associated as she is with another totally unscrupulous and militarily strong country like Red China. Let us hope our Defence department has taken steps in time.

India's reply to the Pakistani letter written by her Foreign Minister Mr. Z. A. Bhutto requesting a meeting of the Security Council, as given by Mr. B. N. Chakravarty, India's Chief U. N. delegate, contained a warning that the discussions in the Council with charges and counter-charges will only enhance the tension of the communal situation. India charged Pakistan with making these moves for the purpose of diverting attention away from the tragic occurences of the recent large-scale disturbances in East Pakistan which had inflicted heavy losses in life and property on the minority community in that territory. Further it was a propaganda move in concert with Pakistan's campaign of malice and hatred against India.

Pakistani complaints about the integration of Jammu and Kashmir with the Indian Union were dismissed with the statement that the inter-relationship between the Union and the State was purely an internal matter. Mr. Chakravarti referred to earlier Indian replies to similar Pakistani complaints and said that nothing had happened in the matter of constitutional arrangements between the Union and Kashmir to support even remotely the Pakistani allegations about a tense and critical situation. It was further stated that the relationship between Kashmir and the Indian Union was purely an internal matter and was governed by the Indian constitution and any change within the framework of the Constitutional arrangements would make no change in the status of Jammu and Kashmir as a constituent State of the Indian Union.

Pakistan had been seeking opportunities during some months past for creating difficulties and an atmosphere of crisis in Kashmir. The Chaknot incidents and the cutting off of water supplies to Betar Nullah which fed the hydel generators at Poonch were typical examples. In both of these the U.N. observers had awarded the decision of violations against Pakistan.

Similarly the disappearance of the sacred relic of the Prophet from Hazratbal in Kashmir, which caused serious concern all over the Indian Union, was used in an attempt to incite communal tension and violent anti-Indian propaganda. The demonstrations in Kashmir which demanded that the Government of India should take charge of the investigations into the theft and help in the recovery of the relic were made out to be anti-Indian demonstrations in Mr. Bhutto's letter. The truth was that despite all attempts by Pakistan to exploit the incident to stir up the people through malicious and mendacious propaganda, the communal amity between different religious groups of the Kashmiri population remained undisturbed.

Pakistan's mischievous attempt to give the theft a communal trend was centred on attributing the theft to non-Muslims had not an iota of truth to back it. But carried away with the eagerness to vent their malice on India, the Pakistani leaders, even at the highest level, made the wildest statements which were amplified by the Pakistani Press and Radio which poured out torrents of venomous lies against India and the non-Muslim communities. This had disastrous consequences the letter stated, in East Pakistan, which alone of the two wings has a substantial population belonging to the minority community.

The Indian letter quoted a Reuter re-

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port from Dacca, attributed to authoritative sources such as an American Peace Corps nurse and some diplomatic persons, to the effect that 1000 persons had been killed in Dacca alone in the communal riots. The lettter further said:

"The immediate pre-occupation of the Government of India—and we feel that should equally be the main preoccupation of the Government of Pakistan—is to control these communal disturbances and give full protection to the life and property of all its citizens. Despite the tragic happenings in East Pakistan, the Home Minister of India and the Chief Minister of West Bengal have more than once affirmed the determination to protect all citizens of India irrespective of religion and creed from vandalism and organised disturbances".

"India is a secular State and a home of 50 million Muslims as well as of several million citizens professing other faiths—Christianity, Buddhism, Sikhism and Zoroastrianism—all of whom enjoy complete equality of rights under the Constitution of India.

"The Indian Government is determined, irrespective of what happens in Pakistan, that there shall be no violation of rights and of security of person and property anywhere in India of any citizen to whatever religious or minority group he may belong and has taken and will continue to take, wherever necessary, sternest measures required to enforce this policy and to prevent any further repercussions in India.

"The Government of India hopes that the Pakistan authorities will, by their policies and actions in their territory, assist in this effort", the letter said.

The Indian letter then noted the Indian Government's appeal to the Indian Press and the mass media in reporting the news from East Pakistan and their response "in the most responsible manner" to this appeal, and the moderation and restraint shown by East Pakistan's Press of late and contrasted it with the hate-India campaign in the West Pakistan Press and its most reckless and irresponsible headlines depicting completely a false picture of alleged disturbances in India.

"The Government of India deeply regret that the Government of Pakistan do not appear to have made any effort to restrain the West Pakistan Press", the letter siad.

The letter said that unfortunately Pakistan's response to the Indian President's message had been negative and the India Government's most practical and constructive suggestions had been ignored by the Pakistan Government.

Mr. Chakravarti said:

"Instead of responding positively to the constructive suggestions made by the Government of India, the Government of Pakistan have chosen to adopt an agitational approach.

"The primary need of the hour is harmony and peace between the two countries which can only be settled in a climate of peace. India stands by its offer that the two Governments should put their heads together to devise ways and means to bring about an atmosphere of communal amity. Once a better atmosphere prevails it may be possible to discuss the differences which have bedevilled the relations between the two coutries. India has no desire but to live at peace and in friendly and co-operative relations with Pakistan and will despite provocations, continue to work to this end", the letter added.

The Security Council is meeting, nevertheless, at the beginning of February.

In Africa there was trouble and bloodshed in several of the newly freed States particularly in Zanzibar, The Congo and the State of Rwanda. In Zanzibar a coup led by a Cuba-trained and Uganda born African styled "Field-Marshal" Okello with his German army toppled over the Government established barely a month back. The Sultan Seyyid Jamshid bin Abdulla fled out of the country in a yacht. The new Government had not really settled down at the time of writing these, though a whole host of Communist countries have accorded recognition to it, inclusive of Moscow and Red China. In the looting and bloodshed that followed the coup in Zanzibar, the sufferers were Arabs and Indians. In the Congo a new revolt, said to be also Com

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munist inspired and equipped, broke out in the Kwilu province about 250 miles east of Leopoldsville. Government troops reinforcements are in action there against the tribal guerrillas. In Rwanda ancient tribal animosities have broken out in a savage massacre of over 6000 men, women and children of the former ruling tribe who were in a minority, numbering only 250,000 to the majority of 1,500000 of the other tribe. The too tribes are the Bahutu who were numerically superior to the extent of six to one but being more primitive were ruled for centuries by the Watutsi a picturesque tribe of giants whose average height was above 6 ft 6 inches. In 1960 the Belgians, who had colonised the area, held elections by which the Bahutu wrested power from the Watutsi and turned the table on their former lords and masters. After Rwanda got independence in July 1962, over a third of the Watutsi migrated into Tanganyika, Uganda, Burundi and the Kivu province of the Congo, to escape the savage reprisals of the Bahutu. But the warlike Watutsi were not subdued by their misfortunes and they thirsted for revenge.

Bands of raiders attacked Bahutu villages at night. Just before the end of 1963 large scale incursions by thousands of Watutsi from three neighbouring countries took place. They penetrated to within a few miles of the Rwanda Capital, Kigala, and a bloody battle had to be fought before they were finally repulsed. Then started the tribal massacre by hordes of Bahutu warriors of those Watutsi, men, women and children, who had not migrated. The massacres are being carried on with the brutal savagery of primitive Africans.

The heads of twelve other Arab States met in Cairo for a prolonged meeting and discussion in response to a call from President Gamal Abdel Nasser. The call was for all the 13 Arab States to discuss and determine a course of unified action against the Israeli plan for the diversion of the Jordan River into the Negev desert for irrigation. But prior to the determination of the plan of action a tremendous amount of accumulated ill-will and animus as between these Arab States had to be eliminated. Long private sessions followed and to the surprise of foreign observers that seemingly impossible task was accomplished. There was agreement between Nasser and his erstwhile bitter enemies, King Saud of Saudi Arabia and King Hussein of Jordan, much to the delight of President Sallal of Yemen; Morocco's king Hassan II and Algier's Ahmed ben Bella agreed to settle their boundary dispute through mediation and so on and so forth. A unified plan of action, with a unified army under the Supreme Command of Egypt's Lieut. General Ali Amer, has been settled for the diversion of the head waters of the Jordan by regulating the flow of four tributaries of the Jordan that flow through Jordan, Syria and Lebanon. Israel has received the news of this decision with defiance, and an armed conflict is not impossible.

In Central America, the Panama Canal Zone has been witnessing disturbances and bloodshed by American forces, the victims being mostly panamaians. It started with Juvenile deliquency on the part of pampered American school boys and now the U.S. is in a morally awkward impasse.

The Riots

It is difficult as yet to present a coherent picture of the disturbances in Calcutta and the areas in neighbouring districts of West Bengal. The official "press notes" issued from time to time contained no final summing up for obvious reasons. Indeed the problem before the administration in West Bengal is to control the reaction of the local people of those areas, which have large numbers of "refugee settlers", to the stories of atrocities in East Pakistan perpetrated by the majority population and to the visual evidence of the unfortunate sufferers that are coming into West Bengal. It is evident that the possibilities of repercussions—on a minor scale though they might be—cannot be completely ruled out.

What our friends in the other provinces are possibly unawre of is that in Calcutta, both in the metropolitan and the industrial areas, there is a very large immigrant popu-

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lation who have come into the City and the mill-areas to earn their livelihood. Together with them have come a fairly considerable number of **goondas** and **budmashes** who have a considerable following amongst the casual-labour population. And then there are the root-less peoples who had to leave East Pakistan under duress and nurse the resentment generated thereby, who have settled in large and populous "Colonies" on the outskirts of Calcutta and in the neighbouring districts. Lastly of course there are the tens of thousands of unemployed youth, who are always ready to indulge in rowdy and undisciplined demonstration on the least provocation. All these, particularly the last two sections of the population, are highly inflammable material and likely to react violently under circumstances like those that prevailed when streams of stricken people, in hundreds and thousands, started coming into West Bengal, to seek shelter and refuge, from East Pakistan.

There has been a lot of criticism of our police forces for their inability to control the rioters and their lack of firmness in pinching out the disturbances right at the beginning. But to the best of our knowledge there is not a single unit of riot-trained police with proper equipment at the disposal of either the Commissioner of Police or the Inspector General of Police. The police forces even in normal times have their work cut out to control and direct the straggling traffic channels, to keep law and order amongst the very large rowdy elements amongst the immigrant population and to keep in check those whose actions and reactions are not guided by reason. So in the case of a sudden outburst of rioting over a large and scattered area the police become helpless unless large reinforcements are available. The move for an augmentation of the armed police force is probably based on the consideration of such emergencies. Considering all these the police deserve more credit than has been given.

The riots this time consisted in the main of arson and looting. In many areas where large scale conflagrations took place the arson did not follow mass mob action. It was rather the surreptitous work of incendiaries. It was hinted that some of the incendiaries. It was hinted that some of the bustees being on lands that are worth any—depending on the locality—these nefarious "fire-bugs" might have been employed by interested parties. In a few spots the mob attacked shops and then after looting spread destruction and fire. The fire bridgade fought these sudden conflagrations with great determination and devotion to duty, despite handicaps of insufficient supply of water in certain areas to which was added a grievous shortage of machines and personnel. To this force the administration and the citizens owe a debt of gratitude.

The army took over eight of the twenty seven police areas of Calcutta proper. There is no doubt that the firm action and close watch instituted by the army was instrumental in cutting short the frenzy of the irresponsible elements and thus extinguishing the riotous disturbances. They released large sections of the police who had the onerous job of apprehending the goondas in thousands and searching for and the recovery of loot.

The actual amount of material damage is not very great, if the scale and the widespread nature of the disturbances be taken into consideration. But the psychological damage seemed to be very great at the beginning. Luckily the firm and stern measures taken to put down lawlessness has had its effect on the panicky sections of the people. There are signs of normalcy returning in respect of confidence in the attitude and the capacity of the administration in respect of such disturbances.

Lastly it must be pointed out that both with regard to looting and attacks on innocent citizens and their families, the sufferers belonged to all sections of the community, particularly in such areas where habitual miscreants tried to break down law and order to satisfy their greed for loot.

But as has been remarked at the beginning, the full story cannot be narrated for the simple reason that Pakistan is still trying to fan communal flames with total disregard for consequences.

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Current Affairs

By KARUNA K. NANDI

THE SIXTYEIGHTH ANNUAL CONGRESS

Ms. Nehru's Illness

What would seem to lend more than ordinary significance to the Bhubaneswar session of the Indian National Congress was not so much what has been described as the self-balancing feat of the Party there—remarkable though it undoubtedly was—but the unmistakable although admittedly tragic manner in which it demonstrated to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru what his immediate next step should be. It was really Panditji's health which, understandably enough, was found to have caused far greater concern to most of those who had assembled for this plenary session of the Congress, than even the future of socialism in the country which caused such unprecedented controversy and a measure of bitter bickering between different wings of the Party leadership. To the dispassionate observor with a sense of history, the most crucial lesson of the Bhubaneswar Congress is for Mr. Nehru to take the most difficult, almost the most heroic decision of his life, that of stepping aside from his pedestal of office and not to contniue any longer to let things just be. The decision, one recognizes, would not be an easy one and would call for the utmost courage of dispassionate self-analysis. Nevertheless it should not be impossible for Shri Nehru to admit to himself that he can do no good to himself but a world of harm to the country and her people he claims to so passionately love, by continuing to carry the burdens of office upon his shoulders which, in the inescapable process of natural wastage, has inevitably lost a great deal of its wonted resilience and strength. He could still continue to guide the destinies of the nation without having to carry the dead weight of the administration upon his visibly weakened and inevitably deteriorating physical resources. The nation, on its part, owes it to itself, to provide him the rest and the relaxation which he must be acknowledged to have earned so well and which he now so richly deserves.

That he has not seemed so far to have realised this urgent need may well be for the reason that he has not yet had adequate time after his recent bout of illness to gather together his mental and moral resources necessary for arriving at a final decision and, perhaps, not so much because he may consider himself indispensable to the Government. For no one with a sense of history would consider any human being, however highly placed, as indispensable. There is likewise the equally difficult decision on the question of succession. The redrafting of Lalbahadur Shastri to the Central Cabinet so soon after he had left it in obedience to the demands of the Kamraj Plan —as speculated upon by certain sections of opinion both within and outside the country as having been done with this end in view—may or may not have been done with deliberate intent to making him ready for the succession, but that a possible successor should have to be found with due expedition if Mr. Nehru has to be spared for continuing service to his people for yet awhile, is a decision which should brook no avoidable delay.

The Congress proceedings

The proceedings at this session of the Congress were admittedly somewhat unusual and of which forebodings were already available during the preceding session of the All India Congress Committee held in Jaipur in November last. The Jaipur Session of the A.I.C.C. proved quite a controversial one on the Party's concept of democratic socialism which made the High Command cautious enough not to have, contrary to traditional practice, finally formulated its resolution to be placed before the ensuing plenary session. All that the Jaipur A.I.C.C. meetings did was to adopt a note on the subject leaving the task of framing the official resolution later.

The Draft Resolution

The Draft Resolution on the subject, which was actually framed by a sub-committee of the

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Working Committee in New Delhi on New Year's Eve and was headed by Mr. Nehru himself was, more or less, a reiteration of the Jaipur Note, except for the addition of four new points, which set before the country the goal of providing the masses with their basic needs in respect of food, clothing, housing, education and health, by the end of the Fifth Plan period. The new pargraphs added included, first, a demand for a limitation of private property and income, secondly, control of credit, thirdly for the taking over by the State of agricultural produce and processing industries and, finally, for administrative reforms. Of these additions to the resolution, the second one, relating to the control of credit caused, perhaps, the longest and the most bitter controversy. In the actual draft it was cautiously worded to the effect that the Government should be in a position "to more effectively direct the means of credit and investible resources along the lines of national priority and (our) social purposes" but this obviously did not wholly satisfy the opposition in the Subjects Committee who demanded that the resolution should categorically demand outright nationalization of Banks. The clauses in the resolution, first to advocate the fixation of a ceiling on private property and income, especially inherited wealth and urban property, and suggesting that the State should "secure a larger share of capital gains and appropriate a much larger proportion of unearned income than at present" and, secondly, the one calling upon the State to take over the operation of rice mills and other units to process agricultural produce progressively, seemed to have caused a spate of opposition from the group who are generally described as being in the "right" of the Party.

What is significant in this context is that the measure of controversy over these clauses in the resolution although unprecedented as indicated by some 64 amendments originally proposed in the Subjects Committee including a parallel draft resolution to replace the official one, it was nevertheless adopted unanimously at the end and was presented as such to the later plenary session. Of the 64 amendments all but one were withdrawn by the proposers and the only one that was actually moved failed to find even one single supporter to second it. Nevertheless the controversy over these clashing points of view raged long and bitter and it was indeed a self-balancing feat of an unusual character that enabled the Committee to get through its original officail resolution without any change or mutilation whatsoever. This may, in a sense, be said to have shown up in sharp relief both the strength and weakness of the Congress Party thinking, more than anything else had done during the recent past. There was, however, a concessional gesture, if one were to regard it as such, in that the High Command agreed to an amendment of Art. I of the Congress Constitution to incorporate the achievement of socialism as the primary objective of the Party which was, perhaps, a sop to those who wanted to move far faster in this direction than has so far been possible and whose impatience in this behalf caused all the controversy and bitterness —happily resolved in the end—over the official resolution.

The strength of the Party High Command was also demonstrated in ample measure in another manner, that is in the election of seven members to the Party Worknig Committee. The Working Committee consists of 21 members including the President, of whom 7 are elected by the A.I.C.C. at the plenary session, and the rest nominated by the President at this dsicretion. Originally seventeen members filed their nominations for these seven offices but the eve-of polling withdrawals reduced them to thirteen. The seven sctually elected cannot be said to belong either of the extreme "right" or the "left." The Morarji Desai and K. D. Malaviya have both been ruthlessly eliminated and if S. K. Patil may be held to belong to the dead "centre" with rather a "rightish" hue, so can Bijou Pattanaik be regarded to be one in the "centre" with a distinctive "left" colouring. In fact Bijou Pattanaik it was who was most vociferous in his demands for the straightforward and outright nationalization of banks and it seems to have mainly at his instance that the clause relating to the proposal for the State to take over rice mills and other agricultural processing industries was included in the resolution.

Strength or Weakness?

One is not quite sure, however, judging from the ultimate and happy fate of the official resolution on democracy and socialism, if it really indicates any basic weakness or strength of the

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Party as such. On the face of it, it would seem, that counsels of moderation prevailed and the official resolution, although it contained atleast two crucial clauses of highly questionable wisdom, could be made to be accepted in the form it was originally presented. But judging by the apparently overwhelming measure of opinion on the extreme left as indicated by the many originally suggested amendments including a wholly parallel one of an extreme nature—whcih has been quite unprecedented throughout sixtyeight years of Congress history as Morarji Desai so aptly pointed out—one is not quite sure what all this may ultimately portend. It is obvious that the present official leadership of the Party is yet organizationally strong enough to be able to effectively suborn the opposition, however vociferous or numerically strong, but it does not seem clear enough as yet as to how far their present rather stale and static thinking may be able to keep down the growingly robust hold that is visibly being increasingly taken of opposition thinking by the modern jargons of so-called revolutionary socio-economic thinking. If their so-called thinking is, in most part, an amalgam of mere catch phrases and slogans without much of a constructive content, the thinking of the official leadership, likewise, would seem to be a mere battery of counter-catchwords and shibboleths without any very deep content of constructive thinking as well. It would seem almost obvious that the present Congress leadership on either side of the centre has been suffering from a paralyzing throught-famine whcih, perhaps, is the only reason why the so-called self-balancing feat of achieving unanimity on a resolution despite irreconcilable view-points on its contents was at all possible.

External Policy

In sharp contrast to the controversy over the manner in which a majority of speakers in the Subjects Committee expressed their impatience and, sometimes, even anger over the contents of Congress socialism, which even the amendment of Article I of the Constitution of the Party declaring the objective to be the establishment of a socialist State based upon parliamentary democracy, to replace its earlier constitutional aim of establishing a socialistic co-operative commonwealth, failed wholly to appease, the Party's resolution on international affairs proved to be a comparatively tame affair and caused no controversy whatever even when a speaker sought to interpret non-alignment as mere non-involvement. It is true that the steering committee took over two and a half hours before it could agree upon the draft resolution that was ultimately brought up before the Subjects Committee, but most of the differences were reported to have centred only around the phraselogy of the draft and not around its spirit and not even in respect of its emphasis. One significant fact so far as this resolution was concerned was that while Morarji Desai from the far "right" moved the resolution, it was seconded by V. K. Krishna Menon who is generally supposed to belong to the farthest "left" of the Party leadership. What this may really auger it may be difficult to assess at this juncture; it may very well mean that both the right and left wings of the Party are atleast in full accord with one another in this field or it may equally be that strategy of the left wing was to concentrate all its fire upon the framing of the Party's policy so far as its socialist objectives were concerned and extend its fullest co-operation to the other wing so far as matters of lesser importance to itself were concerned.

Congress Socialism

The principal features of the programme for attainment of the socialist objectives of the Congress that have to be "fully implemented" are, according to the resolution, the achievement of "an economy of abundance, equal opportunities for even one and a just share in the fruits of progress and elimination of privilege, disparities and exploitation." A modern apparatus of production, planned economic development without widening existing income disparities and a national minimum comprising the essential requirements in respect of food, clothing, housing, education and health, as speedily as possible, are among the other important postulates of the resolution.

The resolution also calls for a *limitation of incomes and property in private hands*, the State to *more effectively direct the means of credit and investible resources of the country* along lines of national priorities and the *progressive growth of the public sector.*

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Workers' participation in management, successful operation of controls to check prices, incentive to farmers, State take-over of rice mills and other agricultural processing units and speedy implementation of land reforms schemes, have also been included as featurs of the resolution.

It is significant that although Shri Bijou Pattanaik, who seconded the official resolution of the Party on democracy and socialism in the Subjects Committee, declared that nationalization of banks "was essential for socialist development of the country," the text of the resolution itself does not include any specific provision in this regard except for the rather wide and vaguely worded directive that the "State should more effectively direct the means of credit and investible resources of the country along the lines of national priorties and the progressive growth of the private sector." It is significant, however, that Mr. Pattanaik's other important thesis that the creditworthiness of a small entre preneur should be assessed not on the basis of his assets but on that of his capacity for production, appears to have found place in the text of the official resolution finally adopted by the Party.

Inoccuous and humdrum ?

On the face of it, the official resolution on democracy and Socialism, as finally adopted, would seem to merely more or less reiterate its traditional stand on the subject and, but for a few important additions here and there, would seem to be quite as inoccuous and humdrum as on previous occasions. Thus, for instance, the inclusion of the provision for the State to take over agricultural produce and processing units, is a new and important one although having regard to the fundamental changes already envisaged and, in very large measure implemented, in regard to the basic land tenure system in the country, this could not be regarded as entirely a new departure. Then, there is the clause regarding fixing a ceiling on private income and property which is another important part of the official resolution. Here also no new departure from earlier policies can be seen, for determining a ceiling on incomes and property in private hands has been talked about almost ad nauseum from the very beginning of Congress rule over the country, although the matter, as far as I can recall, cannot be said to have ever before been officially included in a resolution passed by a plenary session of the Party. Nor also have the Government of the country been known to endeavour to implement the policy in actual effect and while the Government and the Party from which they have been drawn have continued to sw by socialism and the elimination of income property disparities they have, in actual effect, be progressively and overwhelmingly widening o the last twelve years and more of planned deve ment of the economy. If now the Party have been invested with a sense of urgency this matter, it does not seem to have be reflected in correspondingly adequate meas upon the resolution affecting this part. Th again, the part of the resolution that calls fo national minimum in respect of such basic ne as food, clothing, housing, education and hea within a specified period dead-line is, in its no new and fundamental departure from ear policies in this regard, although the empha and the seplling out of a specific time-limit its achievement which was first mooted in earlier Jaipur A.I.C.C. session, may be regar as a new one. Nevertheless this may mean more than mere wishful thinking on the p of the Party and may have been included in official spelling out of Party objectives at Bhubaneswar Congress for, perhaps, no o reason except for the purpose of endeavour to counter the growing discontent and impatie of the country. For it is demonstrable, and i difficult to believe that the Party and its lead ship are not aware of this fact, that the state development-planning today, even without tak into account the large and almost paraly failures of the Third Plan as are now offici admitted by the Planning Commission Government alike, simply do not make it p bable, nor even possible, that progress in economy that can, even with the utmost ef and resources at the disposal of the cou today, be achieved by the end of the Fifth P period, in the measure which would yield nevessary wherewithals for achieving this called "national minimum." Although minimum has not been specifically spelt out the resolution except in rather vague terms, this were to mean an income, computed terms of constant prices, of not less than Rs. per mensem per family of 5 as recently po lated by Shri Shriman Narayan, Member of Planning Commission, in course of an add to a students' seminar in Bombay, it is sim not possible to achieve this level of income real terms, of course), even if the projecti of the Fourth and the Fifth Plans as inclu in the Third Plan document were to be f realised in actual effect. Not that Rs. 100 family of 5 would buy the basic minimum quirements stated in the resolution. On pre prices food grains alone for a family of 5 wo cost very nearly Rs. 50 per mensem even if

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more overwhelming proportion of the family's need in this behalf were to be covered by the cheaper wheat. Housing, even in the most putrid slums would cost no less than Rs. 25 per mensem in semi-urban areas and, in any case, not less than Rs. 10 in villages. Clothing at a basic minimum of 9 yards per head per annum of the coarsest variety would cost no less than Rs. 7 per mensem and schooling, even at a free primary school could not cost less than Rs. 2 per child per month which, assuming the 5 in the family to consist of 3 school-going children, would cost no less than another Rs. 6. If the cost on health has to be kept down to a nominal amount, the family's food must consist of a reasonable proportion of milk and other proteins, fats, sugar, some vegetables, fruits, etc., in such proportions as would cover a daily intake of even as little as 1,800 calories (minimum requirements in this behalf for healthy living is computed by competent medical and nutritional experts are placed at not less than 3,000 calories, it should be underlined), would cost the family nothing less than another Rs. 50 per mensem at present prices. It should be clear on the face of it, therefore, that although Rs. 100 per mensem per family of 5 would be far too inadequate to attain a healthy national minimum of living standards, it is far too optimistic to expect that even this inadequate little would be wtihin the limits of practical realisation by the end of the Fifth Plan period. Merely passing resolutions and delivering scathing denunciations of the Government and the Party leadership are not, patently, going to be of much practical value. If, therefore, the much boosted Congress resolution on democracy and socialism, inspite of verbal departures from earlier tradition, were to be regarded as merely humdrum and inoccuous, one should not be regarded as being either too critical or too carping.

A Public Relations Resolution

In fact it would not be far wrong to regard the resolution as a whole, together with all the rather vitriolic controversy that preceded its final adoption as it was originally drafted and approved by the steering committee, as nothing more serious than a virtuously shaped public relations stunt. The Congress Government's essays in very expensive "socialistic planning" has neither yielded adequate results in terms of net advance in terms of rise in the national income, nor has it eliminated or even visibly reduced income and wealth disparities. On the contrary indications are not wanting that the latter have very substantially widened as compared to their level before launching planned development under Government aegis, although factual assessments thereof have yet to be made available to the public. The following excerpts from a contribution to the recently issued Bhubaneswar Congress special issue of the official party organ of the Congress, the *"A.I.C.C. Economic Review"* by one who is obviously a party member, would be both interesting and revealing :

"As a result of the efforts at planning," says this document, "nationnal income of India has risen by about 42 per cent durnig the period 1950-51 to 1960-61. After accounting for a 22 per cent rise in the population, we get an impression that the *per capita* income has risen by about 15 per cent in ten years. The rate of growth at 1.5 per cent per annum cannot give much of a consolation on our performance ; but more painful is the situation when we question ourselves about the extent of improvement in the standards of living for the majority of the Indian population.

"It is a matter of common knowledge that whenever there are inflationary tendencies in an economy and there is existence of disparities in the ownership of wealth and property, the poorer sections stand to loose and the richer sections to gain. The gains would be in the same ratio as would be the degree of disparities in ownership of property, since the value of the property would rise at the rate at which prices rise ; and the loss to the poor, since purchasing power of their available income would decline, would be by the degree of rise in the price level.

"During the first decade of planning in India (1950-51 to 1960-61) there has been virtually no change in the occupatonail structure i.e., dependence upon agriculture by nearly 67 per cent of the population remains as it was. It also means the same rate of growth of population in the agricultural sector as in the non-agricultural one. The index of agricultural production has risen by about 40 per cent whereas index of industrial production has risen by nearly 94.3 per cent. If one accounts for populatoin growth one may roughly say that the *per capita* income of the agricultural sector has increased by about 14 per cent whereas of the industrial sector by 68 per cent i.e., by nearly five times. Cost of living index during this period rose by about 23 per cent (from 101 to 124). After accounting for this, one can easily imagine how disparities in income levels, even broadly, must have widened further. But the situation is not correctly described until we also mention that most of the increased incomes within the industrial sector accrue to a very *small per centage of industrialists* (emphasis ours)". This is an indictment

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of planning as it was eventuated during the last decade and the kind of *socialistic* advance that would appear to have been achieved thereby by a member of the ruling party.

One should, therefore, take care to underline what the present Congress resolution on democracy, inspite of what may be ordinarily regarded as its revolutionary addenda, may mean in practical terms.

The Public Sector

One of the clauses of the resolution includes the words "progressive growth of the public sector" and on of the insistent demands of the opposition in the Subjects Committee led by Bijou Pattanaik was categorical inclusion of the demand for nationalization of banks in the terms of the resolution. The growth already evinced by the public sector in the national economy would be evident from the fact that while in the first two Plans, the proportion of aggregate investment in the public sector has been only above half the total new investment, in the Third Plan the public Sector's share has assumed a proportion of well over 75 per cent of the total. Besides, the sphere of the public sector has also been progressively widened over the Plan years and the Industrial Policy Resolution of 1956, which was, in effect, a restatement of the Government's policies in this behalf, was a virtual departure, not merely in degree, but also in fundamentals from the earlier policy statement contained in the Industrial Policy Resolution of 1948. Although there has so far been no further officially adumbrated amendment of the 1956 industrial policy of the Government so far as the operation and jurisdiction of the public sector is concerned, recent trends go to show that the public sector has also been endeavouring to increasingly invade the consumer sector of industry which, it was initially decided, would remain the exclusive domain of the private sector.

What the public sector has to show for this increasing appropriation of national and borrowed capital resources is a question which should, in this context, be carefully examined. In the key and strategic industries' sector, for instance, inspite of the massive investments so far made in the public sector steel industry for one, the results, so far, in production yields have only been infinitesimal compared to the already laid down capacity. Further expansion of the public sector steel plants at massive outlay of capital in both national currency and foreign exchange, as well as the establishment of at least one more 4 million ton steel plant have been included in the periority projects of the Third Plan and yet it is now quite clear that the country's depend on imported steel will continue to rise over corresponding period. In the coal industry ag the performances of the public sector have tragically far below the targets envisaged in Second Plan and there is hardly any doubt the increased targets of the current Plan in industry will remain equally dismally u filled. Some realism has begun to be rec evinced by Government by a certain measur indirect assistance that they have at last willing to extend to the private sector in the industry. Examples could be muliplied to that the performances of the public sector far, in the crucial industries' sectors have far below expectations originally held out especially, in the domain of power produc capacity, the public sector's failures have dem strably affected the production pace of the pri sector in large measure.

In fact the mid-term appraisal of the T Plan recently assayed by the Planning Commis goes to show that inspite of investments in sector having aggregated, during the first years of the Plan, to somewhere around fifty cent of the estimated investment over the en Plan peroid, results so far eventuated in terms progress in the rise of the national income been of the order of only about 15 per cent expectations. What is more, according to Plannig Commission, the likely investm appropriations of the entire Third Plan per would aggregate somewhere above 93 per of total estimates in this behalf for the pu sector, although the Commission have, it se with deliberate intent, desisted from giving estimate of possible yields in terms of incre in the national income that could now be rea tically expected, over the entire Plan per According to some eminent economists, the of increase in the national income during remaining Plan period could not be expected exceed a rate of approximately 3.5 per cent annum. A more optimistic school of econom however, place this rate at an optimum of per cent provided, of course, more increased integrated effort were brought to the implem tation of the Plan during the remaining y of the Plan. Even if this latter figure were to accepted as possibly realistic—and there is siderable doubt if that is really so—the aggre rise in the national income over the entire T Plan period would not be likely to exceed about 18 per cent against the originally envis 36 per cent in the Plan. In other words, a more than 93 per cent investment, the li yield of the Plan in terms of advance in national income could not be expected to ex

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only just about 50 per cent of original expectation! There could be no more scathing indictment of the public sector in the present Indian economy than this. The immense wastefulness of its operation is all too obvious to need further elucidation. It would be interesting to note what a celebrated Congress man says in this context: "But if we ask ourselves a question," he says, "what per centage of the nation's production is generated in the public sector, we would realise that the task ahead is tremendous and all this zeal of congratulating ourselves over the fast-expanding public sector would be put in the right perspective."

Nationalization of Banks

It is in this context that the insistent demand, from cerain very vociferous secions of the Party, for the nationalization of Banks has to be especially assessed. The talk of nationalization of the banking institutions in the country has been in the air for quite some time and even a categorical demand was voiced in this behalf in Parliament at its last session. The present demand for including this in the Party and the Government's immediate programmes would seem to have stemmed from a desire to have control over all the credit institutions of the country, so that there would be larger control over capital resources and their deployment than the Government have at present. While not agreeing to go so far as to include a plan for nationalization of banks categorically in the official resolution even such a usually conservative and balanced man as Lalbahadur Shastri had, while moving the resolution in the Subjects Committee, went so far as to say that "nationalization was considered necessary for increase in production, reduction of imports, removal of disparities and end of monopolies. Disparities" Shastri conceded, "would stay but socialist measures (he seemed obviously to have meant this to include nationalization of banks as well) were expected to minimize their intensity" how, he did not, of course, care to explain.

Bijou Pattanaik, who seemed to have played a very active role in developing this demand within the Party and, especially in the High Command who, he claimed were convinced "of the need to nationalize the banking industry in India," was reported to have said that "five business houses controlled the banking industry which had only Rs. 38 crores of share capital and Rs. 1,480 crores of depositors' money. These five business houses controlled 1,600 industrial units. There was interlocking of finance and the vast amount of the depositors' money was largely used for the benefit of their industries.

"Nationalization of banks," Pattanaik said, "would not curb the operations of the private sector. Nationalized banks would instead offer finance to thousands of small entre preneurs to thrive in industrial ventures thus breaking monopoly interests."

Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, while speaking at the Subjects Committee meeting on the resolution seemed to have struck a diversionary note when while avoiding being categorical on the subject of nationalization of banks. He said that the real "danger lay in rising prices and unaccounted money. If these could be controlled," he was reported to have added, "many of the ills facing the country could be remedied. Regarding credit facilities, nationalization of banks would not augment credit. The State Bank now controlled 30 per cent of credit. The Union Government had plans to start a Development Bank. The Government would then have control over 50 per cent of credit.

In fact, a realistic note was sought to be introduced by an industrialist member who pointed out that the banks in the country between them made a gross profit of only about Rs. 25 crores in a year and after meeting all their statutory obligations are left with a net amount of only about Rs. 4 crores for appropriation. This is too insignificant a sum for nationalization of banks to be worthwhile to the nation. But the meeting did not seem to be in a mood to listen to counsels of wisdom.

The problem so far as credit is concerned is not the extent of it that is controlled by the organized credit institutions like banks. The banks are already under a considerable measure of regulatory control so far as the lending of credits to their clients is concerned and the extent of this control as well its nature may, at any time, be widened or amended whenever the need may arise. It can hardly be accepted that the banks are responsible for the obviously rising speculative pressures in the market, especially in the essential consumer sectors which are generally supposed to be responsible for correspondingly increasing price pressures. It is well known that there is a vast unorganized sector of the money market operating in the country without any kind of physical or constitutional inhibition on its operations which, generally makes vast credits available for speculative operations and which, in their turn, spiral up the price level. According to a statement of the Union Finance Minister some time ago, this unorganized and virtually uncontrollable sector of the money market is in control of credits as large as the entire organized

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sector as a whole, and unless ways and unless ways and means can be devised to curb its operations, the hope of a stable price structure and all that it denotes would continue to be belied. Mr. Krishnamachari has spoken of the need for public discipline to enable this to be achieved and we have no doubt that he is materially right. The difficulty is that there is no known methods of inculcatiing public discipline in such matters that may be expected to be really effective.

Actual physical control of the banks by the public sector would, on the other hand, be altogether a most reprehensible masure. We have already acquired a considerable measure of experience of Government's control over one very important and organized sector of credit industry, we mean life insurance. Nationalization of life insurance, so far, does not seem to have improved matters so far as its public dealings are concerned in comparison with the earlier regime. The element of security to the individual insured may have improved to a certain extent in so far as the assurance is there by implication that being under public management, the insured would not be deprived of his legitimate dues. But, by and large, Indian life insurance except in certain isolated instances, continued to give a very good account of the public trust reposed in it, both by way of security to the policyholder as well as in the contents of efficient and prompt service to him. If there have been instances of the element of security not being all it should have been, the fault was not so much that of the industry as a wole but really that of the Government who by their lapses had failed to ensure conformation to staturory requirements by certain cases of unscrupulous managements, enabling them to victimize their policyholders with impunity. On the other hand since nationalization, we have heard of innumerable complaints, many of which we found were wholly substantial, of the very inadequate and inefficient service that policyholders generally can now expect from this organization, but also that organizationally a great deal of nepotism and jobbery has been undermining the very basic strength of the industry as a whole. The management of the Life Insurance Corporation no doubt go into self-congratulatory peans over its successful progress in writing far larger quantities of new business every year than ever before, but if this were to be set off against the equally increasing incidence of new business and renewal lapses—of which unfortunately no up-to-date and detailed accounts are available—and of accrued but pending claims, much of this progress would seem to have been extravagant wastefulness. Even the payment of a due premium has been made so cumbrous and time-consuming that if there were any alternatives available even with a considerable attenuation of the security element, the Life Insurance Corporation would soon be out of business. It is an outstanding example of the evils of a monopoly in more ways than have already been related. For instance the investment policies of the premier life insurance companies before nationalization always included schemes to invest in housebuilding loans to policy holders on very reasonable terms and over the years many middle class families have been enabled to build and own houses which they could not otherwise hope to do. True, the L.I.C. has recently announced resumption of such investments now, but the rate of interest now decided to be charged is so high that there will be likely to be a very few takers, if any at all at this ruinously high cost. There is, indeed, not the least justification for such a high rate of interest except that the Corporation may perhaps invest its funds equally profitably elsewhere, although we have our gravest doubts if any legitimate borrower will even find it worth his while to borrow money, against sound and redeemable security, at as high a cost as 7.5 per cent per annum. There is hardly any business in the country except, perhaps, that of the black-marketeer, that is found to yield such a high rate of net profit on the investment. Besides, it is the policyholder's money that would thus be lent to him, and if the premium charged to him is constructed on an interest base of only 3 per cent, there does not seem to be any legitimate reason why he should be made to pay a 150 per cent more for using ti to his own advantage and to that of the Corporation alike.

The fear is not unreal that if banks were to be included within public sector management, much the same confusion, nepotism and jobbery would also be the inevitable outcome. Besides, the banker's job is a highly specialized and a technical one. Pitchforking people into the controlling authority of such institutions without adequate previous experience or training in the mechanics of banking and the operations of the credit market might jeopardise its very existence and usefulness to the community. It is just as well, that demands of those who would have all our banks nationalized have not, so far as the resolution is concerned, been categorically conceded. There is reason, we feel, even to view the little that has been conceded in this context with the gravest measure of suspicion and apprehension. It may yet open the door wider to graver risks in the future.

The resolution apparently has conceded

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Bijou Pattanaik's demand that the creditworthiness of an industry should not be assessed on the security of its assets but on its production potential. It is hardly clear as to what was really meant. If a bank, for instance, were to advance needed credits to an industry, it would inevitably have to be sure that the investment has been adequately secured. Such security, if advances were to be made on the block capital of the industry which, of course, is not the proper province of a commercial bank to do, by an assessments of the fixed assets of the industry concerned with such reasonable margins between their assessed value and the actual amount of investment. This is an elementary precaution that any bank, or even a private lender would adopt while making an investment of this nature. Otherwise investments with industry by a lending institution can only be made on the marketable value of goods or raw materials pledged with such margins for safety as may be mutually determined. In any case it must be on the realisable assets of an industry, eithr by way of fixed capital or manufactures under process or goods in stock. How can anyone lend credits on the assessed production potential of an industry without the risk of jeopardising the invested funds either in part or entirely, is beyond our common understanding. Mr. S. K. Patil sought to disabuse the Committee of the apparent impossibility of enunciating such a norm of investment in course of his speech on the rsolution, but it seems that no one, including the framers of the resolution, were inclined to listen to words of common or garden wisdom.

Ceiling Over Income, Property and Wealth

In conclusion we would only refer to the clause of the resolutioin under discussion that demands that present economic disparities must be substantially reduced and that a ceiling must be placed upon incomes and private property. This is quite a legitimate objective. No reasonable person could hold a brief for extravagant and wateful affluence and abject misery and utter starvation to subsist side by side. It is somewhat encouraging that Lalbahadur Shastri has stated that a measure of disparity will inevitably continue to exist but that it had become urgently necessary to narrow down the present widening gap between the two. This would seem to indicate that no outright method of expropriation and deprivations are intended. It would seem to have struck somewhat of an invidious exception when the committee, as reported ,refused to take into consideration a suggestion by one of its members, that an immediate ceiling on the incomes and property of members of the Cogress party be prescribed. It may appear to the lay public that the Party would not agree to abide by the same standards themselves which they are so eager to apply to the rest of the country's population. However, that is by the way.

A confession has been implicit in the terms of the resolution as well as in the speeches of the party leadership, that during the decade of planning, the fruits of progress have not really fallen to the lot of the poor and the hungry who have been grovelling below on the dust and have really been appropriated by those who have been perching on the topmost rungs of the economic ladder. The preliminary report on national income distribution compiled by the Mahalanobis Committee indicated even more. Although not finally confirmed by the long awaited full and subsequent report, it seemed to have indicated that the richest ten per cent of the population have been appropriating as much as very nearly fifty per cent of the net national product, and that an equal proportion of the wealth of the country is owned by them. If these indications are really borne out by a factual analysis of the situation, it would seem that the Congress Party's assays in socialist planning have really borne the most poisonous fruits. In fact it would be legitimate to evaluate these facts as an index of the utter incompetence, inadequacies and even worse of Congress rule over the country as also, that through Governmentally sponsored development planning they have taken on a task on themselves which they are neither qualified nor competent enough to carry out successfully and along legitimate lines.

No one, therefore, will quarrel with the Party's resolution that ways and means must be found to combat this paralying evil. No wonder that, in the circumstances, even some stalwarts of the Congress leadership are heard to complain that the real power behind the present Government are neither the people who have placed them there, nor the Party from which it is derived, but the handful of rich finciers and industrialists who rule the destiny of the country through

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Congress puppets to their own personal advantage and to the detriment of those of rest of the country. But what methods are used and instruments are devised to combat this evil and thus effectively disperse the power that money represents in the country without sacrificing the basic principles of liberty and human dignity is the most important matter for consideration in this context.

The Congress President, Kamraj Nadar, has already suggested how the objective could be achieved without sacrificing either principles of liberty or subjecting human dignity to any kind of pressure. His suggestion has the genius of simplicity and is, moreover, in the fullest accord with the accepted canons of public taxation all over the civilized world. He has said achieve this by taxation, a method which might have been employed with advantage from the very beginning of Congress rule. Taxation, it is only legitimate, should be proportonal to the financial resources and revenues of every citizen. It is true that it may be somewhat difficult, at least at the initial stages, to discover all the incomes and all the assets of some very rich persons, but given the determination by the Government leaders concerned, it should not be impossible to do so in the end. When Morarji Desai issued his Gold Control Order last year, we expressed our fears that it would achieve nothing except a few paltry gains here and there but would cause colossal misery and deprivation on the other hand. If the Finance Minister really meant the hidden gold hoards in the country to be forced out into the open and accounted for more direct and courageous methods would have to be employed. He would do nothing like that and the result has been worse than useless. It was some redemption that Krishnamachari later partially modified the order which has somewhat minimized its rigours on those who least deserved them. But even he has not gone far enough to the point where it would really be possible to force out into the open the openly suspected but never officially discovered large concealed gold hoards in the country and an accounting demanded.

Forceful and determined methods will have to be employed if results are expected to be obtained in the present instance also. At the same time one may also hope that corresponding succours in the matter of the very burdens that the common man has so far been made to carry and which his shoulders have never been strong enough to comfortably sustain, that have been increasingly imposed on him over the years by way of exise duties on the few articles of essential consumption without which he could nott hope to exist. Taxation, one admits, will have to continue to be heavy in the country for years and years. But one has the right to expect that its burdens would be more equitably distributed than has so far been done. Incidentally, this would also seem to be one of the basic requirements of a socialist society which our Congress rulers promise so vociferously they would fashion for us.

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EMERGENCY PROVISIONS IN THE CONSTITUTION OF INDIA: AN APPRAISAL

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Introduction

When arms speak, said the great Roman Jurist, laws are silent.[1] The famous English political philosopher, Edmund Burke, made a similar observation in his "Reflections on the Revoution in France." "Laws are commanded to hold their tongues amongst arms; and tribunals fall to the ground with the peace they are no longer able to uphold." One familiar with the practical working of a constitutional system realises that Cicero's adage and Burke's dictum all too often accord with the realities of emergencies. As observed by Lord Mac. Millan: "The still small voice of law is quelled when men kill and destroy in defiance of its dictates."[2]

The basic provisions of the constitution, normally and perfectly adapted to conditions of peace, may not have the same complete and universal application in times of extreme emergency. Even constitutional doctrine must give way, if it conflicts with the national necessity, since emergency calls into full play all the powers of Government. "By general law", declared Abraham Lincoln, at the height of America's greatest national emergency, "life and limb must be protected, yet often a limb must be amputated to save a life; but a life is never wisely given to save a limb."[3] This is undeniable as total war can not be waged in complete subordination to law. As succintly put by Alladi Krishnaswami Iyer: "a war can not be fought on principles of the Magna Carta."[4] Lord Justice Scrutton made a similar observation: ".....a war could not be conducted on the principles of the Sermon on the Mount." The view that the emergency power must be exercised in strict conformity with all legal forms and limitations must, therefore, be rejected. Yet, this is far from saying that the emergency must be allowed to carry before it the basic Constitutional structure. The exigencies of extreme emergency must somehow be reconciled with the requirements of law; if either takes over the field completely in a period of emergency, it may carry with it all else that is of value.[5]

Modern constitutions, to meet an abnormal situation, provide the executive with wide powers to deal effecitvely with such a situation, in ordeer to protect public safety and national interest. The Indian Constitution has, by part XVIII, provided the executive with ample powers to deal with abnormal situations or emergencies. The purpose of this paper is to critically examine the provisions of Part XVIII of the Indian Constitution and to compare them with the corresponding provisions of other democratic constitutions.

Part XVIII of the Constitution of India visualizes three different kinds of abnormal situations:—(i) An emergency due to internal disturbance or external aggression; (ii) Failure of constitutional machinery in the States; (iii) Financial Emergency.

An Emergency Due to External Aggression or Internal Disturbance

Art. 352 of the Constitution of India provides that if the President is satisfied that a grave emergency exists whereby the security of India or any part thereof is threatened, whether by war or external aggression or internal disturbance, he may, by proclamation, make a declaration to that effect. On account of the naked aggression committed by China against India, the President has proclaimed an emergency under Art. 352 of the Constitution.

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The President is also authorised to issue a proclamation of emergency before the actual occurence of war, aggression or disturbance, if he is satisfied that there is imminent danger of such occurence. The power to proclaim an emergency is subject to two restrictions: In the first place, the proclamation has to be laid before each House of Parliament. The Constitution does not, however, specify the period during which this obligation has to be fulfilled. Secondly, the proclamation ceases to be operative at the expiration of two months unless before the expiration of that period, it has been approved by both Houses of Parliament.

The issue of a proclamation of emergency has a twofold consequence. In the first place, it virtually amounts to the negation of the federal character of the Constitution in so far as the States affected by the proclamation are reduced to the level of county Councils in a unitary State. Under Art. 353 the executive power of the States is brought directly under the control and supervision of the Union in the event of emergency. Secondly, the Union Parliament is also authorized to make laws with respect to any matter and to confer powers and impose duties upon the Union or Officers and authorities of the Union as respects that matter, notwithstanding that it is one which is not enumerated in the Union List.

Thus the balance of division of powers between the Union and the units is affected during emergenceis, as the Union is allowed to encroach upon the sphere allotted to the States. Thus, during an emergency, the autonomy of the States is reduced to vanishing point, and they become parts of a decentralized Unitary State.

In the American Constitution there are no separate provisions for dealing with abnormal situations. As the Supreme Court of America has observed: "Extraordinary conditions do not create or enlarge Constitutional powers."[6] In Home Building and Loan Association V. Blaisdell[7] Chief Justice Hughes said:

"Emergency does not create power; emergency does not increase granted power or remove or diminish the restrictions imposed upon the powers granted or reserved. The constitution was adopted in a period of grave emergency. Its grants of power to the federal government and its limitations of the power of the States were determined in the light of emergency and they are not altered by emergency."

The President in America can not, therefore, exercise any extraordinary powers in view of any emergency. Even the Federal Legislature itself has no large powers under emergencies. But, in construing the scope of the grant of power, the existence of the emergency has always been borne in mind by the Courts. Mr. Justice Holmes said in the Schenck case that when a nation was at war "many things that might be said in time of peace are such a hindrance to its (war) efforts that their utterance will not be endured so long as men fight" and "no court could regard them as protected by any constitutional right."

Federal Intervention in Cases of Aggression and Disturbance

Under Art. 355 of the Indian Constitution, the Union Government is under obligation to protect every State against external aggression and internal disturbance and to ensure that the Government of every State is carried on in accordance with the Constitution. There are similar provisions in the constitutions of Australia and the United States of America. S.119 of the Australian Constitution reads: "The Commonwealth shall protect every State against invasion and, on the application of the executive Government of the State, against domestic violence." The Constitution of the United States provides: "The United States shall guarantee to every State in the Union a republican form of Government, and shall protect each of them against invasion, and on the application of the Legislature or the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence."

The duty imposed on the Federal Government in the United States to guarantee

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the republican form in the States may lead one to think that it may prohibit or suspend such State Governments as do not, in its judgement, conform to the requirement. But there has been no instance in practice so far to the effect that the Government of the United States has suspended or interfered with a State Government on the ground that the latter has failed to perform its constitutional obligations.[9]

In the cases[10] that brought this Clause before the Court, it was held that the maintenance of representative institutions is sufficient to maintain a republican form of Government.

In the United States of America if, on account of domestic violence, the working of the State Government becomes impossible, the Union Governmet may come to the aid of the State Government with its military forces, if required—but only at the request of the State. The decision taken by Congress in this regard can not be challenged in a Court of law. Similarly, in cases of domestic violence, it is for the Congress to determine "the measures which should be adopted to make the guarantee effective."[11] In Texas V White [12] it was pointed out that the power to enforce this guarantee is primarily a legislative power and resides in Congress.[13]

In the United States if the disturbance interferes with the operation of the National Government itself, the processes of the Federal Courts, or the movement of the inter-State trade and commerce, the Union may send its troops on its own initiative, without waiting for the application of the State authorities. In October, 1962, President Kennedy sent the Federal troops to secure the admission of Mr. Meredith, a Negro, to the Mississipi University, and thereby enforce the decree of the federal Court flouted by Governor Barnett.[14] The former President Eisenhower also, it may be recalled, used federal troops in the Little Rock, Arkansas, integration crisis.

This authority to send federal troops is based on the right of the Union to execute the federal laws and to maintain its authority on every foot or tip of the national territory. The action of President Cleveland in sending federal troops during the Chicago strike in 1894 was upheld by the court. In the course of the judgement the court observed:

> "The entire strength of the nation may be used to enforce in any part of the land the full and free exercise of all national powers . . . . entrusted by the constitution to its care. The strong arm of the National Government may be put forth to brush away all obstructions to the freedom of inter-State Commerce or the transportation of the mails".[14]

In India the power to intervene is granted to the executive and not to the legislature. And federal intervention in India may take place even if there is actually no external aggression or internal disturbance; it is enough if there is, to the satisfaction of the President, imminent danger of it.[15] The Union is also competent to ensure that the Government of a State is carried on in accordance with the Constitution. The Union has also authority under Art. 365 read with Art. 356 to intervene in the affairs of a State when it fails to comply with or to give effect to any directions issued by the Union Government under Art. 256.[15a]

Failure of Constitutional machinery in the States

The President is empowered by Art. 356 of the constitution to make a proclamation whenever he is satisfied that the Government of a State can not be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution either on the report of the Governor or otherwise. It means the failure of a State Government to work according to the Constitution, in circumstances which have no necessary connection with external aggression, internal disturbance or violence, though these may be the cause of failure in particular cases.[16] A failure within the meaning of the present Article may probably arise also in the case of abuse of Constitutional powers by a State Government. In the States of Andhra and the Punjab and also in Orissa, party dissensions

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brought in President's rule. After the fall of the Prakasam Ministry in Andhra by a vote of no confidence and after the resignation of the Bhargava Ministry in the Punjab, President's rule was introduced on the alleged ground that no alternative Ministry could be formed.

When no State Ministry can be formed, the first step, which certainly is the right step, should be dissolution and general election. It is a matter of common knowledge that in the United Kingdom the Legislature is repeatedly dissolved till a single majority party emerges or till a coalition is formed. In India also, when there is a breakdown of Constitutional machinery in a State, the proper method of reconstruction is dissolution and election and not introduction of President's rule. The powers under Art. 356 should, therefore, be exercised as a matter of last resort, as expected by the framers of the Constitution.[17]

Satisfaction of the President

The provisoins of Art. 356 contemplate the exercise of the powers by the President on a report being received by him from the Governor and, if the President acts under Art. 356 in such a case, there is nothing unconstitutional in his doing so, and any proclamation made by him thereunder can not be challenged as ultra vires.[18]

In the event the State Governor does not submit a report to the effect that the Constitution of the State has broken down, and if the President wants to get satisfied, otherwise than by a Governor's report, he may in his executive capacity appoint a Committee to report on the matter of internal disturbance of the State or to report whether there exist conditions in which the Government of the state can not be carried on in accordance with the Constitution.[19] On the basis of such a report he can receive an objective satisfaction, and then he may exercise his emergency powers to introduce President's rule. The Committee, it should be noted, must be a no party Committee with no political affila Government.

tions. This device, besides being immense valuable, will be democratic and constitutional.

In case no such Committee is ab appointed, how should the President act Should he accept and act according to the advice tendered by the Cabinet even if the advice is partisam ? It is quite conceivable that such advice might be partisan when the party governing the State is different from the party governing the Centre and a majority of the States.

If we look at the Constituent Assembly Debates, the answer is somewhat clear: The President should abide by the advice tendered by the Cabinet. "The whole scheme of the Constitution," declared Krishnamachari, "has been envisaged on the basis that the President is a Constitutional head even though we have not put it in so many words."[20] Emphasizing the same point Alladi Krishnaswami Iyer said:

> "The President means the Central Cabinet responsible to Parliament in which are representatives from various units which form the component parts of the federal government. Therefore, the Provincial machinery having failed, the Central Cabinet assumes the responsibility of the Provicial Cabinet."[21]

But, if we examine the relevant provisions of the Constitution, we arrive at an altogether different conclusion. The framers of the constitution explained that they had outlined the position of the President on the Irish model, viz., that of an elected President acting on the advice of the Ministers responsible to the Legislature.[22]

Article 13 of the Irish Constitution explicitly declares:

"The powers and functions conferred on the President by this Constitution shall be exercisable and performable by him only on the alvice of the Government save where it is provided by this Constitution that he shall act in his absoute discretion and, "no power or function conferred on the President shall be exercisable or performable by him save only on the advice of the

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Nothing similar to these provisions appears in the Indian Constitution. Art. 74(1) of the Indian Constitution says: "There shall be a Council of Ministers with the Prime Minister at the Head to aid and advice the Presilent." It may be noticed that the words used are "aid and advice" and not "guide"[23] as used in the Act of 1919. Art. 111 of the Constitution reads: "when a Bill has been passed by the Houses of Parliament, it shall be presented to the President, and the President shall declare either that he assents to the Bill, or that he withholds assent therefrom." It may be noted that the word used here is "assent" anl not "authenticate." Assent means voluntary expression of one's own volition.

So, it may be deduced from the language of these two material provisions of the Constitution that the Council of Ministers can only aid and advise the President and that the President may withhold his assent from the Bill passed by the Parliament despite the advice to the contrary tendered by the Council of Ministers, as it is unlikely that Ministers responsible to the House of the people would ever advice the President to withhold his assent from a Bill drafted, introduced in, piloted through and got approved by both Houses of the Parliament by a Minister.

It may thus be seen that there is an intelligible difference between the intention of the framers of the Constitution and the language of the articles defining the powers and functions of the President. It is, perhaps, to remove this ambiguity that a Bill was introduced by Mr. Bhupesh Gupta in the Rajya Sabha for the amendment of the Constitution. An amendment of some of the relevant provisions of the Constitution will undoubtedly clarify the position of the President; but it puts the President in a legal strait-jacket. It is, therefore, better—and this is what, I think, the framers of the Constitution also wanted[24]—if the position of the President is clarified by the growth of conventions.

So, with regard to the exercise of the emergency powers no definte answer can be given as to whether the President should always and in all cases abide by the advice tendered by the Cabinet. It may, however, be said that the President, being head of the entire State at large, standing outside the clash of parties, and being on oath to protect and defend the Constitution, may refuse to act according to the advice of the Council of Ministers if it is palpably partisan. The International Commission of Jurists in their Kerala Enquiry Committee Report observed:

> ".....the President occupying the responsible position that he does under the constitution would not merely toe the line with his Council of Ministers but would considerably hesitate to bow to the dectates of the Council and sign on on the dotted line, if his better sense indicated an action to the contrary."[25]

Financial Emergency

If the President is satisfied that a situation has arisen whereby the financial stability or credit of India or any part of it is threatened, he may declare a Financial Emergency. The proclamation in this case also should be approved by Parliament, as in the other two cases of Emergency. During the Financial Emergency the executive authority of the Union shall extend to giving of directions to any State to observe such canons of financial propriety as may be specified in the direction or any other directions which the President may deem necessary for that purpose. Such directions may include those requiring the reduction of salaries and allwances of the Government employees and even those of the Judges of the Supreme Court and the High Courts.[26]

Suspension of Fundamental Rights

The proclamation of emergency due to external aggression or internal disturbance differs from the proclamation of emergency due to the failure of constitutional machinery in the State. The fundamental difference is that in the former case the right to move the Courts for the enforcement of fundamental rights is liable to be suspended

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and the State would be free from the limitations imposed by Art. 19[27] of the Constitution whereas in the latter kind of emergency the fundamental rights of the people remain unaffected. Secondly, in case of a proclamation of failure of constitutional machinery, the Government of the State concerned would be superseded by the Union. On the other hand, in case of a proclamation of emergency, the State authorities do not cease to function and the state Governments are not superseded.

Referring to the provisions made in the Constitution empowering the President to suspend the fundamental rights, Mr. H. V. Kamath[28] observed during the Constituent Assembly Debates:

> ".....The Constitution has been founded.....on what I call 'the Grand Affirmation of the Fundamental Rights'. We have tried to build on that the edifice of democracy, but I find surmounting that edifice the arch of Great Negation .....and article 359 to my mind is the Key-stone of the arch of autocratic reaction.....As an autocratic negation of liberty this article takes the palm over all other Constitutions in the World."

Commenting on the power conferred on the President to suspend the right to move the courts for the enforcement of Fundamental Rights, Mr. Saxena[29] said:

> "When we were in jail in 1942, even though it was during the war, the foreign Government did not think it fit to deprive us of habeas corpus. So if the power is given to the President to abrogate this right, it will be a slur on our Constitution, and it should not be allowed to be included in it."

He also pointed out that no such provision was included either in the Canadian or in the Australian Constitution.

In the United States Art. I Sec. 9(2) of the Constitution provides: "The privilege of the Writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it."

It follows from this article that nothing short of actual invasion[30] or rebellion may justify the suspension of this writ. The power to suspend the writ, as observed by Chief Justice Marshall, lies with the Congress. He said:[31]

> "If at any time the public safety should require the suspension of the powers vested by this act (granting jurisdiction) in the courts of the United States, it is for the Legislature to say so. The question depends on political considerations, on which the Legislature is to decide. Until the legislative will be expressed, this court can only see its duty and must obey the laws."

During the earlier part of the Civil War Lincoln issued proclamations suspending the writ and ordering wholesale arrests without warrants, detentions without trial and imprisonments without judicial convictions. In Exparte Merryman[32] Chief Justice Taney said that suspension of the writ was a legislative power which the President could not exercise, and observed that the President had "thrust aside the judicial authorities and officers to whom the Constitution has confided the power and duty of administering the laws, and substitute a military Government in its place to be administered by military officers."

Now it is admitted by all authorities on the American Constitution that the President has no power to suspend the writ without the sanction of Congress. And it is for the Courts to determine whether conditions have arisen which would justify the suspension. Thus in Ex Parte Milligan the Supreme Court held that a threatened invasion would not justify the suspension.

It is only the writ of habeas corpus that can be suspended by the Legislature either during war or any other emergency. The Bill of Rights can be suspended only by an amendment of the Constitution. As observed by Mr. Justice Davis:[33]

> "The illustrious men who framed this instrument were guarding the foundations of civil liberty against the abuses of unlimited power; they were full of wisdom, and the lessons of history informed them that a trial by an established court assisted by an impartial jury, was the

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only sure way of protecting the citizen against oppression and wrong. Knowing this they limited the suspension to one great right; and left the rest to remain for ever inviolable. But it is insisted that the safety of the country in time of war demands that this broad claim for martial law shall be sustained. that a country, preserved at the sacrifice of all the cardinal principles of liberty, is not worth the cost of preservation."

The Court went on to add in memorable words:

"The Constitution of the United States is a law for rulers and people, equally in war and in peace, and covers with the shield of its protection all classes of men, at all times, and under all circumstances. No doctrine involving more pernicious consequences was ever invented by the wit of man than that any of its (Bill of Rights) provisions can be suspended during any of the great exigencies of the Government."[34]

In another case the same Coort held:

"Even war does not remove Constitutional limitations safeguarding essential liberties."[35]

Of course times have changed since the above pronouncements by the Supreme Court, but the words contain such a perennial truth that they should ever ring in the ears of men who ardently desire Constitutional Government.[36] That the court, even now, will not hesitate to apply the Constitution's limitations to action taken in time of the emergency of war and sought to be justified under the war powers may be seen from the Steel Seizure case[36](a) in which the court held unconstitutional President Truman's Seizure of the Steel mills during an industrial strike in the midst of the Korean war on the ground that the President had invaded the war powers confided to Congress by the Constitution. The pronouncement of the Supreme Court that the Constitution of the United States applies in war and peace is still valid. This does not, however, mean that the Executive has no ample powers in times of extreme emergency. During the great exigencies of Government, the Courts never hesitated to allow wide powers to the Executive, and upheld as valid such executive and legislative action as would not be allowed in normal times by liberally construing the term "Police Power."

In India, it is the executive authority that is empowered to suspned Constitutional guarantees in times of war as well as in times of peace, for a proclamation under Art. 352 may be made not only when there is external aggression or internal disturbance, but also when there is "imminent danger" thereof according to the satisfaction of the President, which is final on this point. So, when a proclamation of emergency is made by the President, the citizen during the operation of emergency, has no protection against the legislative, executive or local authorities as the State[37] is free from the limitations imposed by Art. 19, which guarantees to the citizens the freedom of speech, the freedom of movement, the freedom of occupation and the right to acquire, hold and dispose of property.

Art. 359 empowers the President to suspend the right to move the court for the enforcement of any of the Fundamental Rights guaranteed by the Constitution. This right, it may be noted, is of the greatest value as it makes the other rights workable, real and concrete as it enables any citizen to seek relief or remedy in the court of law. The suspension of this basic right will be in force during the operation of the emergency or till such shorter period as may be specified in the order of the President. This Article does not specify the definite time within which the order must be placed before the Parliament. It does not also empower the Parliament to revoke the order. Viewed from this angle of vision, the powers conferred on the Executive, over which there is no judicial review, go far beyond what is actually necessary.[38]

Dr. Ambedkar was not, therefore, very happy about these provisions as they vest in the President discretionary powers of a drastic nature. In his reply to the final debate on emergency provisions, he said: "The article deals with fundamental rights relat-

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ing to the rights of the people and it is therefore proper that we should approach this subject with caution—but I am also prepared to say—with some emotion. We have passed certain fundamental rights already and when we are trying to reduce them or to suspend them we should be very careful of the ways and means we adopt in curtailing them.

Therefore, my friends who have spoken against this article will, I hope, understand that I am in no sense an opponent of what they have said. In fact, I respect their sentiments very much . . . I may also state that I am no less fond of fundamental rights than they are."[38a]

Conclusion

The above discussion makes it clear that the emergency powers vested in the President of India substantially differ from similar powers under other Federal Constitutions in respect of many matters of vital importance. In the first place, as noticed already, the power to proclaim an emergency is vested in the President of the Indian Union, whereas such a power under other constitutions generally belongs to the Parliament. Secondly, the power of the Indian President to proclaim an emergency is purely discretionary. It is not subject to judicial review, and it is not controlled by Parliament, at least for two months. Thirdly the Emergency provisions arm the Union against the States and arm the Government against the people.

Such provisions are not to be found in other Federal Constitutions. Indeed, where the federal authorities intervene in the affairs of the member states they do so only at the request of and for the protection of the established Governments of the States. The Federal Council of the Swiss Confederation declared in its message of 22nd September, 1890 that the first task of the Confederation was to suppress disorder and dissolve the rebel Government and the second duty was to restore the authorities removed by the rebellion and maintain the Constitution of the Canton.[39]

The suspension of the Fundamental rights during emergency is a unique feature of the Indian Constitution. Even in the Unitary Constitution of Great Britain the right to move the Courts for the enforcement of the rights of the individual was barred in neither of the Great Wars.[40] It would, therefore, appear that the Constitution of India contains provisions which confer power on the Executive to abrogate the federal character of the Constitution and to suspend the rights of the individual at its discretion over which there is no judicial review. The vesting of such extraordinary powers in the Executive is antithetical to Constitutional democracy and impairs the principle of the rule of law. These provisions particularly Articles 358 and 359, therefore require reconsideration by the Constitutional experts in the country, who desire that emergency must not be allowed to undermine democracy.

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1. Cicero : Inter Arma Silent legis.
2. Quoted in Basu : Commentary on the Constitution of India 3 Ed. Vol. II, p. 549.
3. Lincoln's Complete Works, X 66.
4. C.A. Deb. IX. P. 545.

4a. It is in this sense, I think, that we should undersand the celebrated 'dictum' of Lord Atkin : "amid the clash of arms laws are not silent. They may be changed, but they speak the same language in war as in peace."

5. Schechter V.U.S. (1935) 295 U.S. 495
6. (1934) 290 U.S. 398.
7. Schenck V U.S. (1919) 249, U.S. 47.
8. Garner : Political Science and Government, p. 352.
9. Luther V Borden (1848) 7 How 1 Pacific States Tel. C. V Gregon (1912) 223 U.S. 118 Eckerson V Des Moines (1908) 137 Iowa 452.
10. Luther V Borden op. cit.
11. 7 Wall.
12. In Mexico and Argentina the power to intervene in cases of external aggression and internal disturbance has been confided to the Legislature and not to the executive. The Federal Govt. in Switzerland has no right suo moto to intervene.
13. During this incident President Kennedy said in memorable words that

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while everyone was free to disagree with the law, no man, no matter how highly placed, was entitled to disobey it, for defiance of law is the surest way to tyranny. A Government could permit no mob, however, unruly or boisterous, to defy the law. Otherwise no judge would be sure of his writ and and no citizen would be safe from his neighbours—Stateman, October 23.

14. In re Debs (1895) 158, U.S. 564.

15. The Courts have no power of judicial review over the action taken by the President.

15a. The position of the Governor here will be undoubtedly delicate. On the advice of the Council of Ministers, the President may call upon the Governor, who has to secure the execution of orders lawfully issued to him, to carry out a policy which is strongly advocated by the Union Ministers and strongly opposed by the State Ministers. The Governor may then find the Ministers opposed to the execution of the policy. The Governor is helpless as he has to carry out the orders given to him by the President. This may, in all probability, result in a political crisis leading eventually to the dismissal of the Ministry in the State.

16. Basu: op cit. Vol. II pp. 542-543 (3 Ed.).

17. C. A. Debs, Vol. IX, p. 177. During the Constituent Assembly Debates the Law Minister, Dr. Ambedkar said: "I do not altogether deny that there is a possibility of these articles being abused or employed for political purposes . . . (The) proper thing we ought to expect is that such articles will never be called into operation and that they would remain a dead letter." But Art. 356 has not remained a dead letter. It has been invoked by the President frequently though not frivolously, and President's rule has so far been introduced in the States of Punjab, Pepsu, Andhra, Kerala and Orissa.

18. Journal of the International Commission of Jurists, Kerala Enquiry Committee Report, p. 199.

19. Gopal Krishna Sastry: The Constitutional implications on President's rule in Kerala, S.C.J. Vol. XXII (1959) p. 165.

20. C. A. Debs. IX, p. 150.

21. C. A. Debs. IX, p. 124. But this view bristles with certain difficulties. Under Arts. 256-7 the President can give orders or directions to the Governor. Under Art. 365 read with Art. 356 the Union can intervene in the affairs of a State when the State Government fails to comply with the order given by the President. To take a hypothetical example, the item in the election manifesto of the Congress Party is introduction of Co-operative farming whereas the Swatantra Party is opposed to Co-operative farming. The Swatantra Party, after the general election, forms a stable Ministry in Madras, while the Congress Party forms Ministry at the Centre as well as in all the other States. Now the cabinet at the centre advises the President to issue a directive to the Governor of Madras to introduce co-operative farming in the State.

The directive of the President can be given effect to by the Council of Ministers and not by the Governor. The Council of Ministers may, in all probability, refuse to implement co-operative farming as they had voiced their opposition to it during the election. And on their refusal to give effect to the Presidential directive, the Union may intervene and dismiss the Ministry in the State.

So, in such a case, is the President bound by the advice tendered by the Cabinet? It is submitted that in such an event the President, being on oath to protect and defend the Constitution, is under a solemn obligation to reject the advice tendered by the Cabinet.

22. Basu: Op. cit. p. 417.

23. The framers of the Government of India Act, 1935 deliberately, so it appears, dropped the word "guide" and used in its place the phrase "aid and advice." The framers of the Constitution have followed the Act of 1935.

24. "Although there are no specific provisions, so far as I know, in the Constitution itself making it binding on the President to accept the advice of his Ministers, it is hoped that the convention under which in England the King acts always on the advice of his Ministers will be established in this Country also, and the President not so much on account of the written word in the Constitution, but as a result of this very healthy convention, will become a Constitutional President in all matters." Rajendra Prasad.

29. Journal—1959-60 Vol. II, No. II, p. 199.

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26. Art. 360.

27. Art. 19 guarantees to the citizens certain fundamental freedoms which can not be abridged by the State except on the grounds provided therein.

28. C.A.D. Vol. IX.

29. Ibid. In exercise of the powers conferred by Art. 359 of the Constitution the President has suspended the right to move the court for the enforcement of the fundamental rights guaranteed by Articles 14-21. Art. 14 provides: "The State shall not deny to any person equality before the law or the equal protection of the laws within the territory of India."

Art. 21 provides: "No person shall be deprived of his life or personal liberty except according to procedure established by law." The suspension of these civil rights was considered necessary to equip the Government with adequate powers to protect and preserve the territorial integrity of the State, which is threatened by the Chinese.

30. Ex Parte Milligan 4 Wall 2 (1866).

31. Ex Parte Borman 4 Cr 75.

32. 17 Fed. Cas. 114, 152 (1861).

33. Ex Parte Milligan 4 Wall. 2 (1866).

34. Ibid.

35. House Building Assn. V. Blaisdal 290 U.S. 398 (1933).

36. Basu: Op cit. 4 Ed. Vol. II—p. 550.

36(a). Youngstown Sheet and Tube Co. V. Sawyer—343 U.S. 579, 96 L.Ed. 1153 (1952).

3. State, as defined in Art. 12, includes legislative, executive and local authorities.

38. Some of the provisions of the Defence of India Act (which has been enacted in exercise of the emergency powers) affecting the basic rights of the individual are summarized below:

Re: Freedom of Speech

The Act authorizes Government to make a rule for preventing the spreading without lawful authority or excuse of reports or the prosecution of any purpose, likely to cause disaffaction or alarm, or to prejudice India's relations with foreign powers or to prejudice maintenance of peaceful conditions in any area or part of India or to promote feelings of ill-will enemity or hatred between different classes of the people of India." Any such act has been defined by a rule as a prejudicial act and punishable with imprisonment for five years.

This offence, moreover, like any under the Act, is to be tried by a special Tribunal. An appeal lies to the High Court only if the sentence is imprisonment for five years or more. Save for this appeal the ordinary courts have no jurisdiction of any kind. It is also provided:

> "No order made in exercise of any power conferred by or under this Act shall be called in question in any court."

Even the protection of a Special Tribunal, however, is taken away in the case of the publication of "a prejudicial report." If "in the opinion of the Central or State Government" any document contains such a report, it may require the Editor to reveal the source, direct the keeper of a press to deposit a security, forfeit a deposited security and as a last resort, order the closure of the Press and its premises.

Re: Personal Liberty

In addition to the Preventive Detention Act which allows detention without trial even during peace time at the subjective satisfaction of the Executive, the Defence Act enables the detention of any person whom the authority suspects, "on grounds appearing to that authority to be reasonable of hostile origin, of having acted, acting, being about to act or being likely to act in a manner prejudicial to the defence of India or civil defence, the security of the State, the public safety or interest, the maintenance of public order, India's relations with foreign States, the maintenance of peaceful conditions in any part of India or the efficient conduct of military operations." There is no provision for an independent review of these orders.

The validity of most of these decisions has bee sustained by the Supreme Court in a recent case, which has not been reported yet.

38a. C.A.D. Vol. IX, p. 548.

39. D. K. Sen. A comparative study of India Constitution, p. 231.

40. Chester V Bateson (1920) IK. B. 8[illegible]

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CHINA AND INDIA : PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS*

By CHESTER BOWLES,
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In any discussion of national development a comparison of India and Communist China is inevitable because of their political importance, because of the striking parallels in their needs, and because of the vast contrast in their approaches to development.

Together these two countries contain two-fifths of the world's people and cover one-fifth of the inhabited area of the globe. Both have been dominated by foreign powers, although, as an Indian history professor pointed out, India had only one colonial overlord while China was exploited by almost everybody. Both have recently passed through revolutionary periods, although India's was far less violent and disruptive than China's.

India and China launched their development programs from comparable economic bases. Both countries were underdeveloped relative to their needs and their potentials, with 80 per cent of their populations largely dependent on agriculture. In 1947 the per capita income in China was about $45 per year; in India it was $52.

India gained her independence in 1947 and started her first Five-Year Plan in 1951. The Communist Chinese Government established control over the mainland in 1949, and launched its First Five-Year Plan in 1953. Both countries have completed two Five Year Plans and are now involved in their third plans.

Although these similarities are striking, their respective approaches to their common problems differ greatly. China based its programs on a doctrinaire interpretation of Marx while India leaned pragmatically toward a democratic welfare state. India emphasized agriculture in her first plan, while China placed top priority on heavy industry. China stressed capital goods, while India tried to achieve a balance between capital goods and consumer goods and services which would provide incentives to greater production.

It is in the area of politics and human relationships, however, that the differences are most significant. Whereas India sought to foster and encourage democratic discussion and participation, the Chinese Communists, as the first step towards a minutely regulated dictatorship, weeded out the embryonic democratic institutions that were beginning to take root in China.

Whereas India tried to dignify the individual as part of the process of development, China regarded him as an instrument of the State. While India sought benefits for the present generation, China chose to squeeze the present generation to the limit of human endurance for the presumed benefit of their grandchildren.

In cultural affairs the differences are equally striking. Whereas India sought to preserve and enrich her ancient culture and to modernize her society within the context of her traditions, Communist China attempted to replace the traditional Chinese culture and institutions with a completely new and alien social system. While India tried to minimize the amount of social dislocation caused by the development process, China sought to maximize it.

Finally, China from the beginning was determined to assert her influence as a radical and militant element in international politics, while India chose the more constructive path of mediation, non-alignment and peaceful accommodation.

Any comparison between these two great nations that fails to take these differences of priorities and approach into account will prove misleading. All aspects of the

* Summary of an address to the University of Delhi on December 13, 1960.

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development process must be considered in perspective. Each nation must be judged by its own standards as well as ours, and by the relationship of its achievements to the world society in which it is striving to find its place.

I

The fundamental characteristic of the Chinese Communist program, as we have seen, has been a determination to transform, as quickly as possible, a weak, underdeveloped and predominantly agrarian society into a strong, industrialized totalitarian state.

Through the decades of intense revolutionary activity, through the suffering of the Long March, through the final bloody struggle for national control, Mao and his followers developed a deep-seated commitment to this task. The theories of Marxism-Leninism, which are essentially political and not economic, were their guiding principles.

From this perspective the Chinese leaders saw their task as a vast project of human engineering as well as of economic engineering. They wanted not only economic growth; they wanted a new and radically different society.

Following the collapse of Chiang Kai-shek's armies, the Chinese Communist leaders moved ruthlessly to consolidate their control and eliminate present or potential opposition. They hoped to accomplish this by destroying old centers of loyalty and creating new ones which would serve the state with a single-minded commitment.

To break the authority of the rural landlords, tens of thousands were summarily executed. A massive program was launched to undermine family loyalties, to destroy ancient religious beliefs, and to discredit the Chinese cultural tradition.

At the same time, Mao and his associates moved to consolidate power at the center by substituting new institutions, each tailored to special political or economic objectives, for the old loyalties. The Communist Party, its youth organizations, para-military establishments, and innumerable mass organizations provided Peiping with an extensive and pervasive system of control.

With complete control of all means of communications, the people were pressed by "guided" public meetings, proclamations and blaring loud-speakers to accept the dictates of the party leadership and to respond loyally to the demands of the policies.

Once in full control of the daily life of the Chinese citizen the Government moved to the second stage: the task of focusing the newly organized mass of human energies on the overriding problems of economic development.

According to official Chinese claims the share of the national income allocated to capital investment during the Five Year Plan was three times as great as the share invested by India at this same stage of development. As a result, by the mid-195[illegible] the Chinese were able to claim a rate of growth three times that of India.

Although Chinese Communist statistics have proved to be notoriously inaccurate, a high level of investment was undoubtedly achieved. For a brief period, at least, the totalitarian control apparatus was able to compel individuals to work their hardest withuot concrete rewards such as consumer goods.

Part of the Chinese investment went into a crash program for the education of technicians and scientists to support the industrial growth which was presumed to be forthcoming. School building and teacher training were vastly expanded. High specialized courses were provided to enable individuals to operate efficiently but in limited capacity. The brave beginnings of Chinese liberal education, which had been designed to encourage independent thinking, were abandoned as wasteful and dangerous. As long as the Communist Party leaders knew the truth, why should others be taught to think?

With Soviet and Eastern European assistance, the Chinese proceeded first to restore and then rapidly to expand the prewar industrial capacity. Manchuria

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installations, dismantled by the Soviets in 1945, were replaced or rebuilt; new factory complexes were added.

According to highly questionable official figures, electrical power capacity rated at 7.3 billion kwH in 1951 on the eve of the First Five Year Plan rose to 55 billion kwH by 1960. Equally extravagant claims were made for steel, coal and other basic industries. However, bridges were in fact built over the Yangtze, which had never been bridged before. Chinese shipyards did begin to produce ocean-going commercial and naval craft. Railway mileage was substantially increased.

Whatever the exaggerations, there is no doubt that by 1955 the combination of ruthless human and economic engineering had begun to pay off in China in terms of industrial progress. The first and hardest stage of industrialization, the creation of basic industries and power, seemed to be well under way.

Meanwhile, the population of the Chinese mainland had been growing at between 2% and 3% a year. Although a large population is looked upon by most Marxists as a source of economic strength regardless of circumstance, the dangers of unchecked population growth had become so obvious by the summer of 1955 that the voices behind the loud-speakers began to announce a hastily devised birth control program.

In the spring of 1958 this brief effort at population control was just as suddenly terminated; henceforth, it was said, all efforts were to be focused on the "Great Leap Forward" program. The massive projects which the Leap would bring into being would soon make population control unnecessary and even create a labor shortage. Sixty million people were to be put to work producing steel in backyard furnaces. One hundred million more were to be employed in irrigation projects.

Throughout Asia the political impact of this vast outpouring of plans, projects and propaganda was substantial. The Chinese, now supremely confident because of their apparent success, called upon representatives from all developing countries to come to China to note their progress and adopt their methods.

On a visit to India in 1955 I found many people deeply impressed with the dramatic developments in Communist China. Even those who believed most fervently in a free society were beginning to question the capacity of developing nations to meet their essential economic goals through democratic methods.

By the late 1950s, however, the Chinese plans rapidly outran the available resources and the Great Leap Forward began to peter out. In 1960 came the slowdown of Soviet aid and the downward economic spiral was intensified. Although Peiping has published no further economic statistics, the industrial gains made between 1957 and 1960 appear largely to have been lost.

Electric power output, which had reached about 55 billion kwH in 1960, is believed to have dropped to 30-35 billion kwH; steel has fallen from 18 million tons per year in 1960 to 8 million tons in 1962. Similar decreases have occurred in coal, cement and other industrial products.

Work on many railroads and dams has been interrputed for want of equipment and technical skills. Scores of factories are shut down or running part time because of raw material shortages and unavailability of spare parts. China has become the only country in the world in which total production has actually decreased.

II

The failure of the industrial phase of the Great Leap Forward was duplicated in agriculture, which has always been the Achilles' heel of Communist nations. Between 1952 and 1960 the output of foodgrains remained virtually stagnant as China's population continued to mount at the rate of some 12 to 15 million people annually. By 1962, the food deficit in terms of the per capita consumption of 1958 had grown to 15 million tons. With the population expanding at its present rate, the deficit will increase by about 5 million tons of grain each year.

These grim statistics suggest that in a

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favorable year China's food supply will be barely adequate to feed her people. In a normal year there will be serious shortages. In a bad year there will be widespread malnutrition.

There is little promise, moreover, in remedies which are available to the present government. Although only about 14 per cent of China's total land area is now cultivated, the possibilities for expansion are strictly limited. For generations, China's farmers have been striving to bring more acreage under cultivation with only marginal success. Under the most favorable circumstances it is unlikely that the present arable areas can be increased by more than 20 cer cent; since the additional acreage would in all likelihood be substandard the resulting increase in output would be substantially less than that.

Nor can China expect major gains in agricultural production from more intensive cultivation of existing acreage. Chinese farmers are among the best in the world; in Asia their rice yields per acre are surpassed only by those of the farmers of Japan and Taiwan, whose advantage, in addition to much greater personal incentives, lies largely in the greater use of chemical fertilizers. Because of its key importance this latter factor deserves more detailed analysis.

China now produces nearly three million tons of chemical fertilizer per year. It is estimated that under extremely favorable circumstances a crash program of fertilizer production might add another five million tons in the next six to ten years, at a cost of roughly $600 million. Even if the skilled personnel, electric power and physical resources were available to launch and manage such an effort, an industry of this magnitude could be built only by foregoing other essential projects. Moreover, even if the goal were fully achieved it could not begin to meet China's future requirements.

One pound of chemical fertilizer produces about three extra pounds of food. The added five million tons of fertilizer would therefore produce about fifteen million additional tons of food—enough to feed forty-five million people. But by 1970, which is the earliest that the new fertilizer plan could be completed under a crash program there will be 100 million more people to feed assuming the present rate of population increase.

On the other side of China's agricultural ledger, however, are several factors, in addition to the cultivation of some marginal land, which are potentially favorable. Increased irrigation can provide an extra crop in many areas and increase production in others. Seeds may also be improved. Through a determined effort the population problem may gradually be brought into balance.

Yet even under the most favorable circumstances it seems unlikely that the Chinese Government can produce an adequate supply of food for its people from the land now within its boundaries. If this judgment is correct it may prove to be one of the most decisive political facts of our time.

III

Part of Peiping's failure in agriculture like its failure in many areas of industry must be attributed to defects in its ambitious efforts at human engineering which became evident in the late 1950s. In its effort to secure total political control of the Chinese people, the Chinese Communist leaders embarked on restrictive measures which undercut the popular support they had successfully cultivated during the long civil war.

At the moment of their revolutionary triumph there is no doubt that the Chinese people, who were tired of war and saw mainland China unified for the first time in many decades, were willing and eager to give the new regime a chance.

In the early stages this popular support was strengthened by the massive redistribution of land which the new regime initiated. When the dust settled, however, each Chinese farmer owned an average of less than an acre, which he soon found was inadequate to support his family.

Some observers believe that the revolutionary promise of "land to the tiller" was in itself a calculated fraud; in other words

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the Communist leaders never had any intention of dealing on a permanent basis with 100 million independent farm families each with the pride, dignity and security that goes with land ownership. But whether the government failed to take the political realities into account or whether they planned it that way at the outset, Mao and his associates, in the Stalinist tradition, soon proceeded to break the basic political promise which had persuaded millions of young Chinese peasants to volunteer for service in the Red Armies. As the new program of rural regimentation was instituted the disenchantment of rural China mounted rapidly.

The first stage was the establishment of hundreds of thousands of mutual aid teams which shared their privately owned animals and equipment for harvesting and planting. Next came Agricultural Producer Cooperatives in which land and implements were pooled on a permanent basis. Each member received shares which, he was assured, entitled him to an annual dividend according to the size of the land he originally contributed.

The third stage was the establishment in 1955 of collective farms in which all vestiges of private land ownership, which had been the traditional dream of the Chinese cultivator, were eliminated and land dividends abolished. Payments were now made out of the profits of the enterprise in proportion to the working hours contributed. The Marxist-Leninist slogan, "To each according to his work," was revived as the ideological explanantion of this step.

In 1958 the first commune, the ultimate device of collectiviztion, was established in Hunan Province. These enforced cooperatives with an average of some 50,000 people each were the agricultural instruments of the Great Leap Forward. Their purpose was the total mobilization of 550 million Chinese villagers into a massive human work force under ruhtless control of the central government.

To meet the new situation another slogan was quickly substituted: "From each according to his ability; to each according to his need." A Peiping interview, lauding the new communes, carried the headline, "Oh, Commune! Everything I have is yours, except my toothbrush!"

The communes were the final disastrous step in Mao's experiment in human engineering. They were an effort to assure the central regime a vast reservoir of mindless and soulless human energy which could be used for construction projects as well as for food production.

Overnight, students became agricultural supervisors, farmers became dam builders, housewives became smelter operators. The net result was the greatest dislocation of manpower in human history, followed by pervasive public frustration and the nearly complete collapse of the Chinese economy.

IV

Although Communist China's economic mistakes have been devastating their political repercussions may be even more far-reaching. Because the government totally disregarded the wishes of the people, because it set out to destroy the old basis of Chinese culture, it became separated from the people.

Today, Communist Party literature refers to non-party people as "the masses," and the "masses" call party members "they." In a pamphlet entitled "How To Be A Good Communist," party members are warned that even the laboring cless—the proletariat, the backbone of traditional Marxism—shall henceforth be treated with suspicion.

The lesson is an old one which, it appears, must be constantly relearned by modern toatlitarians who seek to manipulate people for narrow and self-seeking purposes. When the people fail to identify their interests with the rulers, and vice versa, and when each group comes to fear the other, the political stability upon which economic progress depends is undermined and ultimately will be destroyed.

China's agricultural crisis also served further to undermine her sagging industrial development. The low level of agricultural production forced a diversion of scarce investment funds and foreign exchange totalling $450 to $500 million annually for

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the import of grain from Australia and Canada. In addition, land was diverted from industrial supply crops to foodgrain production with the result that many factories which relied on agricultural raw materials such as cotton closed down, expensive equipment and skilled workers were idled, and exports were curtailed.

A Chinese leader recently observed that in a country as large as China, if the leaders make even a small mistake and this mistake is compounded by 700 million people, it becomes a national disaster. Although Communist China's mistakes cannot properly be discounted as "small," this comment may serve as a fitting epitaph for the "Great Leap Forward."

Against this background of China's dilemma let us consider the problems and prospects of India. It is difficult to imagine a more readically different economic, social and political environment.

In any democratic country people must be persuaded to see for themselves the advantages of working together. This takes time and is seldom fully realized.

Since false slogans are quickly debunked by a free press, they have only a passing effect. Consequently, the peasants, workers and managers must be offered tangible rewards for greater efforts. This means that capital investment must be limited to allow for additional food, clothing and consumer goods.

Nor can anyone deny that democratic development in any nation has a disorderly appearance. The government can seldom get everyone to pull together. Most individuals work primarily for their personal benefit, and only indirectly for the good of a society. Newspapers and opposition parties constantly criticize the government and its planning—and not always responsibly.

Yet, out of this apparent disorder comes many advantages: the release of human energies, the encouragement of new ideas and new techniques, and the knowledge that no one mistake or even a series of mistakes is likely to be disastrous.

Consequently, the cycle of quick forward spurts followed by catastrophic relapses which characterized the development of Communist China is rarely found in a democratic environment. Although development may appear more haphazard, it proceeds at a more certain pace.

When India's recent experience is contrasted with that of China the strengths and weaknesses of democratic development come sharply into focus. There have been mistakes in Indian planning. Performance has lagged in agriculture and industry. Population growth has exceeded the early estimates and, as a result, per capita progress has been slower than anticipated.

But India began with a concept of balanced growth whereby agricultural goods and manufactured consumer goods were included as an integral part of the growth pattern; therefore, shortfalls in some sectors have not had a magnified impact on the rest of the economy. Her more flexible planning has been the product of countless discussions and compromises. While India's statistical progress has not been spectacular, it has been relatively steady, with successes in some areas more than offsetting the setbacks in others.

The differences are particularly noteworthy in regard to social change. While India has made a determined effort to reshape her traditional social system, the approach has been respectful of old values. Pressures to modify the caste system and to outlaw child marriage were designed not to control the individual but to release him from the constraints of customs where such costums have prevented him from reaching his full potential. There has been no effort to destroy the past or to impose new cultural values; the objective has been to revitalize old concepts and to fit them to new conditions.

Although the Chinese heroes of the Long March were able to communicate some of their ideological fervor to the people, their dogmatism has psevented them from pragmatically altering their programs when changes have been urgently needed. While the Chinese were sure they could interpret the future, the Indian Gover-

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ment has remained sensibly agnostic. Where the Chinese system has cracked under adversity, the Indian has simply bent.

VI

The future in both countries is unpredictable. Yet certain trends are evident.

In seventeen years India has created a stable base for future growth. She is moving ahead, even though slowly, and she has been doing so since the first year of her First Five Year Plan.

The rewards for the Indian people are increasing, not decreasing. A recent public opinion survey indicated that three out of every four Indians feel that they are somewhat better off than five years ago.

Ways of limiting population growth are being developed and introduced.

The people are gradually absorbing the techniques of democracy and as they do so their sense of dignity is expanded and assured.

The political and social systems of India have both reached a point where they seem not to be subject to radical change or collapse.

Furthermore, because India's political and economic growth within the framework of a free society has earned her the confidence of much of the world, her government and people are receiving substantial assistance from many of the more developed nations. This continuing flow of foreign aid and private foreign capital which at present is denied to China will continue to have a vitally important bearing on the pace of Indian development.

China, on the other hand, is currently at a low point in her development. The price of her extremism, of her abortive effort to play a dominant role in world affairs, and of her embroilment in ideological squabbles has been her isolation from the rest of the world.

Today it is difficult to anticipate a satisfactory course for China. Her present government cannot go back and start again because too much dislocation has occurred. Yet it is highly unlikely that her present erratic course can produce a substantial overall advance.

Still, China remains a country to be reckoned with. A nation of 700 million, however weakened by inept leaders and sterile ideology, cannot be expected to disappear. Ultimately some solution will be found. Sooner or later, the attractive, capable Chinese people will work out their destiny and their nation will become a useful member of the world community.

* * * *

One final word. Perhaps the most important conclusion that can be drawn from our comparison of China and India is that totalitarian "efficiency" is a myth. A few years ago it was widely believed, even by those who hated its methods, that a dictatorship provides the most efficient administrative tools for economic development. In the mid-fifties responsible people were beginning to assert that sooner or later the less developed world would have to make a choice between iron-fisted regimentation on the one hand and a grim future of poverty for their people on the other. Now it appears that those nations which have had the courage to undertake the development democratically may have the better prospect of success.

Brazil, Japan, Mexico, Taiwan, and many other developing countries have developed far faster than China. Moreover, the rate of economic growth in all Communist countries averaged only 3.6 per cent in 1962, a figure which was bettered by every democratic nation in Western Europe and North America.

This does not mean that authoritarian systems cannot bring about development; the Soviet Union, through an agony of effort, has become the world's second industrial power. But it does suggest that nations which have chosen a democratic path to development may proceed with confidence.

They can proceed now with the knowledge that the dignity of the individual can be secured side by side with economic progress. Indeed, the evidence before us suggests that the strength of a free people

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and the diversity and vitality of a pluralistic society are the greatest assets any nation can have.

Not so long ago the leaders of Communist China proclaimed that all developing nations must ultimately choose between bread and freedom. After ten years of frantic effort they themselves have secured neither. There is solid reason for hope that democratic India may achieve both.

Yet there is no room for complacency. India's problems are awesome in their magnitude and complexity. With all of her brave efforts she is only now barely star ing down the long road of orderly politic and economic growth.

In the years to come the eyes of t world will continue to focus on these tw ancient lands—India and China—each her own way seeking a new life for t people. Although no one knows the o come, every person on earth who belie not only in material progress but in t dignity of the individual who creates th progress has a personal stake in Indi success.

RAMANUJA'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO INDIAN PHILOSOPHY

By Dr. ANIMA SEN GUPTA, M.A., Ph.D.,
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Ramanuja, the great philosopher of South India, is the expounder of the philosophy of **Visistadvaita** which is a form of religio-philosophy based on the bhakti cult of the Vaishnava religion. He was born in 1017 at a time when Vishnu and Narayana were widely worshipped in South India. The cult of Vaishnavism had already grown in popularity from the end of the fourth century A.D. and assumed a very prominent form during the age of Ramanuja. During his youth, Ramanuja sat at the feet of Yadava Prakasa. This was a turning point in the life of Ramanuja. It gave him an opportunity to progagate widely and freely his own doctrine of Sri Vaishnava.

Bhakti-cult is as old as the Vedas, although it has been shaped and moulded in different ways by various religious sects. S'aivas, S'aktas and Vaishnavas, representing different sectarian religions are all followers of the cult of devotion.

Saivas, for example, regard Siva as the Supreme Reality who acts through Sakti or Divine Energy. Individual souls are infinite, eternal and omniscient like God, but being in **pasas**, they falsely imgine themselves to be ignorant, non-eternal and finite. Our past **karmas**, done under the spell of igno ance, are the **pasas** or the bonds and the can be removed by Saiva-Sadhana (whi is to be practised under the direct super sion of a preceptor) and primarily by t grace of God.

Like **Saivism, Saktaism** too is a form bhakti cult and it has developed elaborate through Sakti-Tantra. Srividya is an o standing achievement in Saktaism and it supposed to have developed under the i fluence of the advaita-vedanta. Srivid is a pure form of worship of Devi as t primary cause of the world. Both bhak cult and advaita vedanta meet together the worship of he Supreme Female Deity

Worship of Vishnu

The religion of Vaishnavism or 'Bhag vata-dharma', which constitutes the basis the philosophy of Ramanuja, accepts Vish as the Highest Reality. Worship of Vish or Narayana and devotion to Him constit the principal means of liberation. L Vishnu is the lover and protector of all hum souls. He is the first and the final cause the universe. He is endowed with six aus

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cious qualities of Jnana, Sakti, Aisvaryya, Vala, Viryya and Teja. So, He is saguna: as He is devoid of all natural and impure qualities, He is also called **nirguna**. He lives in the hearts of all bhutas and so He is called Vasudeva. Knowledge of Vasudeva is the supreme form of knowledge and God-realisation is possible only through devotion and self-surrendering love.

That God-realisation is possible only through self-surrending love was also advocated by the Alvars of South India during the seventh or eighth century A.D. In the Bhagavadgita, a kind of reciprocity in the relation of love between the devotee and God has been expounded in a beautiful manner. One who seeks refuge in God becomes dear to Him is also liberated finally through His grace. Bhakti is a pure and blissful excellence of the human heart. He who worships God with firm devotion is lodged in Him and remains in close communion with Him. The love of God and the spirit of self-surrender to Him which are the noble and prominent features of the bhakti-yoga of the Bhagavad-gita has developed gradually into intense and passionate love of the Alvars. According to Prof. S. N. Das Gupta, "The Alvars were probably the pioneers in showing how love for God may be on terms of tender equality softening down to the rapturous emotions of conjugal love." Although the Alvars have succeeded in producing a theistic religion of love and devotion, they failed hopelessly in composing a rational philosophy.

Rise of Samkara

Now, the eighth century A.D. also saw the rise of Samkaracharyya who overpowered the minds of the learned Hindus of the age with the powerful influence of his advaita philosophy. His teaching that the absolute of the upanisads should be regarded as impersonal and indeterminate and that the world should be viewed as a metaphysically illusory modification of that one indeterminate Brahman, seemed to throw a new light on the minds of the Hindus. The supremacy of knowledge to action and devotion advocated by Samkara satisfied fully the rational hankerings of man. The logical approach of Samkara, his dialectical arguments and splendid metaphysical conclusions helped him to build up a very rational Philosophy of the Absolute: but his way of approach was detrimental to religion. His qualified Brahman was no doubt all knowing and omnipotent, stil being a product of **maya**, He had become false and phenomenal like other things of the world. A false object can satisfy a man's heart only so long as its falsity is not detected. The moment the falsity of the object is detected, it ceases to exist for him with the result that his loving heart loses its support and sustenance for ever. The religion which Samkara offered could not satisfy the emotional cravings of a religious soul.

Herein comes the philosophy of Ramanuja to satisfy the dual natures of man (i.e., his reason and emotion). As a philosophy of synthesis, it strikes a balance between Absolutism and Theism (i.e., between Philosophy and Religion). In Ramanuja's philosophy the Absolute is derived from the philosophy of advaita-vada whereas his theistic view is an offspring of the devotional religion of the Alvars. His system is indeed unique—particularly the manner in which Ramanuja conceives the relation between Spirit, Matter and God. According to him, God, Soul and Matter are ultimate realities but the last two are absolutely dependent on Him. Their relation to God is like the relation of body to the soul. Both soul and matter, therefore, are as inseparable from God as attributes from the substance. The three form an organic unity. The highest reality is a qualified Brahman endowed with innumerable auspicious qualities.

Thus the philosophy of Ramanuja is different from that of the advaita-vedanta according to which there is only one differenceless ultimate reality (Brahman). God is a phenomenal category which becomes as false as the jiva when considered from the transcendental point of view. Ramanuja, on the other hand, teaches that there is no difference or contradiction between the Absolute and God of religion. They

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are one and identical. In his opinion, all levels of experience are true whereas Samkara has differentiated between different degrees of reality and has accepted as metaphysical truth, only the experience of Brahman. **Pratibhashika truth** and **Vyavahrika truth** are rooted in illusion and contradiction. According to Samkara, jnana-yoga is the only means to realisation of the highest truth whereas in the thesistic philosophy of Ramanuja, bhakti accompanied by love or **prapatti** involving self-surrender to God constitute the principal means of God-realisation. Liberation comes only after death and it is the stage of the enjoyment of supreme bliss with a supernatural form in the constant presence of God.

Synthesis of Religion

Ramanuja's doctrines of bhakti and **Prapatti** have been supported to a great extent by the teachings of the Gita. The Gita, according to Ramanuja, has spoken highly of the path of devotion and has regarded knowledge and action as indispensable auxiliaries to devotion. Knowledge and action are not alien to each other; rather they are very closely related and one can be changed into the other. Action, illumined by self-knowledge, is called jnana and knowledge purified by disinterested performance of action is regarded as action. Thus, Ramanuja has disproved the advaita assertion that liberation can be attained through knowledge only by obliterating the distinction beween pure knowledge and pure action or devotion.

In fact, the religio-philosophy of Ramanuja is based on both reason and scriptural authority. The function of reason is to justify the truths expounded in the scriptures. A pure philosophy, as we know, is a free rational enquiry into the nature of truth and reality and is as such opposed to everything that contradicts reason. Reason reigns supreme in the sphere of pure philosophy and faith or revelation can never find any place in its domain. Traditional religion, on the other hand, rests simply on faith in the scriptural truths. It believes in the existence of a Personal God who is all good and all merciful and also accepts bhakti or love of God as the sole means to salvation. The philosophy of Ramanuja has brought about a synthesis of reason and revelation and has taught that reason should be used only to strengthen the scriptural truths not to refute them. When reason is brought to justify the scriptural truths, religion does not degenerate into blind faith and superstition or ritualism. So, the philosophy of Ramanuja has admitted God as the ultimate source of the whole universe and has also described Him as the supreme goal of religion.

In other words while as a philosophy Visistadvaita holds that Brahman or the Absolute is the Supreme Reality, the Highest Truth and the Primary Source of the world, as a religion, it describes the Supreme Reality as the inner controller of the universe of Spirit and Matter and also as the beloved God of mercy and bliss.

Sanctified Confluence

Truly speaking, Ramanuja's system is neither strictly monistic, nor strictly pluralistic; nor can we call it strictly dualistic in character. It is in fact a sanctified confluence of all the three types of philosophic thought. Monism is admitted by the idea that there is only one Brahman qualified by Spirit and Matter. The three entities God, Soul and Matter are distinguishable but not separable from one another. God is the ruling Soul of both Spirit and Matter with an infinity of perfections. Matter with its evolutionary change and individual souls limited by avidya-karma are only the modes of God. From Him as their immanent source they derive their reality and function. Ramanuja agrees with the pluralistic Nyaya-vaisesika and the dualistic Samkhya in admitting the world as real but he differs from them vitally as he does not accept the theory of creation of which God is not the material cause. He agrees with the monism of Samkara in holding that Brahman is the material and efficient cause of the world

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but he differs from an advaitavadin when he refuses to admit that this world is a figment of imagination.

Materialism, subjective idealism and absolute idealism, too, have been beautifully harmonised in the Philosophy of Ramanuja. The materialist identifies reality with matter only and gives us a naturalistic and aetheistic philosophy which is one-sided and abstract in the sense that the importance of Consciousness as a constitutive principle of the world has been totally denied by it. Subjective idealism, on the other hand, regards spirit or mind alone as reality and thus lands itself into solipsism in the absence of a universal spiritual principle of unity. The absolute idealism of Samkara totally denies the values of matter and spirit and postulates Nirguna-Brahman as the only reality. God and the individual soul are nothing but the solidified masses of maya-stuff which differ from each other only in degrees of reality. Both of them vanish ultimately in the presence of Brahma-jnana. The advaita theory of Samkara, thus, becomes a mere abstract absolutistic theory. For Ramanuja, God, Spirit and Matter are equally real. They form an inseparable unity and can only be distinguished and not divided. None of them is an isolated system external to the other. They are all vitally connected as a result of which our experience at all levels of life are eternally real, concerete and living. Ramanuja's principles of **Satkhyati, Apri thaksiddhi, Sarira-sariri**-relation etc. act as cementing forces and reconcile realism, pluralism, absolutism etc. in his philosophy. This synthetic character has been maintained by Ramanuja all through his philosophical discourse and it can be safely asserted that the philosophy of Ramanuja is a grand attempt at synthesising the current religious and philosophical systems of India in an ideal unity which does justice both to God and the individual soul.

GEORGE SANTAYANA
(1863—1952)

By DINESH KUMAR SEN, M.A., B.Sc., LL.B.

One of the great Harvard philosophers of the last quarter of the nineteenth and early twentith centuries, George Santayana, the literary critic, poet and novelist, was born on the sixteenth of December, 1863 at Madrid. He was born of parents who were citizens of Spain and later in 1872, at the tender age of nine, he was brought to Boston, in the United States, by his father. Here he, who afterwards created an amalgum of the two worlds and made a newer and many-sided one of his own, acquired his interest, love and passion for English peetry at the Boston Latin School. He had his B.A. degree from Harvard University in 1886. Before joining the Harvard Faculty of Philosophy in 1889, as an instructor, he received his Master's degree and doctorate in Germany. He was at Harvard continuously from 1889 to 1912, first as an instructor and then from 1897 as a Professor, with the exception of a solitary year which he spent at Cambrige University as an advanced student.

As a teacher he was as popular as Charles T. Copeland, one of his contemporaries, and both of them preferred the warm companionship of the students to that of their learned colleagues at the faculty. And this was reciprocated by the students "with unbounded admiration for his lucid intelligence, detached skeptical views and mordant wit." These, his experiences, were not without significance. On the other hand his

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understanding of the puritan mentality of Boston and Cambridge society was based on these personal feelings. This is manifest from one of his later works, "The last puritan," (1936), which is more a memoir than a novel, throbbing with richness of thought, imagination and musings based on experiences, varied and personal.

Resigning from the Harvard University, in 1912, he went back to Europe, travelled extensively and then settled at Oxford till the end of the first global war. Removed to Rome, he then settled at a convent there and remained there until death came on the twenty-sixth September, 1952.

"The Sense of Beauty", (1896), was Santayana's first published philosophical essay. This, his major contribution to aesthetics, concerned with "the nature and elements of our aesthetic judgements" which according to him, "is a theoretical enquiry and has no directly hortatory quality." In 1900, he published his 'Interpretations of poetry and Religion." Then in 1910, came out his study of "Three philosophical Poets, Lucretius, Dante, and Goethe." His study was unique in many respects and unfolded his sense of perception and that is why his account of human experience is so rich. His "Life of Reason" (1905-06), in five volumes is a major work where there is some influence of Hegel's Phenomenology of Spririt. The pervading theme therein is that reason in its expression in various forms is nothing but a blending of instinct and ideation.

"Scepticism and Animal Faith" (1923), introduces to his system developed in "The Realm of Essence," (1927-28), "The Realm of Matter," (1930), "The Realm of Truth," (1937) and, "The Realm of Spirit," (1940) a fresh trend. Among his other works, mention must be made of 'Idea of Christ in the Gospels" (1946). Santayana, born a Catholic and always an admirer of the beauties in Catholicism was never a believer, yet this his work has been aptly acclaimed by a critic as, "the most devout book ever written by an unbeliever." Herein is his superb and masterly attempt to justify and establish myth, essentially religious in character, on grounds, intellectual in nature. "Sonnets and other Poems," "Lucifer—A Theological Tragedy," and "The Sense of Beauty"—these three among his poetic works, gave him a reputation before he returned to Europe in 1912. His other works include "Winds of Doctrine" (1926), "Egoism in German Philosophy" (1940), "Philosophical Opinion in America" (1918), "Character and opinion in the United States" (1920), "Soliloques in England" (1922), "Poems" (1923), "The unknowable" (1923), "Dialogues in Limbo" (1925), "Platonism and spiritual life" (1927), "Some turns of thought in Modern Philosophy" (1933), "Obiter Scripta" (1946), "Persons and Places," 2 vols. (1944-45), "Dominations and Powers" (1951) and "My Host the World" (Posthumohs), (1953).

Consciousness reveals the nature of which in its turn proclaims itself an infinity of essences subsisting in and by themselves. Some of these essences, entertained in mind, are enacted by matter giving concrete existence to their subsistence. Now the realism of matter, a non-mental substratum, is a matter of animal faith. "Matter, among other things, is external to and independent of consciousness, spatially extended, unequally distributed (corporeal), subject to locomotion and perhaps to intrinsic alteration in its parts, and capable of becoming conscious. Its selective and progressive enactment of essences is not teleological or intelligent, but is actuated by efficient causation and predetermined by antecedant situations." Mind, which is a activity of physique entertains enacted as well as unenacted essences. "Its registration of the natural functions and drives of the body of which it is the aura, is desire. The confused desires get intermingled when an attempt is made to prove their existence or to justify them. Here comes the role of Reason which clears up the confusion by particular methods and thus the "dispel the suspicion and antagonism, with which the scientist, the moralist, the artist and the theologian are wont to view one another, and enable a mind at harmony

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with itself to contemplate a world in which the subsistent and the existent form a harmonious whole."

Santayana is rich in thought, dignified in approach and colourful in trends. It has been observed that his system lacks speculative originality, that his themes "are incongruous or perhaps even in conflict with one another." May be so to some extent. Indeed one really fails to reroncile his naturalism with his realism of essences or idealistic interpretation of mind. But even then his comprehensive philosophy is penetrating and entertaining. "His greatness resides in the catholicity of his interests; in his sensitivity to values in diverse realms of human experience, and in the freedom of his imaginative powers."

George Santayana, who can be ranked with Josiah Royce and William James, was awarded, in 1945, the Nicholas Murray Butler gold medal, by the Columbia University in recognition of his most distingushed contribution to philosophy. He retained his Spanish citizenship and was burried at the tomb of the Spaniards in the Verano Catholic Cemetry in Rome, without religious ceremony and with only a few witnesses.'

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THE SIEGE AND FALL OF HOOGLY

An event leading to the extinction of the Portugues Settlement in Bengal

By MOHIT DAS GUPTA

The Portuguese in Bengal

The first European vessel reached the Indian shore on the 26th August, 1498, A.D. It sailed from Lisbon, with the Portuguese sailor, Da Gama as its Captain. Gama was out on an unchartered sea, to find out the Indies and circumnavigating the dark continent of Africa, eventually arrived at the South Malabar coast. Joao da Silveria was the first Portuguese explorer to visit Bengal. It was in 1518, some eight years after the Portuguese had acquired Goa and established their head quarters there. But not before 1530, did any Portuguese trading ship come to Bengal.

When Sher Shah invaded Bengal in 1534, its ruling chief, Sultan Giasuddin, enlisted Portuguese help and a fleet of nine ships was sent out for him from Goa.

In 1538, a number of Portuguese military adventurers entered the service of the King of Gaur. Some of the Bhuiyans or barons, who ran autonomous administrations of their own, within the Mughal territory of Bengal, during the latter part of the sixteenth century, employed Portuguese Captains or gunners, to lead their army or fleet.

A party of Portuguese from Sandip came trading to Satgaon (Saptagram) sometime in 1530 A.D. Satgaon was still a large centre of trade. The Portuguese called it Porto Piqueno (Little Haven). It was then the royal port of Bengal. But the markets of Satgaon gradually declined and lost their prosperity, due to rapid silting up of the river Saraswati, near the mouth of which the port lay. Hooghly was further down and here the river was wide and deep enough for big ships to ply and it soon grew up as a trading place. The Portuguese erected several houses at Hooghly and in course of time, their number was considerably increased. They also set up a big building with towers and ramparts which they fortified with cannons, muskets and other implements of war.

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The time, when the Portuguese built their fort at Hooghly, can not be ascertained precisely. Some say it was constructed by one Captain Sampayo in the fourth decade of the sixteenth century, before the regular colonisation of the Portuguese at Hooghly. There is also a difference of opinion, as to the time when this colony actually came into begin. The Portuguese were found to have been settled in Hooghly by Fitch, who visited Bengal in 1556. The Portuguese named Hooghly as Golin. It was called an island in the river, probably because of the deep and broad moat, running round the wall of the fortress . . . .

It may reasonably be said that not till the reign of Akbar the great (1556—1605 A.D.) the Portuguese were serious about building their settlement, which they are supposed to have done with the Emperor's permission in 1575. Prior to that ships only came to Hooghly for trade, were loaded with export commodities, and sailed out again. The Portuguese also built up trading depots in other places in the Gangetic delta the biggest of which was at Tarda, where Tolly's nala meets the Vidyadhari river, some 15 miles south-east of Alipur. It was occupied by the Portuguese at the end of the 16th century and remained a prosperous centre of trade for over a century, before the foundation of Calcutta by the English. The Portuguese, so to say, were not peace-loving and commercially inclined. They were by nature, rough and violent and rather unscrupulous. They soon began to prefer free-booting to mercantile pursuits.

Traders turned into Pirates

Under the pretence of trade, many of these frankly took to freebooting. In those days the Arakani pirates prowled about in their sloops in the Bay of Bengal. The Portuguese also swelled the ranks of these buccaneers. There were Portuguese settlements already in the island of Sandip and Chittagong and these rovers moved about in their cargo vessels sometimes fitted with guns, in the innumerable creeks and estuaries of the deltaic regions of Lower Beng A branch of the Hooghly river was name as the 'Rogue's River' because of th pirates infesting the same. These pirat looted the cargo boats, swooped on th coastal villages and carried off the la and wenches and the able bodied perso to sell them in slave markets or to despat them to other colonies as indentured labo People were thus in constant dread of the unprincipled and relentless 'harmads' wh used to rob their wealth, rape their wom folk and inflict inhuman torture on tho whom they could lay hands upon and ma captives. The ships bound for Mecea, carr ing muslim pilgrims were not also spare The passengers were forcibly converted Christianity and in case of refusal to giv up faith, were brutally put to death.

The peace of the Mughal reign was th constantly disturbed by the villainous act vities of these maritime marauders, durin the early days of the 17th Century.

Grant of Royal Firman: The Portuguese incur the wrath of Emperor Shah Jah

The piratical tendency of the Portugues traders was not so manifest during th reign of Akbar. Till then they we regarded as harmless traders from th West. Akbar was curious to meet one these feringhis,—the newcomers from th "West with blue or grey eyes and red flaxen hair." According to his desi Captain Taverez went to Agra and pr sented himself to the King. The Portugue Captain was most cordially received Akbar who granted him permission to sel any place he liked, near Hooghly, for countrymen to settle down in with liberty build a church and preach the gospel. return to the favour shown by the Emper the Portuguese under-took to keep the co clear of pirates. But the mendaci feringhis hardly cared to keep their pled Bengal was too far off from the Mug capital and the situation there was not all peaceful. The feudal barons were mo refractory. Moreover, the Afgan Chief of neighbouring State of Orissa occasiona

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raided this province, crossing the frontier which could not be adequately safeguarded. Instead of putting down the Arakani pirates, many of the Portuguese themselves became pirates and carried on plundering innocent traders and voyagers.

The old Portuguese stronghold at Hooghly was extended and renovated, after securing the royal permit, following the interview of Tavarez with the Mughal Sovereign. The fort was located near the place where the district jail now stands. Its ruins may still be seen during ebb tide, jutting out from the bank, in front of the jail, which forms a part of the jail garden. The ditch round the fortress was so deep that the English traveller Burton who visited the place in 1532 calls Hooghly an island. There is however no positive evidence as to whether it was really a dug out canal.

Gradually the Portuguese grew in strength. Militarily they were superior to the Mughals. In 1604 the Portuguese of Hooghly attacked and captured a muslim fort, killing all the garrison of four hundred men, excepting one. The Fauzdar was afraid of these feringhis and avoided clash with them, as far as practicable. In 1621, Prince Khurram (Shah Jahan), who rose against his royal parent Jahangir, sought the help of the Governor of Hooghly,—one Michael Rodriguez, who not only refused to help the prince but also taunted him with his filial ingratitude. Khurram sat on the throne of Delhi on the 1st. February 1628, a few months after his father's demise, and took the title of Shah Jahan or the Emperor of the World.

Soon after, he appointed Kasim Khan as the Governor of Bengal. Kasim was told to keep a watch on the Portuguese.

Kasim reported to the Emperor that the feringhis had stopped trading and were in league with the pirates, kidnapped children and men, forcibly made them Christians and sent them as slaves to other Portuguese settlements.

Seige and Fall of Hooghly

The new Emperor had already a dislike for these foreigners. He could not forget the insolent treatment of the Portuguese governor. On receipt of the report of Kasim Ali, he ordered him to capture Hooghly. Accordingly Kasim Ali besieged Hooghly in 1632. The siege lasted for long three months and a half (from June to October 1632).

The Portuguese casuality was heavy. About one thousand people lost their lives while over four thousand were taken prisoners.

Out of 67 large vessels 57 ghrabs and 200 sloops on the river, only one grab and two sloops could escape to Goa, others were all seized or destroyed. The largest vessel with nearly two thousand men, women and children on board was ultimately blown up by its Captain who preferred death to disgrace, rather than to allow the muslims to make his men and women their slaves or concubines.

The strength of the Portuguese population, as stated by native historians is obviously an overstatement, unless of course the figure includes the native Christians as well.

Even so the number seems incredibly large. The geographical references made by these chroniclers also lack accuracy.

The fort is said to have been betrayed by a Portuguese half-caste De Mello but the Muslim historians are silent about this betrayal.

Account of the siege by Mughal Historians

Khafi Khan,* the famous historian refers to this siege in his book (**Nantakhabul Lubar**, popularly known as **Tarikh-I-Khafi Khan**) as follows:

"Reports of unseemly practices of these people (the Portuguese) reached the Emperor and Kasim Khan was sent to Bengal as Governor. He, received secret orders to supress them and to take their

* Khafi Khan is the pseudonym of the Moghul historian Muhammad Hashim or Hasim Ali Khan who compiled a minute register of all the events of Shah Jahan's time which he published some years after the monarch's death.

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fortress. Kasim Khan accordingly proceeded to Hooghly and laid siege to it. The details of these skilful arrangements and strenuous exertions would be of great length; suffice it to say that by the aid of boats and by the advance of his forces both by land and water he brought down the pride of these people and subdued their fortress after a siege of three months. Nearly 50,000 riayats of that place came out and took refuge with Kasim Khan. Ten thousand persons, Feringhis and riayats, perished in the course of the siege. Fourteen hundred Feringhis and a number of persons who had been Christians by force, were taken prisoners. Nearly ten thousand people—innocent ráiyats and captives of these people—were set free. More than a thousand of the Imperial army fell in course of the siege.'

The account of the siege given by Adbul Hamid Lahori** in his book Badshanama is fairly elaborate, in which he expounds the strategy of Mughal warfare. Lahori narrates the history of the early Portuguese settlement at Hooghly and describes the atrocious activities of these westerners.

He writes:

"These proceedings had come to the notice of the Emperor before his accession .....and he resolved to put an end to these atrocities if ever he ascended the throne.... After his ascension, he appointed Kasim Khan to the Government of Bengal and impressed upon him the duty of overthrowing these mischievous people. He was ordered, as soon as he attended to the necessary duties of his extensive province, to set about the extermination of these pernicious intruders. Troops were to be sent both by water and by land, so that the difficult enterprise might be quickly and easily accomplished.

"Kasim Khan set about making his preparations and at the close of the cold season in Shabon 1240 AH, sent his son Inayatulla with Alla Yar Khan, who was to be the real commander of the army.....to effect the conquest. He also sent Bahadur Kambu.....with the force under his command, under the pretence of taking possession of the Khalisa lands at Makhsudabad (Murshidabad) but really to join Alla Yar Khan at the proper time.....It was given out that the forces were marching to attack Hijli.....It was arranged that Allah Yar Khan should halt at Burdwan which lies in the direction of Hijli, until he received intelligence of Khwaja Sher and others who had been ordered to proceed by boats from Sripur (Serampore) to cut off the retreat of the Feringhis. When the fleet of Khwaja Sher arrived at Mohana....Alla Yar Khan was to march with all expedition from Burdwan to Hooghly and fall upon the infidels.

Upon being informed that Khwaja Sher ....had arrived at the mouth of the river Allah Yar made a forced march from Burdwan and in a night and a day reached the village of Huldipur (?) between Satgaon and Hooghly. At the same time he was joined by Bahadur Kambu who arrived from Makshudabad with 500 horse and a large force of infantry....

....Between Hooghly and the sea in a narrow part of the river, he formed a bridge of boats so that ships could not get down to sea; thus the flight of the enemy was prevented.

"On the 2nd. Zi-l-hijja 1241, the attack was made on the Feringhis by the boatmen on the river and by forces on land. An inhabited place outside the ditch was taken and plundered and the occupants were slain.

"The Royal army was engaged for three months and a half in the siege of the srtong place. Sometimes the infidels fought sometimes they made overtures of peace protracting the time in hopes of succour from their countrymen. With base treachery they pretended to make proposals of peace and sent nearly a lac of rupees as tribute while at the same time they ordered the musketeers who were in their service to open fire. So heavy was it that many of the trees of a grove in which a large force of the besiegers was posted, were stripped of their branches and leaves.

"At length the besiegers sent the

** [Elliot—History of India told by its own Historians (Vol. VII)].

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pioneers to work upon the ditch, just by the Church, where it was not so broad and deep as elsewhere. There they dug channels and drew off the water. Mines were then driven on from the trenches, but two of these were discovered by the enemy and counteracted.

The centre mine was carried under an edifice which was loftier and stronger than all other buildings, and where a large number of Ferighis were stationed. This was charged and tamped. On the 14th Rabi-ul-Awal the besiegers' forces were drawn up in front of this building, in order to allure the enemy to that part. When a large number was assembled, a heavy fire was assembled, fire was opened and the mine was fired. The building was blown up and the many infidels, who had collected around it, were sent flying into the air..... some of the infidels found their way to hell by the water but some thousands succeeded in making their way to the ships. At this juncture Khwaja Sher came up with the boats and killed many of the fugitives.

These foes of the faith were afraid lest one large ship, which had nearly 2000 men and women and much property on board, should fall into the hands of the Muhammadans, so they fired the magazine and blew her up.....Out of 64 large dingas, 57 ghrabs and 200 jaliyas, one ghrab and two jeliyas escaped, in consequence of some fire from the burning ships having fallen upon some boats laden with oil, which burnt a way through (the bridge of boats). Whoever escaped from the water and fire became a prisoner. From the beginning of the siege to the conclusion, men and women, old and young,—altogether nearly 10,000 of the enemy were killed, being either blown up with powder, drowned by water or burnt by fire. Nearly 1000 brave warriors of the Imperial army obtained the glory of martyrdom; 4400 Christians of both sexes were taken prisoners and nearly 10,000 inhabitants of the neighbouring country who had been kept in confinement by these tyrants were set at liberty".

The Descendants of the Portuguese Settlers

The Portuguese never had any regular settlement, further inland than Hooghly but they had numerous small posts which were practically little better than nests of pirates, all over the Sunderbans.....The remains of one very fine station, with a big Church, two-storey masonry houses and masonry bridges, may still be seen in Shibpur in Bakharganj district (Barisal,—now in East Pakistan), some thirty miles south of Barisal town.

Since 1632, the Portuguese can hardly be said to have a history in Hooghly. They did never assert any claim to independence and the descendants of the Portuguese settlers seem to have quite sunk into the position of subjects, first of the Nawab of Bengal afterwards of the English—differing little, if at all, from ordinary natives. Portugal was a decaying power when the capture of the Portuguese fort at Hooghly destroyed her influence in Bengal for ever.

Mr. Clavel in 1676 in his account of the trade of Hooghly observes, "The Portuguese have no trade and though numerous, make a living chiefly as sepoys in the service of the Mughal Governor." Later we find them serving as sepoys under the English. After the fall of Hooghly fort, the few surviving Portuguese mostly left for Goa or other Portuguese settlements leaving behind their offspring begotten by native wives, whose progeny now form a part of our Eurasian population, bearing surnames like Fernandez, Noronha, de Souza, Gomez, Roderigues, de Cruz, de Silva etc.

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SOVIET MUSIC TODAY

By TIKHON KHRENNIKOV
Secretary of the Board of USSR Union of Composers.

"The main point of our entire ideological work at the present stage," as pointed out by Comrade N. S. Khrushchev, "is the education of all the working people in a spirit of lofty ideology and devotion to communism, a communist attitude towards labor and public economy, the complete elimination of survivals of bourgeois views and customs, the all-round, harmonious development of the personality, the creation of a gennine wealth of spiritual culture."

For Soviet art which is actively participating in the ideological battles—where there can be no conciliatory attitudes, concessions and compromises—the only fertile soil is the soil of socialist realism. Its foundation is the artist's Party positions, the deep popularity of his art, his high principles and consistency in asserting the ideas of communism, his ways of expressing the truth of life, the Soviet people's optimism.

The creative intelligentsia of the Soviet Union, is, of course, on the right road. Nevertheless, there were a few ugly manifestations that cropped up in Soviet art—manifestations of formalism, abstractionism, and decadence, and examples of drabness and hackwork, which have to be fought against for the development of a great and genuine innovatory art of communism.

We, Soviet composers, were highly gratified and happy to hear the favourable appraisal given to the work of the Soviet composers by N. S. Khrushchev. "As for music," he said, "we feel that it is developing at present in the right direction. To be true, some of the composers also showed excesses. We spoke about that at the time, but now matters seem to be proceeding well."

Soviet composers made a careful study of the problems before them and are now engaged in putting in their best efforts to achieve new, grand successes in the field of Soviet musical culture.

Time and again they keep returning to the central problem of Soviet music—the problem of music and contemporaneity, music and its ties with the people, with Soviet reality.

Speaking of the development of Soviet music in the past few years, one can say that its profile is increasingly shaped by themes of our times and the Soviet people's revolutionary history. These themes lie at the basis of many of the recently completed operas and ballets.

New themes born of life itself are now pervading our art. Our composers are now centering their attention on the grand theme of the conquest of outer space. At first they responded to the flights of the Soviet spacemen with songs alone; unfortunately many of them demonstrated a state of "artistic weightlessness." Now we have samples of a far more serious embodiment of the cosmic theme—not only in songs, but in other genres as well. Here, as everywhere else, the main issue is man, the Soviet spaceman, scientist and inventor.

Soviet composers have been showing renewed interest in vocal-symphonic music—oratorias and cantatas. Noteworthy among the opuses of this genre are G. Sviridov's "Oratorio Pathetique" to the words of Mayakovsky—a highly revolutionary piece of music of great life-asserting force. The concrete graphic pattern of the literary text expressed in music imparts to a composition of this genre particular artistic impact, and renders it easily accessible to the lay audience.

Opera and Ballet

Opera as an art has amassed a great deal of experience in the Soviet Union.

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have some fine achievements in this field, such as the well known "War and Peace" by S. Prokofiev, "Decembrists" by Y. Shaporin, "Katerina Izmailova" by D. Shostakovich, etc; operas extolling the heroes of the early years of the October Revolution and the heroes of the Great Patriotic War.

All these and some other operas naturally differ in their levels of mastery, their degrees of dramatic expression and national colour.. But one thing is certain: we have progressed far in giving artistic expression to the glorious pages of the Soviet state's history, in treating of our country's past from new positions. We can boldly claim that some of our finest operas show splendid achievements in the field of form, and interesting vital quests in the spheres of musical expressiveness. Still we have to admit that the development of operatic art does not entirely satisfy us, for vivid and deep operas featuring our contemporaries have yet to be written.

The process of creating ballets on present-day themes is making very slow and ponderous headway, although in this genre we have achieved certain favourable results. So far, we account for very few ballets whose heroes are our contemporaries. Here, as in the field of opera, many unsolved problems still confront us.

It is certainly worth mentioning our achievements in the symphonic genre. We have every right to speak of Soviet symphonic classicism, of the world-acknowledged import of S. Prokofiev's, N. Myaskovsky's, D. Shostakovich's and A. Khachaturyan's symphonies. In their better symphonic opuses, the Soviet composers have incarnated the most important quality of our music—socialist realism; theirs is music deep in ideological content, social significance, variety of form, individual creative style and national tradition, and bold innovation born of our life.

The range of images developed in Soviet symphonic music is very broad. Here we can find tragic, intensely psychological, lyrical-dramatic and jocular images alike. But we have to point out once again that the heroic, epic forms of symphony are developing far more slowly.

Song Writing

In the past few years many bitter and just words were said about the sluggish progress made by song-writing. It was noted that a mass of song-moths had multiplied, instanteneously born with doubtful prospects and died just as instanteneously. That, of course, does not mean that the healthy streams feeding the best compositions in this field have been entirely exhausted. We are happy to say that songs have been lately appearing which are socially significant, sincere, courageous and strong. They have received countrywide acknowledgement. They are carrying out a noble mission, asserting as they do ideas of peace, and extolling the romanticism of labour. They are playing a major role in cultivating the moral qualities of the Soviet man.

The theme of socialist realism is inseperably bound with a number of important aesthetic problems, one of which is the national and international element in music. We have entered a period of flourishing cultures in the socialist nations. Along with the further development of progressive national traditions, the general features born of the communist ideology, the period of communist upbuilding, traits bringing the different national schools nearer, are standing out in ever-stronger relief.

It is no wonder, therefore, that Soviet music now resounds all over the world. Millions of people of different countries applaud the work of the Soviet musicians, tender the composers and performers of the great socialist power a most enthusiastic welcome.

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REGIONAL VARIATIONS IN AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION & PRODUCTIVITY

By Prof. M. BALASUBRAMANIAN,
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Indian agriculture even today continues to suffer from various weaknesses, the most important of them being its vulnerability to weather conditions and the pitifully low yields per unit area. Some improvement has, however, been witnessed in regard to the latter during the fifties. Productivity in Indian agriculture in general has not progressed at any too flattering a rate.

From the index numbers of Agricultural productivity in India 1950-51 to 1961-62 it will be observed that growth in productivity has been very lopsided as between different crops. Among cereals and pulses, productivity of rice and wheat has shown a relatively higher upward trend than that of coarse grains. Increase in productivity in the case of pulses generally has been only meagre. In most cases it has even deteriorated; the productivity index for "other pulses" has remained invariably below the basic level. Similar has been the progress in respect of oil seeds. In this group, only productivity of castor seeds has shown some improvement. In regard to others, the progress has been very slow and even with the index generally remaining below the base level and fluctuating quite widely. This phenomenon is perhaps explained by the fact that greater stress has been placed hitherto on boosting the output of staple food which has led to the growing of these crops—oilseeds and pulses—only on marginal lands. Among fibres, productivity index for cotton has fluctuated very widely, presumably because of heavy dependence of this crop on weather conditions. Productivity in jute has increased only at a slow pace. In the miscellaneous group, productivity of sugarcane has shown some improvement, but that of tobacco generally gone down.

Yield Per Acre: Crop-Wise

From the data relating to the aver of the three years ending with 1960-61 a percentage of that of the three years end with 1951-52, it will be observed that largest increase in yield per acre has ta place in the case of foodgrains—gram 2 per cent, rice 27.4 per cent, ragi 23.8 cent, jowar 23.3 per cent, bajra 18.6 cent wheat 17.8 per cent, and maize 11.8 cent—and of the fibres—cotton 20.7 cent, mesta 15.6 per cent, and jute 6.4 cent—while in the case of oilseeds, increase in yield per acre has been low is actually negative in the case of linse There has also been noticeable fall in yield per acre in the case of pulses o than gram, tur showing a fall of 5.7 per c and other pulses of 7.8 per cent. It will be seen that percentage increase in yield per acre cropwise ranged from +2 to —7.8 for the twentyfive crops taken consideration, only 6 of the crops—rice (per cent), Jowar (23.3 per cent), ragi (per cent), gram (29.5 per cent), cotton (per cent), gingerdy (19.3 per cent)—show an increase of higher than the aver for all crops taken together (18.6 per c and as many as 11 crops—chillies (—2.4 per cent), pepper black (5 per c tobacco (—2.9 per cent), sugarcane (per cent), Jute (6.4 per cent), lin (—3.8 per cent), rape and mustard (per cent), sesamum (4.6 per cent), o pulses (—7.8 per cent), tur (—5.7 per c gram (7.9 per cent)—having an average less than 50 per cent of the average for crops (9.3 per cent).

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Inter State Productivity of Different Crops

From the data relating to the average of the three years ending 1960-61, for those States—Andhra, Assam, Bihar, Maharashtra and Gujrat, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Madras, Mysore, Orissa, Punjab, Rajasthan, U.P. and West Bengal—which have 4% or more of the all-India acreage under each crop, it will be observed that in the case of rice, the yield per acre is well below the national average (850 lbs per acre) in the case of four states—Bihar (747 lbs per acre), Madhya Pradesh (731 lbs per acre), Orissa (627 lbs per acre) and U.P. (616 lbs per acre)—with more than 10% of the all India acreage. Orissa and U.P. which have between them 23.6% of the all-India acreage have an yield per acre which is less than 73% of the national average and less than 50% of the yield per acre in Madras (1,323 lbs per acre).

In the case of wheat Maharashtra and Gujarat with 11% of the national acreage has an yield (465 lbs per acre) which is 35% less than the national average (715 lbs per acre).

In the case of jowar, Mysore and Rajasthan with 20% of the national acreage between them, have yields (350 lbs per acre and 268 lbs per acre) well below the national average (455 lbs per acre).

In the case of bajra, Mysore and Rajasthan with 38% of the national acreage between them, have yields (200 lbs per acre and 196 lbs per acre respectively) well below the national average (282 lbs per acre).

For maize U.P. has an yield (629 lbs per acre) well below the national average (771 lbs per acre), though it has the largest single state acreage under that crop (26.4% of the national acreage). Bihar occupies a similar position with respect to barely, though occupying the third place in area with an average of 10.6%, while with regard to ragi, yields well below the national average (663 lbs per acre) are shown both by Bihar (473 lbs per acre) and Orissa (393 lbs per acre).

Taking foodgrains as a whole, the differences in the yield are startling. Madras (954 lbs per acre), Kerala (1137 lbs per acre), Bengal (845 lbs per acre) and Assam (824 lbs per acre) stand well above the national average (606 lbs per acre), with Punjab (738 lbs per acre) trailing at some distance, U.P. (669 lbs per acre), Andhra (641 lbs per acre), Bihar (615 lbs per acre), and Orissa (594 lbs per acre) are about the national average. Madhya Pradesh (566 lbs per acre), Maharashtra and Gujarat (561 lbs per acre), Mysore (464 lbs per acre), Rajasthan (392 lbs per acre) are below the national average.

In the case of sugarcane, it is well-known that the yields in U.P. (2,541 lbs per acre) are well below the national average (330 lbs per acre) even though it accounts for nearly 60% of the national acreage.

Among the six crops—rice, jowar, bajra, ragi, groundnut and cotton—the highest place in terms of yield per acre is occupied by Madras for all the crops except cotton. In the case of cotton, Madras occupies a second place. Among the seven crops—wheat, bajra, maize, barley, gram, sugarcane and cotton—Punjab occupies the highest place for four crops—wheat, maize, gram and cotton and the second place for barely, the third place for sugarcane and the fourth place for bajra. Thus both north and south lead in agricultural productivity.

The States—Madras, Punjab and Kerala—with the highest productivity account for only 11.4% of the total area under cultivation, while the States with the largest area under cultivation like Maharashtra and Gujarat (18%), Madhya Pradesh (12.7%), Rajasthan (8.8%), Bihar (7.8%) and Mysore (6.6%) fare rather badly in terms of their agricultural productivity.

The uneven progress in the productivity of different crops has led to quite a few unnecessary imbalances being developed in Indian Agriculture. High prices of some crops in some years have resulted in diversion of area under cultivation to these from under the competing crops. Jute output, thus, got a big fillip in 1961-62, prices of raw jute in the previous year had ruled unreasonably high owing to failure of crop both in India and Pakistan. But this increase in jute output was brought about to

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a great extent by diversion of land from under paddy cultivation. Sugarcane output in the past two or three years, similarly, has gone up at the expense of wheat. The net result of all this has been that not only the goal of achieving self-sufficiency in food has proved elusive, but supplies of agricultural raw materials to the industrial sector have also shown an erratic trend.

Thus the increase in productivity as well as the total physical output has also been uneven as between the different states of the Indian Union. Agricultural growth in Punjab, has been phenomenal. This state suffered heavily from partition and lost a major portion of the casual irrigation area to Pakistan, thus becoming deficit in food production. But in the course of barely fifteen years, it has again emerged as a big food surplus producing state, besides as a material contribution to the output of various other important crops like gram and cotton. Agricultural growth has been fairly moderate in Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Madras and Mysore. But Assam, Orissa and West Bengal have registered only meagre progress, notwithstanding some increases in yields witnessed recently in the latter two.

Low productivity in India obviously can be attributed to a number of factors, the most important of them being (1) the general poverty and uneconomic holdings of the majority of peasantry, (2) lack of education, (3) inertia and fatalistic attitude of the farmers at the lower rung etc. But not a small role is played in this matter by lack of adequate specialisation in our Agriculture and it is still not being treated by and large, as an industry. The unit-area yields of various foodcrops in different states show wide disparities, but still they continue to be grown in almost all the states. Some specialisation, has indeed, been effected over the ages, in respect of commercial crops. But here also there is some further scope for it, as is apparent from the wide disparities in sugarcane yields per acre between U.P. and Bihar, on the one hand, and Maharashtra and Gujarat on the other. Farming is taken as an industry only by the educated middle class which has taken to it after the implementation of the land forms or in the absence of other suita avenues of employment open to it. T difference to farm yields that farm mana ment can make hardly needs any empha

There are two other weak links agricultural development in India— comparatively lower emphasis placed u the first two Plans on fostering the prod tion of protective foods; and (2) the d that surplus cattle population exerts farm output. An average Indian to consumes far less quantities of oils, ve tables, fruits, milk and milk products, m fish and eggs per day than he used to c sume some two decades ago. This is unmistable proof of the fact that output of these protective foods not keeping pace with the stagg ing growth in population. An impor point that needs to be taken note of in t connection is that livestock yields in t country in the last decade or so have g up only marginally. The total milk p duction, for instance, is estimated to h gone up from 17 million tons in 1950-51 about 22 million tons in 1960-61. But h much of this is due to increase in the nu ber of milch cattle and how much owing improvement in yield per head of cattle i difficult to say. During the last couple years the tempo of development activity regard to protective foods has been step up. But to what extent it can succeed case of livestock output in the face surplus cattle continuing to be a drag and in competition with useful livestock the available feed is anybody's guess.

Despite the progressively increa funds—Rs. 504 crores in the First P Rs. 666 crores in the Second Plan Rs. 1,281 crores in the Third Plan—u available to agriculture in the Plans generally the right pattern of priorities agricultural growth in India, how impressive, is not adequate. The reasons this painfully slow rate of agricul growth to be found in the performance both agricultural and non-agricul sectors. The slow rate of growth in the agricultural sector has resulted in its fa to siphon off surplus manpower

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agriculture. Secondly, to a considerable extent, the half-hearted and faulty implementation of Plan schemes has stood in the way of raising agricultural productivity.

The persistence of inter-State differences in regard to Agricultural productivity in all the years cannot just be explained in terms of national factors. Capital, labour and agricultural Practices must have something to do with these differences. Moreover, the benefits conserved by various schemes such as irrigation, extension of the area under improved seeds, fertilisers etc., are also not distributed among the regions in the required proportions.

If the future of agricultural production in our country is going to turn on the increase in productivity, maximum attempts should be made to raise the yield per acre in those states which with the largest area under cultivation, have fared rather badly in terms of their agricultural productivity. The attempt in this direction, not only makes the most effective contribution to increasing the national average but also in the process minimizes the inter-State differences in the levels of agricultural productivity.

An increase in agricultural productivity can come mainly in three ways: (1) larger investment for building up the infrastructure of the agricultural economy, (2) more intensive use of traditional techniques and (3) introduction of improved techniques. The first is a rather costly and also slow process. A concentration on traditional techniques may show some improvement in the short period but it has a limited value. The adaptation of improved techniques practised elsewhere and the discovery of new techniques, on the other hand, requires considerable ingenuity on the part of the people concerned. Once, however, the ground is prepared for the introduction of such techniques, an ever expanding horizon is opened up. In fact, a substantial and sustained increase in agricultural productivity becomes really possible when the economy is so geared that the search for and adoption of new techniques become a built-in process, as it were.

Apart from a favourable price for agricultural commodities for the producers, the largest single factor to ensure a large and continuous increase in production is irrigation. But the present position in regard to irrigation is manifestly not satisfactory. About six million acres commandable by the new irrigation projects are going dry because field channels have not been executed and it is estimated that 1,000 miles of such channels have to be dug.

It is futile to expect the ryots to dig these channels, in a short time even if an appeal is made of the present urgency and the Public Works and Revenue Departments do not appear yet to have taken any energetic action. Ryots are now-a-days apathetic even to carry out kudimaramath works and would prefer them to be carried out by Government themselves. In these circumstances Britain's example is worthy of emulation.

During the last war, thousands of acres of grass lands in Britain were turned over to the plough. The slogan was "Dig for victory" and by this process the country reduced its dependence on food from imports substantially before the war ended. A Land Army was organised and in the army women took on agricultural jobs like tractor ploughing to replace the manpower called to military duty. An auxiliary Land Army in India as suggested above to dig these field channels in irrigable areas, to do bunding and trenching work in dry areas, to retain the rainfall in the soil and all other such rural engineering jobs, should be very congenial to this land force which may be drawn predominantly from the rural population.

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MIYAN TANSEN

By Prof. AMAL HALDAR

Music has been described as a "talisman of knowledge." The great scholar and historian of Akbar's court, Abdul Fazl, elaborating his observations on this aspect of music says: "It sometimes causes the beautiful creatures of the harem of the heart to shine forth on the tongue, and sometimes appears in solemn strains by means of the hand and the chord. The melodies then enter through the window of the ear and return to their former seat, the heart, bringing with them thousands of presents."

The reaction to music is nearly as varied as the insight of the individual who hears it. It may move one to horror or to joy. It may move those who have renounced the world and those who cling to it. It transports the hearer to a sphere of heavenly beatitude where he forgets the immediate surroundings and is reminded of an existence which is undefinable. It makes him paryutsuka, or pleasurably painful, for something which he misses very much and which is bound up with his very being. It touches the subconscious state of human existence through which runs the eternal current of the unity of the soul. This bhavasthira sauharda or the ending passion of life carried on through the eternal cycle of existence is aroused by music.

Great Patron

Such being the function and effect of music, which is divine and always ennobling, it has a special charm for men who strive to have a glimpse of the divine self within. During the 16th century in India Akbar was such a man. He encouraged all that was harmonious and unifying in human society, and musicians as the greatest exponents of this harmony, received his great patronage.

The memoirs of Babar mention Raja Ram Chand Baghela, Raja of Bhath or Bhattah, as the third among the three great rajas of Hindustan. He is known as a gr patron of renowned musicians and singe the principal among whom was Ramat Pande, afterwards known as Tansen.

Born in 1506, Ramatanu was the son Makaranda Pande, a resident of Gwal His talent in music became manifest wh he was a mere boy. The natural gift th the undiscovered genius possessed developed by the famous musician of t time, Swami Haridas of Brindavan. It is s that once when the Swami was pass along a field he heard a strange musi voice. It was the voice of young Tansen w was imitating the cries of various anim particularly of tigers, to scare away th passers.

Haridas took Ramatanu of Brinda and gave him a sound training in the fin points of music. On return to his villa Ramatanu continued to work hard and eve tually emerged as a seasoned musicia Much of his time was now spent in singi devotional songs, composing and teachi He gradually came to the notice of Ra Ram Chand who made him one of his co singers Raja Ram Chand was so ov whelmed by the music of Ramatanu th he once made a present of one crore tankas in appreciation of his performanc

When his fame reached Akbar, t Mughal Emperor, he sent Jalal-uddin Qur to bring Tansen to his court at Agra. Th was in 1563, the seventh year of Akba reign. Raja Ram Chand was reluctant lose his favourite but could do little to r sist Akbar's demand. Akbar was so mov on hearing Ramatanu that he presen him with two lakhs of rupees and confer on him the title of Tansen. He was so mu honoured and encouraged by the Mug emperor that most of Tansen's later com sitions are in the praise of Akbar in wh he sought inspiration for the final bloom his talents.

Abdul Fazal says of Miyan Tansen:

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singer like him has not been known in India for the last thousand years. He was by far the best of the group of musicians of the Imperial Court, of whom at least 36 are enumerated in history. Numerous musicians were attached to Akbar's Court—Hindus, Iranis, Turanis, Kashmiris, both men and women. They formed seven groups, one for each day of the week."

It is not strange that personal faith was a matter of secondary importance and consequence to Tansen. It is however a strange coincidence that Tansen was born as a result of the blessings of the great Muslim divine of Gwalior, Muhammad Ghaus.

Marriage And Sons

Losing his parents at an early age, Tansen had to stay for some time with Muhammad Ghaus. It is said that during this period he married one Hussaini and embraced Islam. Tansen had four sons and a daughter by this marriage. Abdul Fazal mentions his son Tantarang Khan and the Badshahnamah mentions another son, Bilas. In fact, Tansen had four sons Surat Sen, Sarat Sen, Tarang Khan and Bilas Khan and a daughter, Saraswati, all of whom were proficient in the art of music. Saraswati was married to the renowned chief of Singhalgarh, Misra Singh, a famed vina-player.

Tansen has been the greatest luminary on the horizon of classical music of northern India, the renowned discoverer of several ragas and the designer a few instruments. He is credited with the discovery of the Rudra Vina and is said to be the innovator of two famous ragas, Miyan-ki-Todi and Darbari Kanada,—probably after his own name and the name of the Imperial Court which he had the privilege to serve.

Ripe Age

Tansen died at the age of 83 in 1589, full of years and honours. His body was taken to Gwalior and buried near the sacred mausoleum of his benefactor and spiritual guru, Muhammad Ghaus. The calm seclusion of this spot, hallowed by the mortal remains of a great devotee of art, there reigns supreme a spirit of universality. The simple mausoleum which stands today over the grave of Tansen is reminiscent of the typical Mughal architecture with recessed arches, flat roofs and straight columns. It recalls the architecture of the Sheikh Salim Chisti's mausoleum at Fatehpur Sikri, but with lesser pretensions to decorative embellishments.

Pictorial Studies

Through the ages have come down to us several pictorial studies of the great musician. As depicted in a painting of the Mughal Qualam of the last decade of the 16th century, Tansen appears a simply robed, vigorous yet emotional man of sharp features. Draped in a cross-breasted and long-sleeved garment, with a turban and a Mughal patka or waistband, he represents the typical noblemen of the period.

About two centuries later, Rajasthan artists painted a group which shows Akbar, Tansen and Swami Haridas seated in a grove. Swami Haridas, the guru of Tansen, scantily dressed, is singing to the accompaniment of Tanpura. An enraptured Tansen, with a sitar, sits before him. Akbar looks on admiringly at the two. The birds on trees, the monkeys playing on the branches, the confiding peacock—all constitute that serene and detached atmosphere which is the very essence and gift of divine music.

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A RARE, OLD, TANJORE PAINTING

By K. P. PADMANABHAN TAMPY

A Tamil poet of distinction, a talented literary critic, musician and composer of songs, Sri T. D. Meenakshisundaram Pillai, B.A.B.L., Registrar, Annamalai University, is also a discerning art collector and art connoisseur. With a flair for Fine Arts, he has collected several excellent paintings, sculptures and curios with accent laid on quality and speaks about them with intimate knowledge and understanding and infectious enthusiasm. During my recent visit to Annamalainagar, he showed me his collection with which I was much impressed. This article concerns a rare, old, and truly outstanding item from his collection, a beautiful Tanjore Style Painting which illustrates in an exquisite and convincing manner the fusion of two great, age-old, cultures, Tamil and Malayalam, in the realm of Fine Arts.* This work of inspired art and accomplished craftmanship demonstrates how great artists of a bygone age could effect with ease and refinement a synthesis, at once noble and exalted, and transcend provincialism while attempting to interpret **Satyam, Shivam,** and **Sundaram,** with vision, intuition and imagination.

With the liquidation of the Mughul (1526-1803-1856) and Rajasthani (16-19th Centuries), Schools of Painting which had its origin in political changes, a number of artists of accomplishment who were trained in the schools of Miniature Paintings were compelled to migrate to other States to earn their livelihood. Some of these artists peregrinated to Tanjore which then was the flourishing centre of Fine Arts, and culture. The peregrinations of these artists have not been fully investigated into and no authoritative accounts written by our art historians. Here is a field for research and study. The artists who found asylum in the Tanjore Court were liberally patronised by the enlightened rulers who excelled as Patrons of art and literature. King Sarabhoji (1748-1830) was the most distinguished such illustrious rulers. While retaining some of the refinement, sensitivity and technical excellence of the age-old school miniature painting, the artists, to please their patrons, also painted commissioned portraits of rulers, nobles and saints, imaginative studies of South Indian Gods and Goddesses, and occasionally other pictures. Realism, Idealism, Folk Art and Imaginative Art were in varying proportions combined by the clever artists to create works of art which have stood the test of time.

A predominating element of exquisite decoration, and the amazingly competent use of gold and semi-precious stones invested their paintings with obvious pictorial effect and popular appeal. Tanjore style paintings are of four types, namely, those painted on glass, on mica sheets, on wooden panels, and on paper, each possessing its own peculiarities of art expression and technique, but all permeated by a common and exalted sense of idealism, vision, aspiration and decoration. Tanjore paintings are remarkable for their harmonious and unique combination of creative art and consummate craftsmanship.

The rare and impressive painting **Two Travancore Ladies** in the collection of Sri T. D. Meenakshisundaram Pillai is executed on glass with outstanding technical competence so much so that even to-day despite its age of nearly one hundred years it looks quite fresh and sparkling, the colours retaining their brilliance. Sensitiveness and clarity of composition, distinguish this painting on glass which involves mastery of technique and illustrates a profound sense of beauty and talent in creative expression. The technique of painting on glass though simple in principle demands considerable experience and skill. The artist, according to a chosen design, draws the contours of the subject to be painted on the glass. He paints the eyes and mouth, drapery and ornaments, using

* See the reproduction which constitutes the frontispiece to this issue.

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several shades of colours. The painters prepared the colours themselves to suit their needs, diluting them with water and linseed oil, or glue. The colours in powder form were mixed with the white of eggs, linseed oil, turpentine, to form an emulsion. To ensure the durability and lustre of the colours and to prevent their peeling off the glass, a second thin oil coating was provided after the background was painted. The painting was originally in the collection of an ancestor of Sri Pillai who saw service as a popular Medical Officer in some of the towns in South India. A contemporary artist who was a grateful patient of the Doctor, had presented him with a few paintings including the one discussed in this article. This painting possesses all the salient features of the typical Tanjore style paintings on glass.

The Maharajahs of Travancore State distinguished themselves as patrons of Fine Arts and Literature. It is well-known that the great linguist, scholar and poet, Shri Swathi Thirumal Maharaja (1813-1846) who takes his place of honour with the greatest South Indian Music composers, Syama Sastri, Dikshitar, and Thyagaraja, had in his Court several outstanding luminaries in the realms of vocal and instrumental music, dance, and painting. There was an exodus of musicians, dancers, and painters from Tanjore to the Travancore Court. About ten such painters were attached to the Royal Court on regular monthly pay. Ramaswami Naidu of Tanjore, proficient in oil painting, and Pedda Desari were two of the famous painters in Shri Swathi Thirumal's Court. The Maharaja's munificence to artists was profuse. Enraptured with the music and dance of Sugandavalli, a charming Devadasi from Tanjore, who performed **Bharathanatyam** before His Highness, he did not hesitate to have her as his spouse and thus honour an incomparable artist. It is likely that the painting of **Two Kerala Ladies** is the work of one such Tanjor artist who enjoyed Royal patronage, now anonymous, or his direct disciple, who was familiar with the life of the aristocratic ladies of Kerala, a century back. A few portraits of Sri Swathi Thirumal Maharaja done on glass by Tanjore artists are exhibited in some of the art galleries and private collection in South India.

Though the style of the painting on glass of **Two Kerala Ladies** is truly and typically Tanjore, the theme is hundred per cent Travancore. The dress, ornaments and deportment of the old-time aristocratic ladies of Travancore who cultivated music and dance with care and devotion have been expressed by the artist in a pictorial language with deep understanding, warm human appeal and truthful fidelity in the exquisite and joy-imparting study of two lovely Kerala damsels. The size of the painting is 1′ 3½″ by 1′ 7½″. Two charming ladies belonging to the highest strata of society are depicted enjoying music. The older lady is reclining on a red velvet covered cushion and playing on a **Tambura** with the representation of a **Vyali** (mythological animal) on its top. The **Tambura** is decorated with exquisite carvings on wood inlaid with ivory. The younger lady is listening with rapt attention. The two ladies appear to be sisters. The elder damsel holding the **Tambura** wears typical old-time dress of the aristocratic ladies of Travancore, a gold laced hand-woven **Pudava** with the traditional characteristic black markings, and black border, tied around the waist, and a **thuppatta** of finest texture with gold lace, hand-woven, tied above the breasts. The younger lady wears a scarlet coloured hand-woven, Benares **Pudava** with gold lace. Both ladies have adorned themselves with the traditional Travancore type of Gold ornaments selected with great care, taste and thought, such as **Thoda** (ear ornament) and **Addyal** (necklace) inlaid with precious rubles and diamonds, gold necklaces of different patterns, gold bangles and **muduku** inlaid with precious stones, and diamond nose screws, and rings. These ornaments of exquisite design and workmanship depict symbolically purity and beauty. White, black and scarlet are the dominant colours used by the artist with consummate pictorial effect and technical virtuousity. The figures are treated boldly and flatly without employing the subtilities of light and shade, characteristic of Western portrait painting.

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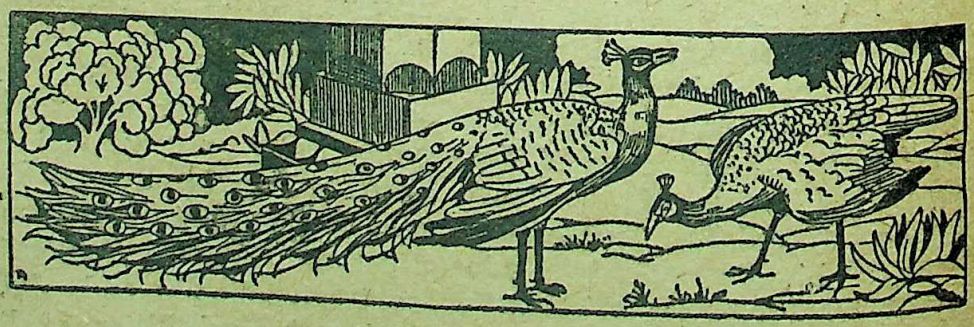
The necessary contrast is achieved by the clever, refined and harmonious use of colours in warm and cold tones. The drawing is good and accurate. The composition is well balanced. The coiffeur of the two ladies with thick black hair is typically Travancore, the hair rolled artistically and tied into a knot at the top and girdled by a gold band. The two damsels have black dots deliberately placed in the centre of their foreheads. They have also dyed their eyebrows with a black, aromatic medicated, dye. Elegant is their simple dress characteristic of nobility. Dignified are their postures, which pulsate with life and charm. The lady with Tambura has her hair knotted on the right. She wears a nose screw to the left. Contrary to this, the other lady wears a nose screw on the right and has her hair knotted to the left. This contrast enhances the compositional values of the painting. To accentuate the effective and truthful delineation of gold ornaments, the artist has used in the painting gold tinsel and semiprecious stones, thereby creating an impression that actual ornaments are used and not mere pictorial representations. The grouping of the two lovely ladies and their facial expressions are visually charming and aesthetically satisfying. The rendering of the figures is life-like with a ready and spontaneous appeal to the mind and eyes. With the use of minimum colours the artist has succeeded in creating the maximum pictorial effect and subdued sensuous appeal with sensitivity and refinement, avoiding over decoration and excessive stylisation which are characteristic features of Tanjore Paintings of Gods and Goddesses. The linear rhythm and chromatic harmony of the painting are obviously pleasing.

Ravishing physical charms of ebull youth, dignity of demeanour and deportm and refinement of expression of Ker Ladies of high birth and accomplishme find their most charming and vivac delineation in this painting executed b master artist. The painting enables the lover to look at and perceive the exte beauty of form and inner charm of womanhood of Kerala. This study of Ke damsels of a by-gone age is an impor and truthful historical and social re illustrating faithfully the dress, ornam and avocations of the aristocratic ladie Kerala who were exceptionally well ve in music. Simple and effective in c position, pleasing in colour scheme, de of technical stunts and intricacies, t painting appeals to the intellect, imagina and senses of the on-looker. Linear rhyt a characteristic feature of Oriental achieves great strength and compactness composition in **Two Kerala Ladies**, a per idealisation of line and colour, a work art which irradiates refined sense of fi blended tonal values and aesthetic sens vity.

Unstinted tribute is due to the ma artist who created such a noble work of an embodiment of all that is graceful charming, transcending all limitat imposed by the divergence of cultures, c lizations and territories and visualised G Art as one supreme and superb entity. A looking at the painting **Two Kerala La** one cannot but echo the words of Macau "the most beautiful object in the world will be allowed, is a beautiful woman," the dictum of Ruskin that "all Great is the expression of man's delight in G creation."



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BENGALI LITERATURE IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY : A BRIEF SURVEY

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Introduction

The Bengali literature, like all other literatures of the world, has passed through a process of evolution before reaching its present standard and character. In this course of development it has undergone five well-defined stages, each with its distinct characteristic in regard to matter, form and style.

The first of this stages can be called the early or pre-Muslim age, beginning from the days of the origin of the language and ending in 1200 A.D., when the Turks conquered Bengal. The second, or the Muslim age, spanned one hundred years, 1200 to 1300 A.D. The third, or the Early Middle age, covered two hundred years, 1300-1500 A.D. The fourth, or the Late Middle Age (1500-1800 A.D.), can be divided into two periods, the one of Chaitanya and Vaishnava literature (1500-1700 A.D.), and the other that of Naib Nazims (1700-1800 A.D.). The fifth or the Modern Age started from 1800 A.D., when British rule had been securely established in Bengal.[1] The history of the Bengali literature is the story of the intellectual awakening of the Bengali people.

Characteristics of the 18th Century literature

In the 18th century, particularly in the middle of it, Bengali literature had reached a stage of marked deterioration; in the realm of creative thinking a state of stagnation was palpable. Politically, Bengal was then passing through a period of transition when the old order was bowing out and the new age appeared on the threshold. The same transition was noticeable in the field of literature. The old concepts of literary activity were gradually vanishing, and the glimmerings of new moods and new urges were seen on the horizon. This was the twilight stage of modern Bengali literature.

Bharatchandra was the most outstanding literary figure of this age, and his influence on contemporary Bengali literature may well stand comparison with that of Bankim Chandra in the late 19th, and of Tagore in the 20th Centuries. He was a perfect master of words; profuse use of similies and rich imageries were the most dominant traits in his works. **Sadhak Kavi** Ramprasad Sen was another literary luminary of the age, the notes of whose devotional songs still ring in the innermost recesses of Bengal.

The main feature of the pre-nineteenth century literature was its lack of variety, its staleness and monotony. It was deeply religious and devotional in character, legendary and mythical in content, poetical in form, lyrical in tone, classical in style and emotional in appeal. The themes were woven around deities and demons, and saints and recluses, with an overtone of moral precepts, particularly in regard to the domestic life of man and conjugal harmony. The **Padavalis, Mangal Kavyas,** panegyrical narratives of Vaishnava saints, were the representative specimens of this literature. There was, besides, the literature of love, soaked in deep emotional fervour. Modelled on the Sanskrit literary forms and ideals, Bengali could not attain an easy flow through verbosity, archaic expressions, difficult syntactical constructions, plethora of winding compounds, classical phrases and involved sentences. There were the classical grandeur and grandiloquence in the language, but not easy gait or grace; there was, besides, no force in it and no smooth mobility. There was hardly any prose literature worth the name, poetry being almost the sole form of literary creation. In fact, the state of the Bengali literature was the

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true reflection of the deepseated political and social malady of the times; the torpor which had gripped the political and social life of the people had its echo in the field of thought too.

The Modern Age in Bengali Literature

This was the state of literature when the British rule was established in Bengal in the middle of the 18th Century. It is agreed on all hands that the modern age, the most creative age in Bengali literature, was not only co-eval with but attributable to the new ideas and thoughts which came to Bengal in the wake of British power.

British rule in Bengal not only wrought a signal transformation in the political, social and economic life of the people of Bengal, but revolutionised their thoughts and ideas. The moral effects of British rule were no less significant than political and economic ones. When Bengali literature was suffering from "poverty of themes and technique,"[2] it came in contact with western thoughts and ideas. The result was salutary; there was infusion of variety in regard to matter, dynamism and vigour in regard to spirit, and ease and elegance in regard to technique. The literary current began to flow through altogether new channels. But then, the impact of western thoughts on Bengali literature was best realised rather in the 19th than in the 18th Century.

In the closing decades of the 18th Century, the English in Bengal were concerned primarily with consolidation of their newly acquired authority. Yet, acquaintance with the indigenous culture evoked among the early rulers of Bengal a genuine interest for it. Warren Hastings not only took an active interest in Bengali literature, but patronised and encouraged its development. The foundation of the Asiatic Society of Bengal gave an impetus to the indigenous culture, and the researches of Sir William Jones opened up new vistas of knowledge; they made the local people conscious of their past heritage. It is with Hastings' patronage that the first Bengali grammar was written by Nathaniel Halhead in 1778. It was at the same time when Beng typography was made by Charles Wilk and the first Bengali press establish Charles Wilkins, an ardent student Sanskrit, translated the **Bhagabatgita**. was the principal collaborator of Will Jones in founding the Asiatic Society Bengal.[3] These two phenomena, typogra and the press, entailed a revolution in field of literary activity. They gave e and wide accessibility to literature; lite ture became mobile, and a commodity popular consumption. Although the inter of the British in this period was more classical traditions of Bengal than vernacu literature as such, they were not blind the importance of the latter from admin trative points of view. Thus, Forster tr slated Sir Elizah Impey's legal code i Bengali, with a view to giving it wi publicity among the people. Of the Engli men actively connected with Bengali li ature in this period, Francis Gladw Nathaniel Halhead, Charles Wilkins a Jones Gilchrist were the most noteworth Gladwin published in 1780 **"A Comprehe sive Vocabulary, English and Persian, co piled for the East India Company."** Jonath Duncan translated and published in 17 **Regulations for the Administration Justice in the Courts of the Dewanee Ada** N.B. Edmonstone published in 1791 tra lation of **Criminal Regulations Operative Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.** These men, pa cularly Halhead, were all in favour weeding out the Persian and Arabic wo from Bengali, with a view to restoring 'pristine purity.' Their works, however, no lasting effect on Bengali literature, nevertheless, they were pointers to the that the British government of Beng fully realised the importance of the guage, and felt the need for greater acq intance with it.

First Decade of the 19th Century

This became manifest in 1800 w the Fort William College was establish to train the young English civilians in language and literature of the Brit dominion in India. Lord Wellesley elabora

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the objects of the College in the following words:

". . . . this education of the Civilians must be founded in a general knowledge of the branches of literature and science which forms the basis of the education of persons destined to similar occupations in Europe. To this foundation should be added an intimate acquaintance with the history, language, customs and manners of the people of India."[4]

Learning the language of the country was imperative for administration, and hence it was ordered:

"From and after the 1 January 1801, no servant of the East India Company will be deemed eligible to any of the offices hereinafter mentioned, unless he shall have passed an examination in the laws and regulations of the language, a knowledge of which is hereby declared to be an indispensable qualification."[5]

The College was thus set up to serve an administrative purpose, but it proved eventually to be a nucleus of a new movement in Bengali literature. The association of the Government invested the Bengali language with an unprecedented importance. The Bengali department of the College was headed by William Carey, the noted missionary, educationist and philanthropist. Carey employed a band of Bengalees, erudite scholars in Persian and Sanskrit. Of these scholars, Mrittunjay Tarkalankar and Ramram Bose were the most notable. Carey's main task was to write text books and readers and other "elementary works of general utility." Within two decades of the establishment of the College, a score of books, dictionaries, dialogues, mythological stories, grammars and readers were written by the scholars of the College. This was the first conscious and organised effort to write Bengali prose on a large scale.[6]

The history of Bengali prose literature is closely connected with the Fort William College. Here we find the confluence of the three elements which were conducive to the development of the literature; the Government's patronage, the energy and enthusiasm of a devoted missionary like Carey, and the classical erudition of Bengali intellectuals like Tarkalankar and Ramram Bose.[7] The form and style in which the books of the Fort William Period (1800-1815) were written clearly suggest that their authors found it hard to do away with the influences of their classical training. In fact, in the works of these scholars, two different styles are noticeable; one, the **Panditi** Style, and the other, **Munshi** Style.[8] Language, being still tied to the trammels of classicism, could have neither an easy flow nor comprehensibility. It was, in consequence, pedantic and club-footed. Archaic forms, involved syntactical constructions and difficult expressions made it cumbersome and heavy.

Yet, there was an honest attempt on the part of Carey to use in his works, at least, colloquial expressions in preference to Sanskrit and Persian jargons. His **Itihasmala** and **Kathopakathan** are cases in point. Carey instructed his associates to write in an easy intelligible style. Of Bengali, Carey wrote:

"Convinced as I am that the Bengali language is superior in point of intrinsic merit to every language spoken in India and in point of real utility yields to none....."[9]

Although the works of the Fort William College scholars had no permanent value, being mostly of elementary character, and having neither richness in style nor originality in theme, they were, nevertheless, landmarks in the development of the Bengali literature. At a time when writings in prose was virtually non-xistent, Carey and his men ventured to make it the most effective and popular form of literary activity. It was a bold deviation from tradition. The College was "a link between the rulers and the ruled." No promotion in service was possible for one who had not passed through the courses of this College. The College, besides, provided scope for the interchange of ideas between the Engish and the Bengali scholars. The College, in fine, was one of the earliest channels of western influence in Bengal.

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Education

But the real development of the literature did not take place till the Bengalees themselves took an active interest in the task. For, whatever might have been the contribution of the early British rulers of Bengal, it is clear that their efforts in regard to the development of the local language and literature were motivated mostly by the considerations of administrative necessity. Besides, since the Englishmen's knowledge of Bengali idioms and phrases and grammatical rules was often inadequate and faulty, their works could not attain the standard of literature of lasting value. The real services of these men lie in the fact that they roused the consciousness of the educated Bengalees to the need for developing their own vernacular literature. This consciousness was a product of the latter's acquaintance with western thoughts which reached them through education on western lines.

The activities of the Missionaries

In the spread of this education in Bengal, the missionaries, particularly of Serampore, did the spade work. Their contribution to the cultural renaissance of Bengal can never be overestimated. They were associated with all the progressive movements of the third and fourth decades of the 19th Century, and some of the fruits of their efforts are still seen in Bengal, particularly in the field of education. The missionaries were the torch-bearers of the new age which dawned in Bengal in the 19th century.

Ever since its foundation in 1800, the Baptist Mission at Serampore, under the inspiring leardership of Carey, Marshman and Ward, engaged itself in evangelical and educational activities.[10] The missionaries realised the basic need for educating the local people with a view to illuminating the dark recesses of their superstition-laden mind. The London Missionary Society (1814) and the Calcutta Diocesan Committee (1816) set up a number of educational institutions in Calcutta and elsewhere where lessons on science, religion, ph sophy, history and culture were impar A number of text-books, on a variety subjects, both religious and secular in ch ter, were written and published by t missionaries. These were written in p These books were mostly translation religious and secular works of wes writers. Their main aim was to ins the people with Christian faith and ide It is the missionaries who for the first t unlocked the vast store-house of wes literature for the Bengalees. The re was a widening of the mental horizon of local people. The missionaries acti associated themselves with the governm as well as private sponsored educati societies.[11] These missionaries sought write in an easy, intelligible style, free f classical clogs. They preferred colloqui ornamental language. Yet, their imper knowledge of Bengali idioms and c imitation of English syntactical const tion made their works jarring to the e Of all these missionaries the language Marshman was the best, having the qu ties of simplicity, "vigour and racy sweep

Grant Duff was one of the great missionary-educationists of the time, w was convinced that infusion of the Chris spirit into the people through education w indispensable "for the improvement of heathen mind." A great champion of English language and literature, he h the latter as a "lever which, as the inst ment of conveying the entire knowledge destined to move all Hindostan."[13]

The Government's Educational Policy

The Government, too, realised the n for framing an educational policy. Bro speaking, the Government's educatio policy in the 18th century was the prese tion, establishment and encouragement the indigenous educational institut They encouraged both Sanskrit and Per education. The Charter Act of 1813 pro ed for a lakh of rupees annually for revival and development of local litera as also for the encouragement of the st of sciences in India. This sum was, b

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ever, spent mostly for publishing books in Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic. Against such use of the allotted money, the Bengali press carried on relentless campaigns, urging the Government to spend the sum for the development of the vernacular language and literature.[14]

Among the educated elite of Bengal the western influence made quite a stir. The intelligentsia was divided mainly into three groups; the Anglicists or the ardent champions of English education, the Orientalists or the advocates of classical education and the Vernacularists or the protagonists of vernacular education. There were wrangles, often bitter, between these groups; and in the literature and the press wordy duels were fought.

As the leader of the Anglicists, Raja Ram Mohun Roy wrote an open letter to Lord Amherst, the Governor-General, criticising the prevalent educational policy of the Government, and pinpointing the necessity of English education, western science, ideas and thoughts for the intellectual uplift of the people. The Government, however, took no adequate step to implement his suggestion. It was only in 1835 that under the vigorous leadership of Lord Macaulay the Anglicists scored a truimph over the Orientalists. In his famous Minute of 23 February 1835, Macaulay exposed the hollowness of classical education and the dynamism and vigour of the English language, urging that the latter was not only suitable but salutary for the Indians; it was, he added, the **sin qua non** for the cultural rejuvenation of Bengal. This pleading struck home; the Government firmly resolved to use all the available funds for English education in India. That clinched the issue in favour of the Anglicists.

It is interesting to note that the Anglicists realised the need for the development of vernacular education. They found no apparent conflict between the development of English education under Government initiative and patronage and vernacular education with Government blessing and encouragement. In fact, Lord Macaulay himself regarded English education as a transitional step; he felt that the education of the people should ultimately be through the vernacular medium.[15] His aim was to create

> "a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect. To that class we may leave it to refine the vernacular dialects of the country, to enrich those dialects with terms of science borrowed from western nomenclature, and to render them by degrees fit vehicles for conveying knowledge to the great mass of the population."[16]

The Missionaries, too, held that Bengali could be the fittest means of literary activity, if it were written in clear, simple and lucid style, free from classical jargons and English syntactical constructions. In short, it was increasingly felt by all that vernacular literature, if purified, could be the best medium of disseminating western thoughts and ideas. No wonder then, vernacular language and literature soon drew the active interest of the Government. Adam's Report brought out the miserable state of vernacular education. The Government set up a Committee of Education which in its first annual report declared that

> "the formation of a vernacular literate to be the ultimate object to which all our efforts must be directed," and that it was "the almost fatal absence of a vernalar literature which made the study of English indispensable."[17]

The Committee recommended the popularisation of vernacular language by translations from English works, and to prescribe these translations for the Anglo-Bengali schools. It was further suggested to employ teachers of the vernacular language in educational institutions of every district headquarter.[18]

The New Intelligentsia

The popularisation of English education and the wider publicity of the western thoughts and ideas through translations brought in their wake a cultural ferment. Western education created a new intellectual class. The class was not only the most receptive to western ideas and thoughts,

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but the most responsive, too. Closer acquaintance with the English language, this class felt, was not only the surest passport to government service, but assimilation of western thoughts and ideas was a means of intellectual refinement and moral enlightenment. It is this class which was the real creator of modern Bengali literature. All of this class were educated in the Anglo-Vernacular schools and colleges, all being inspired by devoted teachers such as De Rozario, Duff, Hare, Richardson, Carey and Marshman.[19] The Anglo-Vernacular schools became the nurseries of 'Young Bengal', the cradles of social, cultural and literary movements in 19th century Bengal.[20] The ferment in Bengal's cultural life found its utterance in Bengali literature. The new age, with its new moods, urges and passions found its best reflection in contemporary literature.

The dominant idea of the time was reform and rejuvenation of the social and cultural institutions. Western ideas and inspirations acted for a time as a heady wine among a section of the educated Bengalees. The latter's unbounded fascination for everything western made them captious critics of everything Indian. Under the hypnotic spell of western education, the culture and tradition of India seemed to them wholly abhorrent and obnoxious. They were swept off their feet; 'Young Bengal' not only read and wrote English, it sought to be out and out English in temperament, mood and even values of life.

> "The gods had now become to them mere clay, the temples were unholy and the hallowed precincts of their homes a hole of superstition.[21]

There was another section of the intellectuals whose reaction to the new culture was more restrained, and their response to it was cautious and hesitating. The obscurantists, in their turn, saw in the spirit of the west a formidable challenge to the old order to which they were firmly wedded. A third section of the intellectuals followed a golden mean; they realised that the new spirit of the west was an irresistable phenomenon, and timely response to it was the best means to withstand its challenge. It is this section which brought 'Young Bengal' to its sen and it is this section, again, which prov to the obscurantists the compelling need adjustment with the new urges of the Intellectuals of this section struck a synth between the time-honoured traditions the Hindu society and the dynamic spirit the western culture. It is they who w the real heralds of renaissance in Beng life and spirit in the 19th century. Th cross-currents in Bengal's social think find representation in contempor literature.

Ram Mohan Ray

In this literature Ram Mohan's wo stand pre-minent. Ram Mohan's ideas contained in his works, gave the great ever impetus to Bengal's intellectual a vity. It is not the Raja's ideas alone wh were bold, fresh and vigorous, but the w they were publicised, the vehicle throu which they were disseminated among people were all remarkable. The most p gressive intellectual of his time, the Ra carried on a two-fold crusade, one agai the craze for blind imitation of the we the other against the stubborn opposition the nourishing influences of western cultu He worte as much against the missionar who decried everything in Hindu culture against the Bengali obscurantists who h doggedly to the out-dated and obnoxi Hindu social practices. Written in e elegant prose, Ram Mohan's works were fittest media for the dissemination of p mical religious and social issues. His wo bear unmistakable traces of his d erudition, wide vision, liberality of m rational outlook and, above all, keen crit spirit. They were the best expositions of western philosophy and religion, as also best interpretation of eastern traditi social and religious conventions. They w the earliest successful attempts to prove t all that glittered in western society was golden, nor all that stank in the Hi culture rotten. His satirical works w written as replies to the missionaries w misinterpreted Hindu practices and obs vances. He was equally critical of the Hin

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orthodox people who clung to their outmoded religious practices and social conventions. His tireless exhortations through a number of religious treatises restored the people's confidence in their own religion and culture; he ably proved by his reforms that the Hindu society had not lost its creative potentialities. His works thus served a great social need at a time when the Bengali mind was at a cross-road, unable to decide whether to accept blindfold everything western or to be totally aloof from it. He emphasised the imperative need for adjustment with the changing times, as a means not only to withstand its gigantic challenge, but to enrich the indigenous culture itself. His learned discourses on western and eastern philosophy and religion enlightened the public as much as it served to bring out the essence of these two schools of thought. His works breathe an air of pleasant freshness; they embody a spirit of synthesis, harmony and co-ordination of different viewpoints. He is righty regarded as the herald of modern India; his mind saw the confluence of the best of the old order and the best of the new. In him the west met the east; his works radiated oriental wisdom, sobriety and an inflexible faith in ideals, as also the western realism, rationalism and keen critical spirit. In the words of a well-known scholar, "he no more denied the past than he refused to recognise the present." While he "provided for India's assimilation of the newly-arrived social and scientific values of the west, he also secured spiritual continuity with the past."[22]

Ram Mohan is regarded as the Father of modern Bengali prose. His works initiated the Bengalees into a new concept of life, new spirit and thought, as also into a new style and form of expressing these thoughts. He translated the Vedas and the Upanishadas into Bengali and made them easily accessible to the general people.

Simple, direct, epigrammatic and forceful, his style became the fittest medium for expressing the abstruse philosophies and religious theories as, also of the polemical social issues.[23] Vernacular language was reduced in his hands to "pristine simplicity." He evolved a new style in Bengali prose, free from classical embellishments, yet elegant, smooth and effective. His "style of expounding religious and social views without enthusiasm and without abuse, and without any affectation or mannerism characterises the school founded by him."[24] He compiled Bengali grammar, and in his works discarded Sanskrit grammar in so far as its rules could not be philologically applied to Bengali.

His "polyglotic attainments relieved him from the hypnotic influence of the involved flowery pharaseology and from the nightmarish obsession of lexical words."[25]

Besides, it was Ram Mohan who first wrote books other than the readers and textbooks in large numbers. Previous to this, most of the Bengali books, whether written by the Europeans or the Bengalees, dealt with insignificant matters; they were mostly translations, intended to cater to the needs of the students. They were, consequently, of ephemeral interest. Dignity, restraint and refinement were the prominent traits in his works; he never stooped to vulgarity, slander or abuse, even while rebutting the arguments of his carping critics.[26] Although master of English, Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic and other languages, Ram Mohan wrote mainly in Bengali, his works in English being mostly translations of European literature. Ram Mohan, above all, was the pioneer of Bengali literature of thought. His writings on social and religious matters engendered many controversies in many quarters. Lively discussions followed suit; many shades of opinion were formed; the result was a spate of literature dealing with the issues affecting the nation at large. Literature became an effective means of educating the public and a means of enlightenment. It appealed more to man's critical faculties, his rational sense and his intellect rather than his sentiment and emotion. An age of Reform, ushered in by Raja Ram Mohan Ray, brought about a change in the ideas of the purpose of literature. Literature came to be regarded not merely as a means of enjoyment for the people, but a radiator of new ideas, a nourishing food for thought, an inspiration for

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action to build up a purer a better social order. Bengali literature in the Age of Ram Mohan thus served a great social purpose. It aroused public consciousness, articulated public opinion and formed a variety of social, political and religious schools of thought.[27]

Literature also served as a corrective of social behaviour. In the fifth decade of the century, there were socio-comic dramas and caricatures which cast bitter satire on the angularities of 'Young Bengal' which aped the Englishmen blindfold. The famous poet, Iswar Gupta, wrote many satirical poems on the craze of English-educated Bengali young men for imitating the western modes and behaviour. During this period there were many literary works which discussed some of the deep-seated and time-honoured social practices as Kulinism; Casteism, child marriage etc. Female education, place of women in society[28] were also the issues which figured prominently in the writings of the day. Social dramas of which Bhabani Charan Bandyopadhya's **Nababababubilas** and **Kulinkulasarbaswa** were the most famous, dealt with the obscene taste of the **Baboos**, their evil habits in society, the eccentricities of the pampered Brahmins, the vanity of the missionaries, the hollowness and the ramshackle state of the upper strata of the Calcutta society and such other problems. Various societies as the Bethune Society (1851), Calcutta Female Juvenile Society (1820) and Ladies' Society for Native Female Education, advocated women's education; meetings were held, debates and discussions held and articles written in the press to focus public attention on the issue.[29] Both Indians and Englishmen were active members of the organisations for the popularisation of women's education.

Newspapers and Periodicals

In the second decade of the 19th century Bengali newspapers and periodicals were published for the first time, and it is these which had the profoundest effect on the development of Bengali literature. In 1818 the Serampore Mission started a Bengali monthly called **Digdarshan.** It lasted for a few months. It was followed by the **Samachar Darpan** or the Mirror of News, the most influential paper of the day. Lord Hastings, the Governor-General, patronised it by allowing its circulation at one-fourth of the postage charged for the English newspapers. Lord Amherst subscribed for one hundred copies for use in Government offices. Marshman was its editor. It contained news of different parts of India and abroad, digest of contents in English and Bengali periodicals and interesting essays on various social problems. Although a missionary paper, it did not, generally speaking, seek to establish the superiority of the Christian faith by casting vitriolics at the Hindu religious and social practices.[30]

Marshman was assisted by a band of Bengalee Pandits, of whom Jay Gopal Tarkalankar and Pandit Tarinicharan Shiromani were the most famous. In 1829 the paper was published both in Bengali and English. From 1832 it became a bi-weekly but in 1834 it began again to be published once every week. In 1842, probably, it was published with two editions, English and Bengali; the editor then was Bhagabat Charan Chattopadhyay. The publication of the **Samachar Darpan** with its thought provoking essays and progressive views created a stir in the society. The writings in the paper covered a wide range of subjects as education, language and literature, social maladies, religious superstitions. It also ventilated peoples' grievances against the callousness of the authorities.[31]

As for education, the paper was an ardent advocate of the need for widespread literacy both among men and women. It gave prominent coverage to the news of the establishment of new schools and colleges, their proceedings and activities, their progress and development. The paper also contained articles and letters criticising the Government's educational policy; the paper emphasised the need for the development of vernacular education in Bengal. There was a great deal of discussion in the paper on the style and form of Bengali literature. The paper held that pure foreign words as Arabic and Persian were essential to the development of the Bengali

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language. Another lively issue which evoked much interest during the period was whether or not Presian should continue as the court language in Bengal. **Samachar Darpan** as well as all section of the intellectuals urged the Government to replace Persian by Bengali in the courts of Bengal. Accordingly, in 1838, Persian was declared as no longer to continue as the court language in Bengal. This measure gave great impetus to the Bengali language. The **Samachar Darpan** reflected the progressive section of the society. It advocated western education as a means of public enlightenment. The paper took notice of all the literary and social activities in the city, the books and periodicals published, the debates and discussions held in the cultural forum. It advocated simplification of the language and greater use of colloquial terms. The paper gave full publicity to the public grievances on the lack of medical and sanitary facilities in Calcutta, the oppression of the indigo-planters and the soil monopolists. Widow remarriage, **Sati**, early marriage of girls and such other matters were also published in the paper. Although the paper held mostly a restrained tone on these social evils, there are occasions when we find it levelling scathing condemnations at superstitions and outmoded social conventions of the Hindus. Its advocacy of western education did not restrain it from criticising the behaviour of the Hindu College students. The progressive views of this paper are further reflected by its plea for greater association of the Indians with Government service and the abolition of slavery. In its columns letters urging the Government to stop the practice of **Satee** were published; there were letters advocating the spread of western medical science. The **Samachar Darpan** was the leading newspaper of the day; it circulated in all the districts of Bengal and even outside. Other newspapers and periodicals came in quick succession. Ram Mohan and Bhabani Charan Bandyopadhyaya published **Sambad Kaumadi** in 1821, its notable feature being progressive views, expressed in easy and smooth-flowing language. Through this paper the Raja expressed his liberal views on female education, **satee**, child marriage, place of women in Hindu society, simplification of Bengali language and above all the utility of imbibing the new thoughts and ideas of the age. Bhabani Charan disagreed with some of the progressive views of the Raja, left the Sambad Kaumadi, and started another paper, **Samachar Chandrika** in 1822. It was called by Marshman the **Times** of Calcutta. **Samachar Chandrika** reflected the conservative views in the society. Raja Radhakanta Deb, the leader of the conservative section of the Bengalees, was closely associated with this paper. **Sambad Timirnasak** (1823) was another paper with orthodox bias.

Along with the newspapers, a number of periodicals were published between 1829 and 1843, and the period is, hence, called the age of periodicals. In 1829 Ram Mohan, Prince Dwarakanath Tagore and Prasanna Kumar Tagore started a weekly, called **Bengal Herald**, in four languages, including English. The Bengali section of the periodical was named **Bangadut**. At least thirty periodicals were published between 1831 and 1840. In 1831 alone as many as eight were published. **Jnananwesan**, started by the Hindu College boys in June 1831, disseminated progressive thoughts on social, religious and educational matters. In 1833, a bilingual fortnightly, (it became monthly in 1834) **Vijnansar Sangraha**, was started by three teachers of the Sanskrit College. **Vidyakalpadruma** (1846), **Upadeshak** (1847), **Satyarnaba** (1850) and **Bibidhartha Sangraha** were some other periodicals which contributed greatly to the development of Bengali language and literature.

With Ram Mohan's death in 1833 ended the age of infancy of the Bengali language; there began the age of adolescence. Shakespearean dramas, of all, were the most popular readings at this time; so were books on history, of India, Iran, Turkey, Rome and Greece.

Ram Mohan's ideas fructified in the activities of Devendranath Tagore and Akshoy Kumar Dutta, who combinedly dominated the intellectual scene of Bengal for nearly two decades. Associated with all the progressive movements of the age, these two men broke new grounds in the literary

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field and set up new models. Both of them realised how effective literature could be as a means of mass education and mass enlightenment. In 1843, they started **Tatwabodhini** Patrika. This journal was not only the mouth-piece of the Brahmo Samaj but also a forum of the constructive views of the day. It became soon the leading periodical of the day; and in rousing the social consciousness of the people its contribution can never be over-estimated. It reflected the yearning for knowledge among the Bengalees and their spirit of idealism. It also set up a new pattern in Bengali prose writings. It not only reflected the prevalent progressive tendencies, but also formed them. In easy colloquial language the paper wrote on various subjects, abstruse philosophical issues as also matters of primary interest to the common man. **Tatwabodhini** soon became the model for other periodicals. One of the greatest services the paper rendered to Bengali literature was to inspire the English-educated Bengalees to write in their monther-tongue. Most of the literary luminaries of the age were associated with this paper, which soon became the organised expression of the best thoughts of Bengal at the time.

Devendranath generally wrote on religion and philosophy. His works were as much a defence of Hindu religion against the onslaughts of the Christian evangelists as they were pointers to the need for reforming the Hindu social and religious institutions so as to fit in with the demands of the age.

Akshay Kumar Datta, the editor of the paper, wrote an easy prose. He made the earliest successful attempt at writing on scientific subjects in Bengali. The literary model set up by Devendranath and Akshay Kumar was successfully followed by Pyarichand Mitra, Iswarchandra Vidyasagar and Rajnarayan Basu who together held the literary stage of Bengal in the sixth and seventh decades of the 19th century.

Reverend Krishnamohan Banerji was one of the prominent figures of the age. A product of the Hindu College, he was the representative of 'Young Bengal.' His erudition and deep knowledge of the English language and literature enabled him incorporate the new ideas and thoughts the west into his writings where he cha pioned the cause of Christianity. His writi on Christianity brought him the ire of b the moderates and the die-hards in Hindu society. His works, in consequen had limited circulation. But his en clopaedia, **Vidyakalpadruma,** in thir volumes, is a great literary work of abid interest. This work enjoyed the patron of the Government in recognition whe the author dedicated it to the Governme Subjects of varied interest as biograp science, geography, philosophy and hist are dealt with in this work. Krishnamoh was also the first writer to write a play Bengali on western model. His English p **Persecuted** "portrayed the apparently i concilable impact of the english-educa modern mind on the stolid conservatism the orthodox society."[32]

Characteristics of Bengali literature, 1800-1850

Bengali literature underwent gr changes, both in matters of theme a technique, during the period under rev This is due primarily to the influence western thought. The influence was a pervasive.

Literature deals mainly with th things; nature, man and society, and v often with their interrelations, too.[33] In literature of the 19th century man fo himself in a position far higher than he ever attained. The western thoughts infu in the Bengalee writers the idea of dignity of man, his importance as an i vidual as much as a social being. Man not just a creature of nature, but he capable of influencing his environment the way he liked. Man in society is a c ception that finds predominant place in literature of the 19th century. There the growing consciousness that man not live by himself, but that he i component of the society, and what conc himself as an individual affects the soci in a measure.

In consequence, as a corollary, th

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followed the conception that if man had to live in society it had to be worth-living. On this conception was based the various socio-religious movements of the 19th century, and in the literature of the period the conception finds full utterance. It helped in the articulation of different shades of opinion and in the formation of various schools of social thought. These socio-religious reform movements were in a way precursors of the political movements. The utilitarian spirit of literature helped in the growth of the critical spirit in man. Literature drove the attention of the people to their social problems; instead of religious and metaphysical speculations, people were engaged in social and political agitations. Man found in him a new consciousness of immense power.

In the treatment of nature, too, there was a gradual change. In old literature nature was not given a prominent place except in so far as it aided in the manifestation and development of man's feelings or interest. But in 19th century literature nature came to be treated as an independent entity and as a subject of literature by itself. Iswar Gupta, for instance, described nature both "as a set off to human interest," and as a distinct phenomenon.[34]

But the most significant development lay in the growth of rationalism and a realistic spirit. A spirit of enquiry, of critical evaluation of age-old conventions, came up. Trammels of tradition were loosened; man's mind was free to experiment with new thoughts. Religious matters were now looked from a scientific and rational angle, and religious practices from the standpoint of history, their justifiability being judged on the assay of reason. Puranic legends were not dismissed as sheer mythologies, but attempts were made to look into them with the critical eyes of a historian.

The publication of different religious texts led to increasing acquaintance with different religions. It led to the formation of the idea in a certain section of the people that there were some common features in all the tenets of the world, and that there were many things good in other's faith and many things bad in one's own. This fostered among some, as the Brahmos, a spirit of tolerance and catholicity; it developed a synthetic outlook. In short, the literature of this period paved the way for a social purification and rejuvenation.

Freshness and novelty in theme, variety in technique, and elegance and refinement in style were the characteristics of the literature. Literature broke new grounds of thought, form, style, technique and mood.

Another characteristic of the literature during this period was its great volume. The making of Bengali typography by Charles Wilkins in 1778, the starting of the Bengali press and the trend towards colloquialism—all these facilitated the mobility and wide accessibility of the literature of this period. Besides, the novelty and great variety of themes and their close relation with the social and such other familiar problems of the people conduced to the popularity of literature. This was reflective of the transformation of the spirit of Bengal wrought by western impact.

Secularism is another prominent feature of the literature of this period. Besides translations of religious texts and discourses, there was a great volume of secular literature dealing with matters affecting the daily life of man. The press, in particular, gave the widest coverage to matters of moment. In the periodicals, stories, essays and poems were published dealing mainly with man and his problems. The rise of social consciousness was an interesting feature in the literature of this period.

There was a gradual tendency towards standardisation of literature in regard, particularly, to style and form. Calcutta soon became the centre not only of Bengali political life, but that of intellectual life too. As in politics, in literature and thought, too, Calcutta set the pace and tune for the rest of Bengal.[35] Leaders of Calcutta society were the heralds of the news age, and Calcutta soon came to possess that importance in the life of Bengal which Paris did in the life of France. The cream of Bengal's intellectuals came from Calcutta and it is here that the new age in Bengal's national

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life dawned. Literature began to assume an urban and a national character.

> "The same political and economic forces which introduced the urban note into literature also gave it a middle class character."[36]

In political, economic and intellectual life it is the new middle class, created during the British rule, that dominated. This class, educated on western lines, led Bengal in every walk of life. They were brought up in western liberal outlook, and they served as the most effective channels of western literature in Bengal. "They were liberal humanitarians, radicals and reformers whose principles were a diluted version of the principles prevailing in contemporary England. They were large-hearted and enthusiastic ideals, sentimental, didactic and class complacent."[37] They infused Bengali literature with a liberal-humanitarian spirit.

The rise of a class of professional writers is a distinguishing feature of the period under review.[38] The writers belonged almost exclusively to the new middle class, independent and free-thinking. The social and religious issues divided them into conservatives, moderates and radicals. Pursuit of a literary vocation as a means of livelihood came to be seen in Bengal. This led to "commercialisation of literature;"[39] the writers had to cater to the needs of the public. In consequence, commercialisation of literature "led often to its vulgarisation."[40] Nevertheless, the general standard of literature, as a whole, made rapid strides towards excellence and not deterioration.

It is interesting to observe that in spite of the sharp differences in their approach to the social and religious issues, the intellectual elite of Bengal, as a class, felt the same need for the development of the Bengali literature; there was a surprising unanimity among the educated class in regard to the imperative need for the development of the vernacular literature.[40] Their English education, notwithstanding, the literateurs of the period preferred to write in Bengali. The European writers, Government officers, members of academic and literary societies, the missionaries, all contributed to the development of vernacular language and literature. All them felt the need for weeding out Persian and Arabic elements from Ben and all showed a preference for colloq lism to pompous classical jargons. simplicity, mobility, ease and elega were the basic qualities of literature increasingly realised by the writers of ev shade.

The development of prose as the m form of literary activity was seen du this period.[41] Here, too, English lit ture served as the model. Contact w western literature gave Bengali litera "substance and variety, intellectuality modernity," besides virility and dynam It became humanised when it came contact with the realities of life.

In the history of Bengali literature, first half of the 19th century is rather period of preparation than fruition. It an age of experimentation, rather than fection. The seeds of modernism which w sown in the closing decades of the 1 century germinated and sent up sprouts the first half of the 19th century. sapling of modern Bengali literature g with the sprinkling of western ideas thoughts. While the wave of west thoughts and ideas washed away many elements from literature, it had also effect of sustenance, nourishment rejuvenation.

It is, however, to be noted that west literature served as a stimulant an source of inspiration rather than of imitation for the Bengali writers. T was, of course, a period, a short one, w there was a craze for blind imitation of West. A literature of imitation had natural shortcomings. Soon after, hap the first flush of enthusiasm for b western died ayay; the Bengali writers strove at enriching the vernacular lang by incorporating western ideas and f of literature, and synthesising them the indigenous literary traditions. sought to graft the western ideas thoughts on the local setting. Mo Bengali literature flourished not in spirit of imitation of the West, but in

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of judicious incorporation of the same in the literary life of Bengal.

(1) S. Chattopadhyaya, 'Bangla Bhasa O Bangla Sahityer Katha' (Bengali, Calcutta, n. d.) 28.

(2) P. R. Sen, 'Western Influence in Bengali Literature' (Calcutta, 1932) 19.

(3) Sajanikanta Das, 'Bengla Sahityer Itihas' (Bengali, Calcutta, 1353) 3 et seq.

(4) P. R. Sen, n.2, 52.

(5) Ibid.

(6) The First Bengali prose was written by a Portuguese missionary. Entitled, 'Kripar Sastrer Arthaveda,' it was written in Roman script and published from Lisbon in 1753.

(7) D. C. Sen, 'History of Bengali Language and Literature' (Calcutta, 1954, 2nd edition) 741.

(8) Sukumar Sen, 'History of Bengali Literature' (New Delhi, 1960) 180.

(9) Cited in S. Das, n. 3, 135.

"To Carey belongs the credit of having raised the language from its debased condition of an unsettled dialect to the character of a regular and permanent form of speech, capable, as in the past, of becoming the refined and comprehensive vehicle of a great literature in the future." Cited in Ibid., 135. 1800-1857 (Calcutta, 1921) 93.

(10) The Christian missionaries had established schools for the Christian boys as early as 1758.

(11) In 1852 there were 81850 students in the missionary schools in Bengal. Sen, n.2, 104.

(12) D. C. Sen, 'Bengali Prose Style', 1800-1857 (Calcutta, 1921) 93.

(13) Sen, n. 2, 73.

(14) 'Samachar Darpan,' 4 July 1835.

(15) Sen, n. 2, 62.

(16) Ibid.

(17) Ibid.

(18) Ibid.

(19) David Hare, De Rozio and Captain Richardson were the most popular and influential teachers in the Hindu College. Their influence on "Young Bengal" was both deep and wide. With private academic associations the Europeans were actively associated as the prominent Indian citizens like Raja Radhakanta Deb, Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Prince Dwarakanath and Prasanna Kumar Tagore were. One such association was started in 1828 by De Rozio with Umacharan Bose as its Secretary and David Hare as an active member. It arranged debates on literary, social and religious issues. Hare became its President after its removal to his school. There was another such association. The Society for the Acquisition of General Knowledge (1838). Reverand Krishnamohan Banerji, Ram Gopal Ghosh, Prasanna Kumar Tagore and David Hare were its enthusiastic members. Issues as the position of women in society, the state of Hinduism, education of the people, importance of cultivating the vernacular language were discussed and debated in these organisations.

(20) The Hindu College was the most effective channel of western thoughts in Bengal. Its students were the vanguards of all progressive movements in Bengal. David Hare, Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Raja Radhakanta Deb were actively associated with the College. In 1855 it was renamed as the Presidency College.

(21) D. C. Sen, n. 7, 723.

(22) J. C. Ghosh, 'Bengali Literature' (London, 1958) 107.

(23) Sen, n. 7, 802 'et seq.'

(24) Sen, n. 2, 103.

(25) S. Sen, n. 8, 183.

"It was Ram Mohan who for the first felt that a sentence without a verb becomes somewhat weak and halting, and should not be tolerated in decent literature. This sense of so-called want was probably created in him by his familiarity with English." Sen, n. 2, 45.

(26) Ibid., 100.

(27) Raja Radhakanta Deb and Ram Kamal Sen led the conservatives, while Dr. Duff, Reverand K. M. Banerji, Akshay Kumar Datta, Ram Gopal Ghosh, Iswar Gupta, Devendra Nath Tagore and Prince Dwaraka Nath Tagore, "the Father of political education in India", were the liberal reformers. While the Brahmo Samaj was a forum of the latter, Dharma Sabha (1830) was that of the former. It was organised with the specific object of protesting against the plea of the liberals for the abolition of the **Satee.**

(28) 'Strisiksha Vidhayak' (1818), 'Stridurachar' (1840), 'Kayasthajiban' (1846), 'Muktavali' were some of the works dealing with women in society and the evils of caste.

(29) **'Samachar Darpan'**, 6 April 1822, 7

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January 1826, 20 May 1826, 20 July 1827. B. Bandyopadhaya, ed., 'Sambadpatre Sekaler Katha', I, 1818-1830 (Bengali, Calcutta, 1839).

(30) Ibid., I, II, III.
(31) Ibid., I.
(32) S. Sen, n. 8, 185.
(33) Sen, n. 2, 322-3.
(34) Ibid., 346-7.
(35) Ghosh, n. 22, 98-9.
(36) Ibid., 99.
(37) Ibid.
(38) Ibid.
(39) Ibid., 100.
(40) Ibid., 112.
(41) Novels were conspicuous by the absence during this period; acquaintance with English novels was still inadequate.

THE HEROINES IN KALIDASA'S PLAYS

(A STUDY)

Before discussing the merits and demerits in Kalidasa's delineation of the character of his heroines we would do well to lay more stress on **Vikramorvasiya** and **Shakuntala** than on **Malavikagnimitra.** The obvious reason appears to be that according to a large number of critics Kalidasa is more realistic and convincing in the two former plays. The love-affair of the king in the latter is neither genuine nor natural. It is love for love's sake in the case of **Agnimitra** !

When country men and eminent foreign scholars place Kalidasa at the head of Sanskrit poets, they might have apparently taken into account **'Vikramorvasiya'** and 'Shakuntala'. Then and then alone the Subhrashita.

पुरा कवीनां गणनाप्रहैं कनिष्टिकाधिष्ठितकान्ति दासा ।
अद्यपि तनुअयकवेर भावादनमिका सार्थव ती बभूव ॥

proves to be apt and significant. Almost every Pandit has in his mouth the following renowned verse dwelling on the towering glory of Shakuntala in every aspect—

काव्येषु नाटकं रम्यं तत्र रम्या शेकुन्तला ।
तत्रादि य यतु थेडिकस्तत्र कोक यतुष्टयम् ॥

Goethe, the greatest poet of Germany, rightly waxes eloquent on Shakuntala alone. He was naturally enraptured by the unsurpassed charms of Shakuntala. Though Kalidasa is most favourably compared with the masterly and masterful poet and dramatist Shakespeare, we are more prone to place him side by side with William Wordsworth the High Priest of Nature. Both Kalidasa and Wordsworth are masterly interpreters of the ennobling and sublime influence of Nature upon the minds of lovers. When Dushyanta caught sight of Shakuntala in the sacred precincts of Kanva's hermitage she was dressed in linen garments. Still at that time he was bewitched by her charms and utters—

सरसिजमनुविद्दं शवलेनापि रम्यं
मन्तिनमपि हिमांशोर्लहम कुहमीं तनोति ।

A lotus likewise is surrounded by moss and the sight might be unclean but who would not be arrested by the fascinating form of the lotus ? Truly does Keats remark

"A thing of beauty is a joy forever;
Its loveliness increases but never passes
Into nothingness and Still will keep a bowery
Quiet for us and a sleep full of sweet Dreams."

मिमिव हि मधुराणां मगुनं नाकृतानां

is the best illustration of Shakuntala's delicate beauty.

Again, before Vidushaka the King Dushyanta poetically bursts out that Shakuntala resembles

"अनाघ्रातं पुष्पं किसलयमन्तुनं करुहैः

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She is an object of beauty as a lovely and fragrant flower still in the bower! She resembles again a sprout still untouched by human nails!

When we take into account the two pictures of Shakuntala and Urvasi, the former decidedly is more elegant. The reasons are obvious and not far to seek. An average reader will discern the lasting presence of Shakuntala in the whole gamut of the play. In other words, she engages our attention and holds us spell bound many a time—now by her sweet charms, now by her utter innocence, now by her catholicity of mind and now again as a full blooded woman bathed in the pool of worldly knowledge. The sage Maricha blesses Sakuntala in most significant and befitting words as—

आखण्डल समो भर्ता जयन्तप्रतिभः सुतः ।
आशीरन्या न ते योग्या पौलोमी सहशी भव ॥

Already Shakuntala has a husband Dushyanta resembling Indra, the Lord of the heaven. Her son has a likeness to Jayanta (Indra's son) in point of prowess. It is now enough if only she endeavours to be like Sachi Devia, Indra's wife.

The pangs of love, the sympathetic Nature, the womanly sense of virtue, the innocent and flawless life, the spirit of resignation and idealism—these outstanding features draw Shakuntala more closely to our day to day life. Urvasi is, no doubt,

सुकुमारं प्रहरणं महेन्द्रस्य, प्रत्यादेशो ।
रूपगर्वितायाः शिरीषोऽन्तआशे हि स्वर्गस्य

But Shakuntala surpasses her in point of realistic womanly traits: She cherishes her husband's noble form in her heart of hearts. Urvasi, on the other hand, is a strange comixture of human and super human elements. And that is why our sympathy flows unheeded by towards Shakuntala and none else! Chitralekha no doubt is Urvasi's companion and anxious now and then in her misery but she cannot stand comparison with Anasuya and Priyamvada who are emblems of worldly friendship. When Durvasa curses Shakuntala as wrapt in her lover's sweet dreams it is they who are sadly alarmed at the consequences. They lay prostrate before the indignant sage and beg him to avert the disasters of his horrid curse. Then only the point of the drama arises and the ring episode assumes unusual significance. What a deplorable lack of realistic touches as these in Kalidasa's other plays as विक्रमोर्वशीय and मालविकाग्निमित्र।

Urvasi's love for Pururavas might have been sincere unlike Agnimitra's. But the tenderness is never human. In other words, the lovers' soft words never go straight to our hearts and deserve our genuine sympathy and admiration. On the other hand, Urvasi and Vikrama's love is theatrical and a posed one. Hence unusual and unnatural! Pururavas' elaborate solilloquy in the fourth act eventually falls flat on our ears. The outbursts no doubt sound poetic. But how remote are the exclamations of the king from the life of reality lived and loved by us!

Kalidasa's heroines thus present interesting contrasts and engage us from the very start by rousing our curiosity!

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SARDAR K. M. PANIKKAR—SCHOLAR, JOURNALIST AND DIPLOMAT

By KARUNA K. NANDI

A cynic, it has been said, is an idealist gone misanthropic. Even if that were to be regarded as too cynical a definition, there is hardly any question that the pressure of the crumbling values all around himself which the idealist generally regards as both immutable and indestructible when he starts off in life , but the disappointment of which he cannot completely get off his system is, usually, what turns a man sour and cynical. It is difficult to assert if the late Sardar Kavalam Madhava Panikkar could be called a cynic by these standards. But that he could not quite fit himself into the environments of the varied fields of activity, through which he flitted during his not too long a life comfortably and snugly, would seem to be indicated by the obvious restlessness which took him on to one profession or career after another with an unusual frequency during his otherwise quite busy life which could almost be called hectic by the common acceptation of the term.

Passing through his early educational career in Madras, Panikkar evinced both promise and distinction at Christ Church in Oxford where, as a Dixon scholar for historical research, he took a first honours in history. At this stage it seemed he was destined for a distinguished scholarly, perhaps, an educational career. But that he could not quite get off the beaten track of his predecesors and contemporaries alike was soon proved when he later qualified for the Bar from the Middle Temple before he returned to his own land. That he never practised law was neither surprising nor unusual for, during his times, many a distinguished Indian, after qualifying for the legal profession, sought quite different fields of activity and in which some them really earned both distinction and fulfilment.

As could be expected, Panikkar started off in life as an educationist, as Professor of history at the Aligarh Muslim University. It is not clearly known if he found the narrow communalistic-theocratic climate of the Aligarh University of those days too cramping for his wider universalistic temperament, but when the Calcutta University, which had in those days been known to have been the most fruitful nursery of talents, offered him a Readership in History, he accepted it with alacrity. The Calcutta University, even from an earlier generation, had begun to get together a bevy of talents within its post-graduate camp which was quite unrivalled by any other of the premier universities in India. In fact the late Sir Asutosh Mukherjee had an unusual flaire for discovering hitherto unknown talents and of providing room for their fruitful unfolding within the university precincts. Chandrasekhara Venkata Raman, for instance, would, perhaps, end his days as a distinguished but nevertheless nondescript member of the Indian Audits and Accounts Service had it not been for Sir Asutosh who took him out of the humdrum and frustrating confines of an accountant's office and opened up the opportunities without which it would be difficult if not quite impossible for him to blossom out as a distinguished and fruitful researcher in the world of Physics. There have been many similat other instances where Sir Asutosh's keen search for talents had not merely enriched the Calcutta University post graduate faculties, but also individual careers which otherwise might well have remanied quite unknown and unsung. It might be ordinarily supposed that those who have thus been provided with the opportunities which alone made it possible for their latent greatness to be successfully nurtured and fruitfully recognized would remain eternally grateful to Bengal and the Bengalees. It is, perhaps, an irony of life that seldom has there been an acknowledgment of these irredeemable debts. Chandrasekhara Venkata Raman, for instance, after having risen to world eminence on the shoulders of this university, would seem to have derived almost sadistic pleasure, after spending most of his active life in the haven provided to him here, in maligning both the Calcutta University and the Bengalee people. But that is only by the way.

A distinguished educational career, however, was not what, it seems, Panikkar had as his heart's desire. Despite the opportunities of distinguishing himself in this field that the University of Calcutta opened out to him, Panikkar seemed soon to have tired of the teacher's and the researcher's career—a Readership in Calcutta always included opportunities for fruitful research work if one were really inclined that way—and when the *Hindustan Times* was launched in Delhi, he did not hesitate to scuttle his educational career for daily newspaper journalism, when the Editorship of this new journal was offered to him.

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As a journalist Panikkar was not unsuccessful if the fact that he held down his new job for a number of years afterwards were any indication. He was not, however, too distinguished among the journalists of his times which included such eminent votaries of the profession as the late C. Y. Chintamoni, the late Abdulla Brelvi, the late Kasturi Ranga Iyengar followed by the late Rangaswami Iyengar, the late T. Prakasam and other equally distinguished journalists. But that he had a keen nose for talent in this new profession was proved by the quality of the staff he got together in his newspaper office. J. N. Sahani, later Editor of the *National Call* whose career, unfortunately, seemed to have ended in unrelieved frustration despite his earlier promise, was one of them. The once inseparables Pothan Joseph, who later succeeded him as the Editor, together with Sankara the distinguished proprietor-editor of Sankar's Weekly, whose fame as a cartoonist still remains quite unrivalled in this country, were the others. If I am not mistaken, I believe Durgadas, who later went off to the Reuters as their news editor in Delhi and eventually came back to the *Hindustan Times* as editor after Devadas Gandhi and is now regarded as one of the most distinguisehd among Indian free lance political columnists, was also one other on the staff of the *Hindusthan Times* of Panikkar's times. There is not the slightest doubt that the *Hindusthan Times* during Panikkar's regime, soon came to be regarded as one of the front-rank national dailies, perhaps, mainly because of the brilliance of the staff he had been able to get together under him.

It is quite possible that in course of time Panikkar might have elevated himself to front-rank eminence in the world of Indian news journalism if he had cared to stick to this career for long enough. Probabilities are that he might even be regarded as the most eminent among them during later years for, there is hardly any doubt that after the more distinguished votaries of the profession had passed away one after the other in the immutable process of natural wastage, Indian journalism gradually came to be manned by a school of mediocrities among whom Panikkar bade fair to stand almost head above schoulders. It would be only fair to acknowledge in this context, however, that if journalism has in course of time come to be manned, by and large, by a school of mediocrities compared to their predecessors, its field has, nevertheless, immensely and almost incomparably widened and it must be acknowledged now to serve a far wider and more varied need than has ever been known to have been done before. But his restless mind, it would appear, would not permit him to stay put within the confines of one particular profession or career for too long. From journalism, his ever-questing mind and changeful tastes led him on to the career of an administrator.

The Chamber of Princes, in those times quite a growing political force in the country, offered him the initial opportuntiy in this new field when he left the *Hindusthan Times* to be the Secretary to its Chancellor. After a moderately distinguished career in the Chamber of Princes, Panikkar joined service under the Patiala State as foreign Minister and, later, Foreign and Political Minister to the Bikaner State. It was really rather a joke, his assignment as Foreign Minister, first to Patiala and then to Bikaner, for the Indian States, by virtue of their long-standing Treaty with the British Indian Government, had no rights of any foreign relations whatsoever at that stage. Still, Panikkar was Foreign Minister and when the Round Table Conference held its sittings between 1930 and 1933, he was Secretary to the Indain States' delegation to the Conference. It was, perhaps, his assignment at this Conference, secretarial to one particular delegation as it was, that opened up the opportunities for the limited foreign relations the Indian States were known to have later developed first in 1942 at the Pacific Relations Conference in Canada to which Panikkar was the Indian States' Representative and, later, in 1945, to the Commonwealth Relations Conference. Later Panikkar was elevated to the office of the Prime Minister of the Bikaner State, an assignment which he continued to hold down until the liquidation of Princely India after Independence.

What really led to a later political career and eventually one of career-diplomacy to this intrepid scholar-journalist-admnistrator who was always known to have his eyes wide open to the main chance, was his ability to visualise the inevitable eventual liquidation of the Indian Princely States. He stepped into a short and not very distinguished political career through his membership of the Indian Constituent Assembly. A couple of publications at about this time from his quite erudite pen, although they would seem

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to lack any very great depth, seemed to have established his reputation with the new powers that insinuated themselves into the control of the politically just emancipated nation's machinery of administration for a distinguished career in diplomacy and he was among the very first among the nation's representatives to have the very important assignment of representing her before the great world forum of the United Nations. The year following the attainment of Independence he was made India's Minister Plenipotentiary to the just newly established Peoples' Republic of China, an assignment which he continued to hold for four long years thereafter. It was while he was yet India's Minister in Peking that he was again seconded to India's delegation to the United Nations mainly for the purpose of pleading for membership of Chinese Peoples' Government of the U.N. as opposed to the continued membership of the evacuee Chang Kai Shek government in Formosa. Panikkar's advocacy for Peoples' China, strong as it was, did not, however, yield the desired results as the later equally insistent pleadings of V. K. Krishna Menon for the same cause failed to achieve their purpose.

It is still a matter largely of conjecture if the real architect Indo-Chinese relations founded on the now quite notorious Panch Sheel Treaty between the two countries was really Panikkar or Prime Minister Nehru himself. There can be no doubt, however, that even if Nehru were the real architect of this unrealistic treaty, Panikkar must also accept his due share of responsibility for it as India's accredited Minister to the Peking Government. On the face of it, it would seem to be quite clear that the foundation of the Indo-Chinese relations were laid upon an obvious sense of appeasement of Chinese claims and demands by India, even where they concerned a wholly separate third Party over whom India had no political rights except those of friendship and mutuality, and which were eventually to exude the most poisonous effluvient adversely affecting this entirely friendly and peaceful third Party as later also India herself.

It was not merely that India literally went into hysterics in her methods of cultivating the friendship and approbation of Communist China, she was obviously guilty of perpetrating one of the greatest wrongs upon a friendly and essentially peace-loving country when she conceded Chou en Lai's demands for a re-cognition—strangely this recognition was bi-laterally agreed upon between Peoples' China and India without any reference whatever to the country really affected thereby—of China's rights of suzereinty over this other country. Later events proved clearly enough how this wholly unjust piece of diplomatic jugglery between the countries ratifying this treaty were to be used as an excuse by the unscrupulous Chinese for militarily—and with wholly unnecessary violence and cruelty—annexing this traditionally quiet and peaceful country as part of the expansionist Chinese Communist empire. This was the first and initial result that flowed from the notorious Indo-Chinese Panch Sheel Treaty. But later events have proved that this was only the first jumping off manoeuvre in a concerted and consistent process of expan-sionism and annexation and during the years that followed China was acknowledged to have un-obtrusively and without the least hindrance and opposition occupied some twelve thousand square miles of Indian territory on her northern fron-tiers. But even worse was to come as the October of 1962 proved to the utter confusion and impotence of the Indian Government and the horror of the free world, when a massive armed assault was launched upon India by her erstwhile Communist friends in the mainland of China.

As already observed, it is not possible at this juncture to categorically assert that Panikkar was really responsible for laying the foundations of the diplomatic relations between the two countries and that Nehru hmiself was not re-ponsible for guiding and directing the course of his Mission in Peking that led eventually to these poisonous results. It is quite clear, however, that either for the sake of his career or, perhaps because his views were in the fullest accord with what the Prime Minister cum External Affairs Minister of free India desired, the foundations of the process of appeasement of Chinese demands which was, in essence, the core of Indo-Chinese diplomacy, were laid during the time when Panikkar remained accredited to the Peking Government as India's Minister. The results of his work—and I would reiterate that I hesitate to assert that it was wholly motivated by his own unaided volition—have been admittedly poisonous and one really does not know when the country may pull out of its paralysing impact finally.

After China Panikkar had two more dip-

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matic assignments, first to Egypt and some of the Arab countries during 1952-53 and later for a period of three years, between 1956 and 1959, to France. There is hardly any doubt that Indo-Arabic, especially Indo-Egyptian diplomacy has, over the years, been mainly conditioned by Nehru's personal friendship with and love for Nasser and Panikkar could be said to have hardly any initiative whatever left to himself in shaping these relations. Although not with all Arab countries, India's relations with Egypt has remained consistently pleasant and mutual, although the reactions of this relationship cannot, at the same time, be said to have been equally pleasant or even quite just so far as Indo-Israeli relations are concerned. Israel has naturally and quite understandably remained suspicious of, although not frankly hostile to India. What this may eventually cost the country is, however, not quite relevant to the present context. In France India, during Panikkar's regime or even later, has never been able to make much of a dent for which it would be wrong to blame the Ambassador. It is obvious that Nehru's invidious attitude as between the Communists and the democratic world has generated a measure of hostility against the country in De Gaulle which it will not be very easy to conjure away.

During the interregnum between his Egyptian assignment and his assignment to Paris Panikkar was saddled with, perhaps, the most unpleasant assignment of his whole career, the role he was called upon to play in the States' Reorganization Commission. There is no doubt that he played a very forceful part in this assignment but the result that flowed from his labours and those of his other colleagues in the Commission must still be acknowledged to have been of the most questionable quality. It is not merely that the recommendations of the Commission in so far as they have been accepted and implemented by the Government have failed to satisfy all those in the country that have been concerned, but that there is hardly any doubt today that the climate of national disintegration which is almost unanimously agreed to have assumed quite serious peoportions has been generated as an inevitable result of the process. It is, indeed, a most difficult assignment that the Commission had to undertake. To delimit and reorganize boundaries of politically autonomous, economically self-contained and viable and, as far as possible at the same time linguistically homogenous States was almost an impossible task on the face of it. Besides, the basic lessons of Indian history would seem to point to the dangers of a federal state structure with autonomous constituent states. Anything except a Unitary State which is what had really given birth to Indian nationhood was bound to prove fissiparous in the end. But our constitution-makers had elected to choose otherwise and the States' Reorganization Commission was merely called upon to give body and shape to their illegitimate brain-child. Panikkar did assume a very important initiative in the task, but it would be unfair to blame him for all that he and his colleagues could be expected to do in the circumstances, was merely to do the best one could conceive of with a *fait accompli.*

But all his frequent peregrinations into diverse fields of activity notwithstanding, it would seem that Panikkar's essentially, was the vocation of a scholar and a man of letters. It was, perhaps, only fitting that the end of his diplomatic and political career should have been marked by his reversion to the world of letters and cultural activities. He was acknowledged to have done valuable work on the Executive of the National Academy of Letters to which he was later appointed and as Chairman of the UNESCO Advisory Council for Eastern and Western Cultural Values. His works on Princely India have been acknowledged to have been standard ones, although his book on China's and Indian history will long remain a subject of controversy between scholars and historians. His book on India's defence problems although more up-to-date, cannot be said to have earned the same distinction as Dr. Kunzru's earlier work on the subject. It was even more befitting the inner man in Panikkar that he should spend his last days in the peaceful surroundings and satisfying climate of a Universtiy campus. As Vice Chancellor of the Mysore University he followed a line of eminently distinguished scholars and savants, the greatest of whom was, without question, the late Dr. Brajendra Nath Seal, whose birthday centenary is scheduled to be celebrated later this year.

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MIRACLES DO STILL HAPPEN : by Dilip Kumar Roy in collaboration with Indira Devi—a Novel with a Foreward by Dr. Charles A. Moore and an Introduction by Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar and with a preface and appendices by the author. (Hari Krishna Mandir, Poona 5 and Popular Book Depot, Bombay 7, Price : Rs. 9.50).

The book is a free translation of Dilip Kumar Roy's Bengali novel, 'Aghatan Ajo Ghate' by the author himself. It is a novel in the sense that it is full of vivid characterisations and narrations of incidents and events, although such events and incidents are not of the type to be found in the usual novels or books of romance. It is indeed a veiled autobiographical sketch and gives an account of the author's own spiritual and mystical experiences under the profound influence of his Gurudev Sri Aurobindo and a few other seers and saints with whom he came into intimate contact in his quest for spiritual realisation. There are five chapters in the book entitled, Amal, Shyam Thakur, Mandira, Sati and Ananda Giri. Written in an elegant but easy style, the entire story is characterised by the religious fervour and spiritual candour of a pious devotee.

The main theme of the book is on 'miracles'. Throughout the book, the author has tried to establish that miracles do still happen. He has however, cautioned the readers that in his narrative, he is not concerned with occultism as such and he refers only to "those miracles wrought by Divine Grace to enlighten, mould or transform the nature of a spiritual aspirant". This is indeed a challenge to the scientists and philosophers who are upholders of reason and logic. Although modern science has realised the inadequacy of reason with regard to the fundamental nature of the physical world and the votaries of science gracefully admit that by the very nature of things it is not possible for Physical science to find the intrinsic nature of the phenomenal world, yet in their own domain they have never discarded reason and logic. The breakdown of the causal law and determinism in the realm of the minutae is only an outcome of the process of reasoning. Max Plank, the originator of quantum theory clearly expressed the modern scientific outlook, when he said: "There are realities existing apart from sense perception and there are problems and conflicts where these realities are of great value." Many scientists today do believe that spiritual experience and realisation are to be regarded as on the same footing as the experiences in the physical world. Eddington called the world of spiritual experience the world of **intimate** knowledge, as distinct from the world of **symbolic** knowledge, where one deals with manifestations, appearances and responses which are mere symbols. The world of the scientists is thus only a symbolic world. His mission is to work for a unified picture of this symbolic world where he fags for facts and figures and ev-

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strives for their co-ordination and synthesis. Reality is not the scientist's goal. The scientist today is modest and honest enough to recognise his jurisdiction. Nevertheless, a man who is very much more than a mere scientist is not satisfied with only symbolic knowledge. He seeks for an intimate knowledge. With this mental attitude, there is no clash between science and spirituality. The material and the transcendental aspects of human experience combine to give a complete picture of man.

Although many modern scientists admit that there are other experiences which are as valid as the experiences of their own world, yet they cannot be persuaded to believe in miracles which manifest themselves as responses of the supra-physical on the physical plane. If one emphatically says that he sees God as vividly as he can see a brick wall, the modern scientist respectfully accepts such an experience in the world of intimate knowledge, although he himself may not have any such experience. When one hears 'voices' and sees "things", a scientist may respectfully accept them as one's personal experiences, but it is not possible for him to comprehend the interaction of the transcendental with the material world. The lighting of the electric bulb, with its switch off is thus wholly unacceptable to a scientist, even though the devotee describes with indescribable joy and thrill the phenomenon as the Lord's intervention. It is also too much to expect that a scientist will believe in the marks left on the plate of the **halva**, when nearly half of it is scooped out by the greedy little Lord with His tiny fingers. The transformation of the horribly scarred face of Amal into a flawless normal one with no scar or wrinkle after a plunge in the Ganga is also unacceptable to a Scientist. Dilip Roy's book abounds in such miracles. May I humbly point out to the distinguished author that such disbelief on the part of the scientists does not mean negation of spiritual and mystical experiences or denial of spiritual values such as, dedication, meditation, devotion and integrity? We, however, regard these miracles as merely subjective or personal experiences. Time may come when the investigations on the nature of the supra-physical or para-normal occurrences like telepathy, clairvoyance, visions, apparitions etc., will lead to tangible results. Before any acceptable results are available, my humble opinion is to reserve our opinion regarding the link between the physical and the supra-physical world. One can certainly be a devout believer in the Divinity and yet have an open mind regarding miracles.

In spite of what I have said in defence of Science, I close by saying that the rare combination of literary merit, intellect and spiritual fervour in the book will inspire many in their quest for the ultimate truth.

S. R. Khastgir.

HINDU COLONIES IN THE FAR EAST: By Dr. R. C. Majumdar, published by Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 6/1A, Banchharam Akrur Lane, Calcutta-12, pages 280.

Even in the early twenties, when the Greater India Society and its world-renowned Journal had not come into being, Dr. R. C. Majumdar took to writing a series of books on the history of Hindu Colonies in the far-off South East Asia. In the book under review, the basic facts of the aforesaid massive volumes have been presented in a simple language. Keeping in view the actual needs of the University students, critical discussion and reference to authorities have been more or less avoided. To have compressed so much of information covering a vast field of study within such a small space would, by itself, be held creditable, particularly, as in this revised edition is incorporated the result of latter-day researches. It is divided into several parts consisting of chapters under a common plan which weaves around political, economic, social, religious and artistic movements for more than fifteen hundred years. A noble feature of the book is its copious illustrations of art and a comprehensive index.

This golden chapter of the history of colonization, which was wrapped in obscurity for a long time, has unsettled the widespread belief, held by European scholars in particular, that the Hindus have never been a people of mighty events, even if they achieved singular success in the field of philosophical speculation. It can be safely presumed that the ship-building industry, which fed Hindu colonization, was highly developed. Buddhist canonical literature refers to persons sailing from Tam-

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ralipta (Tamluk in Bengal) to Malay Peninsula and other localities far and wide. It seems to be a paradox that the Hindus who, in later period, considered sea-voyage as unholy, were such experts in maritime activity. Although the fact of colonization cannot be divorced from the idea of aggression and violence under the twin impacts of economics and politics, it is a matter of debate among historians whether the process of Hindu colonization occurred through violence. Dr. Majumdar, no doubt, is of opinion that 'sometimes a military adventurer seized the political power and established a Hindu Kingdom' (p.8). But unlike European colonists, the Hindu settlers allowed themselves to be assimilated by the indigenous people, and contributed, at the same time, to the development of their culture. European countries invariably keep close to their colonists, whereas India does not seem to have cared for her sons who carried the torch of her culture to the distant lands. These significant phases of Hindu colonization in the world history have not received the attention it deserves.

In the history of the world, European civilization, which is but a blending of Hellenism and Christianity, has had its due meed of appreciation, while civilization of other countries has gone underestimated. The writing of the pattern of world history is in need of reorientation. 'Each race', Swami Vivekananda observes, 'has a peculiar bent, each race has a peculiar raison d'etre, each race has a peculiar mission to fulfil in the life of the world. Each race has to make its own result to fufil its own mission. Political greatness or military power is never the mission of our race'. History cannot show a record of another movement comparable to what happened in the Hindu Colonies. This colonizing enterprise with the peaceful method of what is truly radiation of Indian culture among the less advanced people of the Far East, is the unique contribution and characteristic of Hindu civilization. Thus, as Sylvan Levi says 'India has propagated her beliefs, her tales and civilization and has left indelible imprints on one-fourth of the human race in the course of a long succession of centuries. She has a right to reclaim in universal history the rank that ignorance has refused her for a long time, and to hold her place among the great nations summarising and symbolising the spirit of Humanity.'

Dr. Mazumdar has brought home to us that through the medium of colonization India exported her mighty treasure of architecture, sculpture, paintings and Sanskrit literature. The colonial art was developed to such an extent that even some executions of art excel the classic art of the Gupta period. It is the opinion of Mr. O. C. Ganguly, a connoisseur of art of international renown, that the celebrated stupa of Barabudur (Java) and the beautiful temple of Ankar Vat (Cambodia) can be regarded as two of the finest symbols of architecture and sculpture in the world. About the Sanskrit inscriptions, Dr. Majumdar holds the view that they would help solving certain conflicting points of Indian History. The superb masterpieces of art and flawless Sanskrit inscriptions indicate that personalities of exceptional talent and brilliance went abroad for dissemination of Indian culture.

Narayan Kundu

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Indian Periodicals

TECHNICAL EDUCATION AND RESEARCH

Writing Editorially under the above caption, what the **Commerce** has to say should be of vital interest:

But for sustained efforts to build up trained technical personnel required for schemes of industrial development, teaching and research, the Western nations would not have been enjoying today so high a level of economic prosperity. Learning from the experience of these nations, planners in India, too, have accorded high priority to technical education, as witness the heavy outlay earmarked for the schemes of technical education in the Third Plan; the actual provision made is Rs. 142 crores, as against Rs. 48 crores provided for in the Second Plan and Rs. 23 crores in the First Plan. Thanks to such high priority, there has been a notable expansion, six to eight fold, in the facilities for engineering education. Well could Mr. Chagla, Union Minister for Education, describe, when he addressed the sixteenth annual meeting of the All-India Council for Technical Education at New Delhi on Sunday this week, that the increase "is unprecedented in any developing country." The few figures he cited, if they are compared with the programme drawn up in Third Plan, will be revealing. Here are the figures:

	At present	Third Plan targets	Position existing in 1960-61
Degree courses			
No. of institutions ..	126	117	100
Admission capacity ..	20,500	19,140	13,860
Diploma courses			
No. of institutions ..	280	263	196
Admission capacity ..	40,000	37,390	25,570

It will be seen from the above figures that both the number of institutions and the admission capacity at present are markedly higher than the targets and the position will be still better two years later. It is estimated that, by 1965-66, the admission capacity for degree and diploma courses will be no less than 24,000 and 50,000 respectively. While all this is encouraging, the quality and standard of technical education leave much to be desired. There are many reasons for this unsatisfactory state of affairs. In the first place, there has been a distinct fall in the standard of general education itself, for which the blame rests with the powers-that-be. Secondly, in the anxiety to increase the number, quality controls have been relaxed. Thirdly, application of communal and caste considerations to admission of students to technical courses has resulted in the elimination of students of merit. Apart from these reasons to which Mr. Chagla seems to have made no reference, there is another to which the Minister referred. And that is the establishment of institutions in some places by private parties without ensuring adequate resources to maintain correct standards of instructional facilities. Mr. Chagla was candid enough to admit this fact and regretted the setting up of institutions without the prior approval of the Council. But whose fault is all this. None can establish and run an educational institution without the consent of the educational authorities at the State level. This shows that State Governments have been conniving at the growth of these mushroom institutions. One must also inquire into the causes that encourage the emergence of such institutions. An impartial observer will discover that one of the chief causes is shortage of accommodation in the institutes of the public sector and the difficulty of getting admission into them on account of a number of extraneous considerations.

Reference must also be made to the great shortage of qualified and experienced teaching staff. Mr. Chagla certainly struck a note of realism when he declared that the problem of quality and standard had become all-important in the context of advancing science and technology. "It is," to quote him, "the primary function of technical education continually to respond to new developments in science and technology, identify new technical disciplines and pro-

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vide training facilities for them." A very pertinent suggestion which he put forward in this context pertains to the establishment of a first-rate Central research institute to investigate on a national plane the problems of reorganisation of technical study courses, diversification of training fields curriculum construction, examinations and waste, and to develop an organised body of knowledge on technical education. Equally pertinent are his two other suggestions. One, those States which have not yet implemented the schemes of better pay scales sanctioned by the Centre must do so with a sense of urgency. Two, the State Governments should not start any new institution so long as existing ones are understaffed.

The need for improving the quality of technical education is especially urgent considering the growing impact of science and technology on society. Alluding to this impact, Mr. Chagla rightly said: "The business of engineering education is no more narrow specialisation in certain technical disciplines; it has a wider social significance in the modern world."

Allied to the question of technical education is that of scientific and industrial research. Although due attention is being paid to this type of research, a recent study made by the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research reveals some disturbing trends. There is, for instance, considerable imbalance between the support given by the Centre and the State Governments to scientific research, as well as in the allocation of resources to the different sectors of research. The total Government expenditure on research in India has no doubt risen in recent years, but the rise is not appreciable: from Rs. 1.22 crore in 1952 to Rs. 4.69 crores in 1961. Actually, the annual rate of increase in expenditure during the five-year period 1957-62 was lower than in the preceding five-year period, being 15 per cent, as against 17 per cent. This rate is far below that even in some less developed nations. The **per capita** expenditure on research in India is estimated at no more than Re. 1.07 (1961), as compared with Rs. 410 in the U.S., Rs. 162 in the U.K., Rs. 146 in Sweden, Rs. 40 in Australia and Rs. 35 in Norway. While the **per capita** expenditure in the U.S. and the U.K. is more than two per cent of their **per capita** national income, it is only 0.3 per cent in India. The annual expenditure per scientist in India is just Rs. 16,800 (1962), assuming that 75 per cent of the 37,000 research scientists are employed by the Government. The corresponding figures for the U.S. and the U.K. are Rs. 1,72,820 and Rs. 53,420, respectively.

These figures will give one an idea of the vast effort required of our country to catch up with the advanced countries in the field of research. The Governments, Central and State, ought to spend much larger amounts on scientific and industrial research. They must also provide incentives to research by industries in the private sector through grants, subsidies and tax exemptions. Besides these incentives, due attention must needs be paid to what are aptly described as the means of providing for the emergence of able leadership, development of team spirit among scientists and a large output of able scientists and technologists to man the departments of science and research in universities and in industrial establishments. Surely, lack of appreciation of these problems by those in charge of education may, as one Mr. M. K. Sen of Calcutta has clearly warned in a letter to the **Statesman,** turn research organisations into barren places of disgruntled researchers working at cross purposes, or to no purpose at all, and result in promising scientists getting frustrated. Frustration among scientists and technicians kills initiative for making new discoveries and inventions. It will also induce the more daring among them to migrate to other countries. Above all, communal and caste considerations must not be allowed to stand in the way of young men with brilliant academic record getting admission for the engineering and science courses. One does not know how many Ramans, Boses and Bhabhas the country has missed as a result of the application of this factor since independence.

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Foreign Periodicals

LETTER FROM EAST PAKISTAN

Writing in the **New Leader** what John E. Owen who spent the past four years in East Pakistan as a visiting Professor at Dacca University, has to say is a confirmation of the picture of East Pakistan which was not altogether unknown to the more discerning Indian.

East Pakistan today is a region where almost every aspect of life conspires to produce a situation devoid of hope. An impecunious Province carved in 1947 out of undivided Bengal, it lies beneath the Himalayas in the Ganges-Brahmaputra delta between Assam and West Bengal, a low-lying riverine country beset by periodic floods, monsoons and poor soil.

East Pakistan's population density, over 1,000 persons per square mile, ranks as one of the highest in the world. And the region's 50 million Bengalis have increased in number by almost 25 per cent in the last decade, with no sign of any surcease. This factor alone is likely to nullify the benefits of foreign economic aid. Birth control programs have made little headway, especially since the Bengali Muslim has a fatalistic attitude. He believes children are a sign of the blessings of Allah, and large families bestow prestige upon a father.

Floods and cyclones destroy property every year, but no effective steps have been taken to control their damage. Milk supplied by care and thousands of woollen blankets donated by the U.S. for flood victims can be bought openly on the black market. Bengal's upper classes are complacently indifferent to the loss of life and farmlands among the peasants. Flood relief funds are frequently diverted from their rightful beneficiaries.

Since 1947, a new class of rich industrialists from outside the Province has built up the jute trade lost to India when the subcontinent was partitioned. The social changes resulting from superimposing technology and industry upon an essentially feudal society have been sufficient to disorganize the life of the Province. Dacca, the urban capital, presents a bizarre spectacle of Western modernity combining uneasily with the rural East. In 15 years it has been transformed from a sleepy hinterland town to the administrative and commercial center of East Bengal. Refugees from India and an influx of Bengalis from the agricultural districts have swelled the population to over half a million.

Living conditions in Old Dacca are overcrowded and disease is rampant. With more than 12,000 persons per square mile, the area resembles London of 300 years ago before the Great Fire. An epidemic of smallpox earlier this year resulted in 900 known deaths in one month; untold others were not recorded. While the epidemic was raging, the first session of Pakistan's National Assembly five miles away was engaged in endless speech-making, but almost the only legislation passed was a bill to raise the stipends of delegates.

The real impact of foreign aid is difficult to evaluate, but it would be hard to defend the thesis that East Pakistan's economy or living standards have been appreciably improved by the millions invested thus far. On the contrary, the life of the Bengali farmer is harder than it was 10 years ago, and there is firm evidence that some of the aid funds have been misused. The Water and Power Development Authority, a multi-million dollar project, is only one of several instances where U.S. funds have not produced the expected results, partly because of large-scale misappropriations.

Corruption in East Pakistan is openly acknowledged and cynically accepted as a governmental way of life; a system of baksheesh, bribery and kickbacks is firmly entrenched. Nevertheless, the disposition of aid funds has not been adequately supervised by U.S. officials. Many of the 500 Americans in Dacca are unhappily aware that their efforts to develop the economy are yielding no tangible results and that the Pakistani authorities, with their practiced skill at grasping every chance to enrich their own pockets, have stolen American money. Nor is there the slightest evidence of appreciation for the millions that have been given. Indeed many Bengalis still find the concept of aid difficult to comprehend and question the motives behind the U.S. program.

Since the end of martial law in 1962,

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conditions in the Province have worsened progressively. An atmosphere of lawlessness exists that the police are powerless to cope with. The last university commencement ceremony had to be cancelled for fear of student demonstrations or riots against the government, and during the academic year 1962-63 classes were in session for only 62 days. The authorities are afraid to act against the students, who represent one of the few literate segments of the population and thus have the potential for wielding influence in their home villages.

Over 80 per cent of Bengalis are illiterate. The poverty of the peasants has to be seen to be believed. Their small-holdings of rice and jute are uneconomic, rice production has not risen sufficiently to provide adequate sustenance for the peasants and their families, and inflation has brought added hardship. The authorities deny that East Pakistan has a food shortage, but in many villages the situation is so desperate that peasants are eating grass and roots.

There is rising discontent that would probably erupt into violence, were it not for the apathy induced by malnutrition and Muslim fatalism. Many Bengalis have told me that conditions in general were immeasurably better under the British regime, and that personally they are far worse off now than before partition. A severe taxation policy specifies that even the villager who owns a chicken has to pay a tax on it.

Attempts to introduce co-operatives into East Pakistan have met with indifferent results, mainly because the spirit of co-operation has never taken root here. Harsh economic conditions preclude the idea of mutual self-help, and Islam has not fostered attitudes of co-operative endeavour. Outside the family circle, East Bengalis live by a jungle code, pitting their wits against each other rather than against nature.

Islam as practiced in Pakistan enjoins no ethical code that might affect daily dealings between Pakistanis. Its stress is on the outer observance, the five daily prayers, the Ramadan fasting period, and occasional almsgiving. Apart from the apathetic fatalism it engenders, Islam is not a cohesive force in Pakistan. A great gulf exists between the Western-educated intellectual and the peasant, underlining the lack of agreement as to what the true function of Islam should be.

Only two things unite East Pakistan today: a sense of hopelessness concerning the national future, and resentment of India. Many Bengalis privately admit that partition was a profound mistake from which they have gained nothing. When asked what the future of East Pakistan is likely to be, they shake their heads and answer, "God knows."

An undefined segment of Bengal would prefer to be re-united with India; it looks to Calcutta as its Mecca, a political fact that is disturbing to the authorities in Rawalpindi. "We have to hate India," a Bengali intellectual told me, "for without that we would have no reason to exist as a nation." But Western arms aid to India has aroused bad feeling against both the U.S. and India among many Bengalis.

In a very real sense the East Pakistanis today, like their counterparts in West Pakistan, are not a nation but an ill-assorted group of divergent elements divided against themselves, disunited except for a negative attitude to India. Pakistan was not ready for nationhood in 1947, and it is still not ready. President Ayub Khan is the one leader who shows any statesmanship but he is like a man in search of a country. He is resented by many Bengalis because he is from West Pakistan, and the animosity shown to the West wing in Bengal rivals the resentment against India. The two wings are not in any sense united.

Not a few U.S. aid workers have returned home from East Pakistan in recent months with deep misgivings about the wisdom of giving millions of dollars to a people whose defiant ignorance, fatalism, and extreme backwardness render them painfully ill-equipped to help themselves or face the realities of the 20th century. The outlook for East Pakistan is dark and grim. Quite apart from the Chinese danger only 300 miles to the north there is no prospect that conditions for the Bengalis will get any better.

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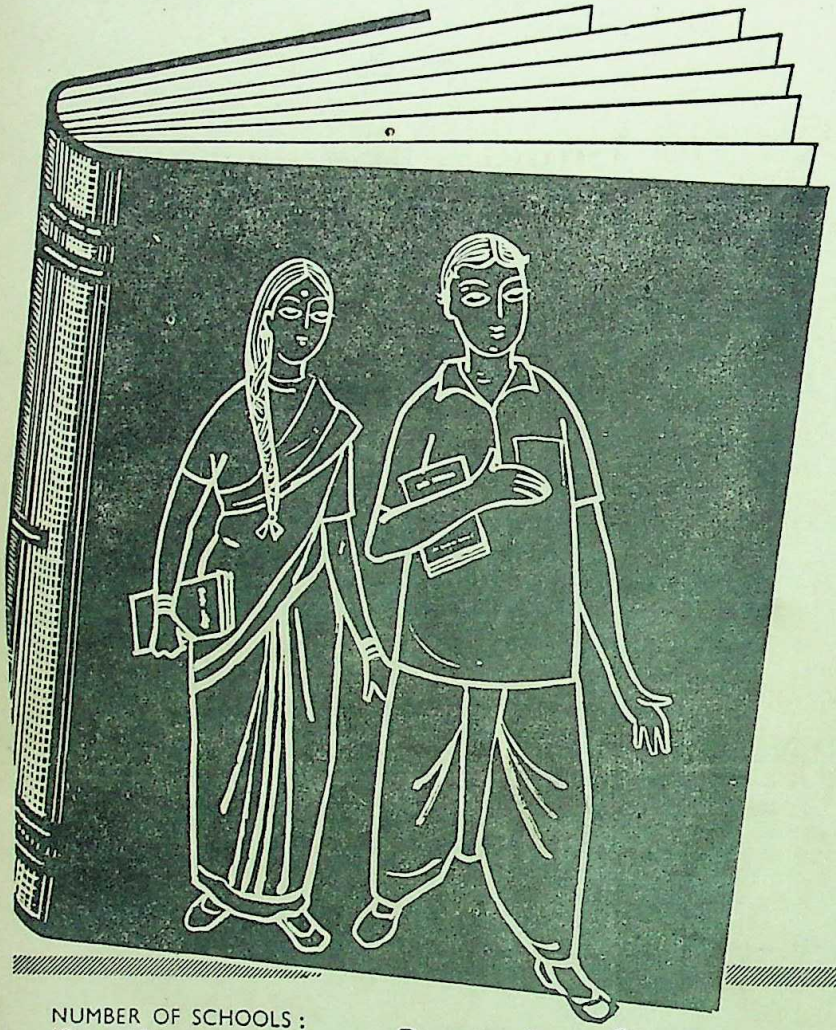
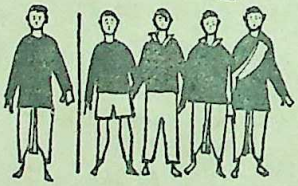


EXPANDING EDUCATION IS THE SECRET OF NATIONAL STRENGTH

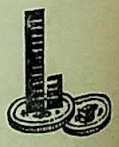
Consistent with the major objectives of West Bengal's planned efforts, progress in education has been accepted as a major social responsibility in all the three Plans. The results have been reflected in the rapid strides which the State has taken in the fields of basic, secondary, collegiate, medical and technical education.

NUMBER OF SCHOOLS :
(General Education)
1947-48 = 15,853
1961-62 = 35,208



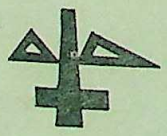
LITERACY (PER CENT) :
1951 = 24.54
1961 = 29.3

STUDENTS IN SCHOOLS :
1947-48 = 15,66,611
1961-62 = 39,52,349



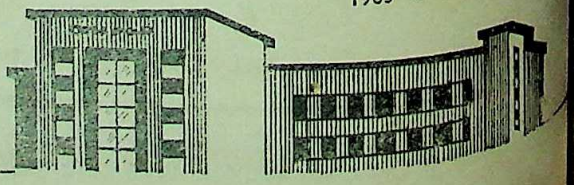
EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION
1947-48 = Rs. 5.59 CRORES
1960-61 = Rs. 34.08 "

NO. OF TECHNICAL INSTITUTIONS:
1947-48 = 13
1961-62 = 48



STUDENTS IN TECHNICAL INSTITUTIONS :
1947-48 = 1,135
1961-62 = 6,325

NO. OF UNIVERSITIES :
1947 = 2
1963 = 7



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GOVERNMENT OF WEST BENGAL

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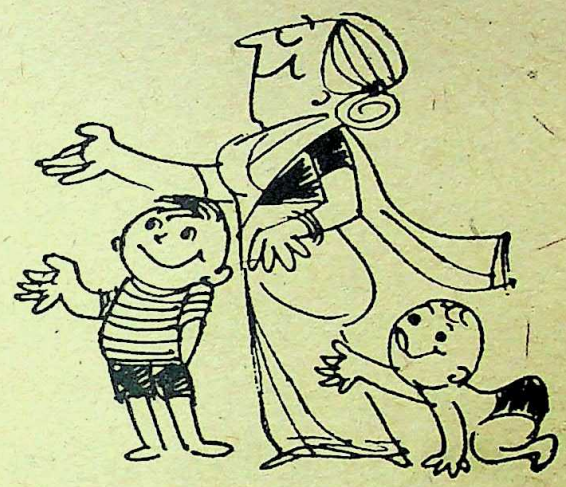

Does your wife have an upturned palm?

"Gimme! Gimme! Gimme!" I hear it all the time. What is one to do? It's hard to be hard on the family! But there's an emergency on, and the pay-packet has to be stretched till the end of the month—including the payment to the life insurance people.

Sometimes I dearly feel I should like to chuck in my life insurance. But when things get too bad I look at it this way: "If my poor wife is finding it hard to manage *now* it's going to be terrible if I and my income are suddenly not there. With my policy kept going, there will be a roof over their heads, food on their table and clothes on their backs. Also money for the schooling."

My life insurance cheque goes in tomorrow. And the next time my wife extends her hand, I'll shake it firmly and give her a big smile... And that will be that!

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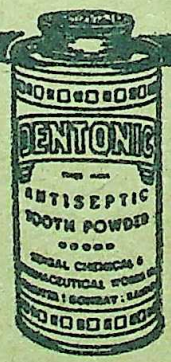

BENGAL CHEMICAL

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THE MODERN REVIEW

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NOTES

The World

Last months World events of particular interest centred **round the Security** Council of the U.N.O. Pakistan went to the Security Council with two specific charges against India: (1) There was an open revolt in Kashmir and (2) India was integrating Kashmir with the territories of the Indian Union. The second country to move the Security Council was Cyprus, but by a queer quirk of diplomatic manoeuvres the British forestalled the move of Archbishop Makarios, the President of Cyprus to approach the Security Council to intervene in the turmoil that is going on in that unhappy island, whose Turkish minorities are being threatened with extermination or expulsion by the extreme wing of Greek Cypriot underground fighters. It should be noted that the Turkish Cypriots form only 20 per cent of the population.

The debate over Pakistan's charges against India was finally adjourned for an indefinite period after it became apparent that the majority of the members were not convinced that any positive decision was either practicable or necessary under the circumstances and that quite a few of the member countries like the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Bolivia, Nationalist China (Formosa), France and some others firmly stated that the Kashmir issue should be considered more realistically in the context of the present situation. The urgent case of Cyprus is still under consideration.

Apart from these there has been another coup **de'etat** in South Vietman, which has been bloodless on this occasion, a savage uprising in the Congo and the aftermath of the forays by Somalis and counter thrusts, with jet planes and tanks, by Ethiopia that came in the course of the territorial disputes between the Somali Republic and Ethiopia over the Ogaden Province of the latter State. The shortlived military uprisings in Kenya, Tanganyka and Uganda were also finally dealt with. Tanganyka's President Julius Nyerere disbanded the aberrant **askaris** of the two Tanganyka Rifle battalions, replacing the rebels with the members of his parties' militant Youth Wing. Uganda's Prime Minister, Apollo Milton Obote, had the ringleaders of the uprising arrested and then disarmed and dispersed some 500 more of the Uganda Rifles into the back country. Kenya's Prime Minister and strongman, Jomo Kenyatta, took a far more firm and harsh line with the rebels, who were in the 11th Battalion of the Kenya Rifles. A military tribunal went into the question of the culpability of each individual accused soldier-suspects, who were sorted out as "black" (guilty of armed and active mutiny) grey (doubtful) or "white", (not guilty). About a hundred were deemed guilty and Kenyatta has decided that they would be speedily tried by a court-martial, where the maximum penalty could be execution by a firing squad.

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Pakistan's External Affairs Minister Z. A. Bhutto made the opening statement before the Security Council on February 3. He started with a characteristically Pakistani flourish which is so reminiscent of the preformances of their British mentors. He went on to make brazen statements about the people of Kashmir being in open rebellion, due to the Indians' not keeping the pledge of plebiscite, carefully suppressing the fact that the condition precedent to the plebiscite, namely the vacating of the aggression by Pakistan on Kashmir had been ignored by Pakistan with the connivance of Britain and U.S.A. And then followed an appeal to the Security Council to look after the rights of smaller nations, which was somewhat modified by the utterance of a veiled threat of armed action in case the Security Council did not act in accordance with Pakistani plans. Some of the gems from Mr. Bhutto's peroration are appended below.

Mr. Bhutto said the Pakistani Government had requested for the meeting to "draw attention to the serious deterioration in relations between Pakistan and India and the far-reaching and incalculable results of this situation if it is not improved."

Considering that one-sixth of the human race was involved, "we cannot continue in this way without in the end inviting an eruption which would be catastrophic to both," the Pakistani Minister said.

"When we requested for this meeting, the permanent representative of India is reported to have said at a Press conference that all that can come out of it (presumably a reference to this meeting) is a little more mud-throwing."

"No, Sir, the stakes are too high, the issues too vital, the number of people involved too great for us to seek through mud-throwing the solution of a dispute which carries with it the seeds of a major international upheaval. It is our contention that justice and not mud-throwing will ultimately resolve this issue and we are here to place before you the justice of our complaint."

Mr. Bhutto said that though 16 years have passed without the agreement on a plebiscite in Kashmir being carried out, there had never been any time when there had been any acquiescence on the part of Pakistan, or the people of Kashmir, in India's occupation of the major part of the State.

"There has never been any time when we have abated or abandoned our rightful claim. There has never been any time when a search was not pending for a peaceful solution of the problem consistent with the basic principle agreed between the parties. And there has never been a time when the strain of the dispute in the entire India-Pakistan situation has shown any sign of being eased or when the tensions that it causes have relaxed.

"I venture to submit here that if the doctrine of the passage of time resulting in an advantage to one party in an international dispute is upheld, then it would be just as well if we consider the Charter of the U.N. to have been abrogated.

"The world has witnessed two global wars in this century which were fought ostensibly for the preservation of the rights of smaller States. If a precedent is now established in Kashmir which allows the rights and claims of a smaller State to be overborne by a stronger party, aided by the passage of time, and an international agreement to be disregarded, then the principles of the Charter and of all other statements like those issued recently by Mr. Khrushchev and President Johnson regarding the renunciation of force in the settlement of territorial disputes, lose their meaning.

"I have come before this august body earnestly to urge, in the name of my Government and, above all, in the name of humanity, that the Security Council take appropriate action to ensure that the Kashmir dispute moves rapidly towards an honourable and just solution in the interest of the well-being of the people of the Indo-Pakistani sub-continent and to the interest of peace in Asia.

"The people of Kashmir have unmistakably risen in open rebellion and, unless we refuse to hear their voice, we can no longer doubt that they are unreconciled to India

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occupation, any passage of time notwithstanding.

"Pakistan is pledged to ensure that the people of Jammu and Kashmir exercise their right of self-determination as spelled out in the resolutions of the Security Council and the U.N. Commission for India and Pakistan.

"The latest measures show that India is determined to continue to flout the Security Council by reducing the State to the level of a mere administrative unit of India. It is manifest that the people of Indian-occupied Jammu and Kashmir would have none of this 'integration' with India."

Mr. Bhutto then referred to the "present upheaval" in Kashmir, and said the Government of India did not pay heed to the "anguished protest of the people of Indian-occupied Jammu and Kashmir against the denial of their inalienable rights". There was no indication of any change of heart on India's part. It was "determined to continue with its plans for the forcible annexation of the State".

India's "iniquitous policies" had led to upheavals in Jammu and Kashmir. The present rebellion had further aggravated relations between Pakistan and India and led to communal riots in the two countries.

To the deep regret of the Government of Pakistan, the tension over the "Hajratbal and Kishtwar outrages and the subsequent regime of repression in Indian-occupied Kashmir" found expression in some regrettable incidents on January 3 against the Hindu minority in Khulna and Jessore districts of East Pakistan, he said, adding: "The disorder was promptly suppressed and normal life restored in the two districts". Exaggerated reports of these incidents in East Pakistan were published by the Indian Press, he said.

The communal situation in the affected areas of both countries remained tense and needed continued vigilance, Mr. Bhutto said. It was the paramount duty of any civilized Government to protect basic human rights of all its citizens, regardless of their faith.

"The reason, Mr. President, why I have referred to the recent communal riots in India and Pakistan is not to engage in an apportionment of praise or blame. It is axiomatic that the safety of all their peoples, regardless of faith or persuation, is the responsibility of the Government concerned.

"The Indian case on Kashmir is always presented with a great deal of rhetoric about the secular nature of the Indian State. The reality is that the denial of the right of self-determination to the people of Jammu and Kashmir is embittering the relations between India and Pakistan, a direct result of which is the poisoning of relations between Hindus and Muslims in the two countries.

The leader of the Indian Delegation, our Education Minister Chagla, very effectively demolished the Pakistani case, by pointing out the suppressions and distortions of truth and showing up the difference between Pakistan's contention and moral protestations and the actual performance of her executives. It would be impossible to reproduce either the 14000 word speech or to give an adequate summary in these columns. But some of the points made by him may be given in summary.

Mr. Chagla labelled Mr. Bhutto's charges as pure fiction. He said the basic principle underlying Pakistan's foreign policy was opposition to India on every front. It was only a logical development that Pakistan at present was involeved in a conspiracy with China to make India domestically and internationally weak. Mr. Chagla said that India today is perhaps the only country which can stand up to Chinese expansion and aggression.

If India failed, there will be nothing to control the Chinese forward policy. It is, therefore, not only in the interest of India itself but also in the interest of peace that India should be strong. We are very grateful for the aid that we have received from friendly countries. But the whole purpose of this would be completely nullified if India becomes domestically weak. No country can be internationally strong if she does not also have domestic strength. The

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domestic strength of India depends upon her secularism, upon the vital necessity of the different communities that reside within her, living in peace and harmony. Pakistan does not want India to be strong; it wants to weaken her both internationally and domestically. Its recent flirtation with China is clear evidence of this fact. In this context, Kashmir assumes great importance."

Mr. Chagla then said that Pakistan which complained that India was changing the status quo in Kashmir had itself committed a gross change in the status quo by handing over to China 2,000 square miles of the area to which Pakistan had no right or title.

He then added: "But apart from the fact that legally and constitutionally Kashmir is part of India, apart from the fact that we do not subscribe to the theory that Hindus and Muslims are two nations and apart from the fact that Kashmir is the symbol and guarantee of our secularism. Kashmir has now assumed vital importance because of the continuing menace of China. A mere glance at the map of India will be sufficient to illustrate this."

After analysing Pakistans attitude towards India's offer to cooperate with Pakistan in any definite attempt to restore normalcy and inter-communal amity in disturbed areas, he went on to say that the present application to the Security Council is merely the culmination of the campaign of hatred that has been ceaselessly carried on against India by it. He quoted the **London Times** remark that "The loadstone of every aspect of Pakistan's foreign policy is bad relations with India," and describing the charges made by Pakistan as a horror story, ended by saying "I shall satisfy you that all this is a figment of vivid imagination."

Then he quoted from offical documents on record, the history of Kashmir's accession to India, the facts regarding Pakistan's aggression—which was first denied and then had to be confessed before the U.N.C.I.P. by Pakistan when it visited Karachi in July 1948, when it was found that the saintly blameless pose of Pakistan could not be maintained—and the basis of the two resolutions of the U.N.C.I.P. of August 1948 and January 1949, which were accepted by India in that context. He said:

"These were the only two resolutions, apart from the resolution of January 1948, to which we agreed. The very foundation of these resolutions was that the presence of Pakistan in parts of Jammu and Kashmir was illegal and she must withdraw her troops and vacate aggression against India.

UNCIP recognized a "material change in the situation" in the presence of Pakistan troops and, as the resolution said Pakistan agreed to withdraw its troops from that State. The holding of a plebiscite could arise only when Pakistan fulfilled its condition.

It was often forgotten, Mr. Chagla continued, that when Pakistan approached the Council she did so as an aggressor who had not vacated her aggression. "My submission to you is that Pakistan has been guilty of gross contempt of this august body and she has no right to be heard till she comes with clean hands. She had not only not washed her hands and tries not only to justify her aggression but seeks to challenge the legal validity of an accession which has been accepted by the UNCIP and on the basis of which Pakistan's presence in Kashmir has been held to be illegal and contray to international law.

"Memories are so short that I sometimes am surprised that Pakistan should be permitted to reverse the roles of itself and India before the Security Council. It comes here in the innocent garb of an aggrieved party which makes charges against us as if we were aggressors. Throughout this Kashmir controversy, which in all conscience, has been sufficiently long and protracted, it continued to be the aggressor. Even today it is guilty of continuing aggression and in my submission it has no locus standii whatsoever to make any complaint with regard to what India is doing in an integral part of our country."

About assurances of Indian leaders that the people's wishes in the State would be consulted Mr. Chagla said: "These assurances were always given in the context of

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vacation of Pakistani aggression and withdrawal of Pakistan from Kashmir as a condition precedent."

He then went on to detail the real reasons behind the the fabrication of the horror story and the demand for a plebiscite in Kashmir:

"Democracy, like charity, begins at home and before Pakistan preaches to us how we should ascertain the wishes of the people of a part of our country she should first make at least a beginning in establishing democratic institutions at home. I need hardly say that since its existence it has never sufficiently trusted its own people to permit them to participate in a general and direct election for the creation of legislative and parliamentary bodies. . . .

"Pakistan's President has repeatedly stated that the people of Pakistan were not fit to exercise such democratic rights and after 17 years of independence Pakistan's people are still being educated in basic democracies which, I need hardly say, are a very diluted form of democracy.

"The real reason for insisting on a plebiscite is to try and see whether it cannot inflame communal passions in Kashmir by appealing to the inhabitants of that State that their religion is in danger and to bring about a recurrence of the terrible events of the partition of India in 1947—bloodshed, migrations and untold human misery."

Dismissing as "baseless and mischievous" the connexion which Pakistan had sought to establish between India and Kashmir and the theft of the holy relic from the Hazratbal shrine, Mr. Chagla said Pakistan had tried to give a communal turn to incidents in Kashmir.

When the relic was stolen, Pakistan expected there would be communal riots in Kashmir. Not only did it expect this, it did its best to incite them.

Mr. Chagla said that unfortunately for Pakistan, there was not only complete communal amity inside Kashmir—and it required a modern, secular, rational outlook to understand this phenomenon—but a further significant fact was that these demonstrations inside Kashmir were not only not aimed against the Indian Government, but showed complete confidence in the policies of the Indian Government.

The people of the State appealed to the Indian Government that they rather than the local administration, should investigate this crime and bring the guilty to book.

He then refuted every detail of Pakistani charges by cold facts. The eviction of Indian Muslims was one such allegation, which he demolished by "cold satistical facts for which there could be no answer," such as the official census figures of Pakistan, which showed very small increases in the Muslim population in the East Pakistan districts adjoining India and abnormal increases in the Muslim population of Indian border districts. The respective decreases and increase both deviated abnormally from the averages.

It might be said that Mr. Chagla left Mr. Bhutto not a leg to stand upon. But Mr. Bhutto was not at all daunted He excercised his right of reply.

Mr. Bhutto spoke for 125 minutes, longer than his opening speech and towards the end he was slightly incoherent.

His lengthy arguments were mostly repetitious, but, in line with his need for Western support to get a resolution through the Council, he departed from the text to swear Pakistan's commitment to the two Western sponsored defence alliances.

Constantly looking towards Mr. Stevenson and Mr. Patrick Dean and speaking in a high-pitched voice, Mr. Bhutto said: "I am sure members around the Council will be able to distinguish between allies and opportunists. We are committed in two defensive alliances and we take the advantages and disadvantages of the alliances. We take their benefits and their non-benefits . . . . including possible nuclear annihilation."

Apart from not making any new points, Mr. Bhutto slurred over and dismissed as domestic issues the questions posed by Mr. Chagla on Wednesday about Pakistan's lack of democracy, its treatment of minorities and the cold facts of census figures to prove Pakistani infiltration into the neighbouring Indian areas.

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The last issue he dismissed as a "pedantic controversy" and asked the Council not to be bothered by cold statistics, but to consider what he called the human, personal tragedy of the uprooted humanity.

Mr. Bhutto's appeal to the patrons of Pakistan, the Torys of Britain and their dupes in the U.S., did not go in vain. Britain's Chief delegate Sir Patrick Dean took an extremly and one-sided stand as a partisan of Pakistan in the Security Council discussions, disregarding all considerations of truth or reason. As a brazen exhibition of die-hard Toryisms, hatred for India and an exposition of malice aforethought, Dean's performance was in line with the old-time British traditions, which some people think the British have given up. But it seems that the leopard cannot change his spots. Mr. Stevenson, the U.S. representative followed suit, but in a more restrained fashion. The only other country that went part of the way with those Allies of Pakistan, was Brazil as represented by its delegate, who presided over the Council meetings. As the other countries, including France and China, either refused to subscribe to the same view, or expressed diametrically opposite views, as did the Soviets and Czechoslovakia, Pakistan's bid for getting India indicted in the Security Council failed. But that of course does not mean that Pakistan will stop her campaign of hate or that she would abate her malicious propaganda.

The case of Cyprus is still before the Security Council. The internecine warfare between the Greek Cypriots (80 per cent majority) and the Turkish minority (20 per cent) has caused deep concern among the NATO powers. The reasons as given by an editorial in **The New York Times** are :

"The southern flank of NATO in Europe is guarded by Greece and Turkey, neighbors and historic rivals. Together, they are vital to the Western alliance. Greece (area 51,169 square miles, population 8.3 million) has assigned eight of its 12 divisons to NATO. Turkey (area 299,992 square miles, population 26.5 million) has assigned 14 of its 16 divisions to the alliance. Strategically, they border four Communist countries—the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Albania—and control the northeastern shores of the Mediterranean. Thus the friction between Greece and Turkey over Cyprus has aroused deep concern in NATO capitals."

Savage and organized attacks on the Turkish Cypriots in the seaport town of Limassol, (31000 Greeks 6000 Turks) brought the tension to the breaking point in the third week of February. The British and the U.S. presented a plan for a 10,000 man peace-keeping force, drawn mainly from the British Commonwealth nations and the U.S. But, the President of Cyprus Archbishop Makarios firmly rejected it and he said quite clearly that he was going to take it to the Security Council and ask for a resolution, condemcing any attempt at aggression and referring to the territorial integrity of the island. He is supposed to be attempting thereby to stave-off any attempt by Turkey to come to the aid of the Turkish Cypriots. The mainland of Turkey in only 40 miles from Cyprus.

The case was finally brought before the Security Council. The British, after trying their utter-most to prevent the case from going to the Security Council as that might alter the beautifully balanced hold Britain has got on it, finally decided after the failure of the U.S. Under Secretary of State George W. Ball's mission, to go to the Security Council on their own. As a result the application to the Security Council to intervene in Cyprus was made by Britain. It is to be seen as yet as to what twist is given to the Cyprus case by Britain and her experts at diplomatic legerdemain.

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Current Affairs

By KARUNA K. NANDI

Population Growth and the Communities

There have been numerous studies of the trends of population growth in India since the results of the 1961 Census enumerations had been published. The five decades since 1901, it is necessary to remember in this context, cover the period from 1901 to 1947 when India had not yet been partitioned into two separate countries and the figures of population relate to the subcontinent as a whole. From 1947 to 1961, however, the figures relate to the population within the Indian Union only and exclude the population of that part of former undivided India which is now included within the territories of Pakistan. The following table compiled from officially published figures, should be of more than ordinary interest:

Trends of Population Growth in India: 1901-1961 *

Year	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961
Population	23,62,22	25,20,34	25,12,71	27,89,06	31,85,79	36,09,92	43,90,73
Increase	....	1,58,12	— 76,30	2,76,35	3,96,73	4,24,13	7,80,81
Percentage Increase		6.27%	—.30%	10.90%	14.20%	13.30%	21.90%

This would demonstrate that while the population of undivided India increased by 6.27 per cent during the decade from 1901 to 1911, or at the average rate of .627 per cent per annum; by 10.90 per cent or at 1.09 per cent during the decade 1921-31; by 14.20 per cent during 1931-1941 or at the rate of 1.42 per cent per annum; the rate appears to have decreased slightly to 1.30 per cent (by 13.30 per cent for the decennial period) between 1941 and 1951, it suddenly exploded to as high a figure as 21.90 per cent for the period between 1951 and 1961 which works out at 2.19 per cent per annum and accounts for a gross increase between the two decennial periods 1941-51 and 1951-61 of as much as 8.57 per cent. Divided in the two major communities in the country, that is, Hindu and Muslim, the increase in the respective communities over the ten year period between 1951 and 1961 appears to have been of the order of 5,99,81,420 and 89,17,481 or 20 per cent and 26.7 per cent respectively. This would appear to be both interesting and significant.

A State-wise analysis of the population explosion in the country during the ten-year period under discussion, the trends as available from a break up of the last Census figures would appear to be even more interesting and significant:

Table showing State-wise Population Increase*

State Population increase between the years 1951-1961

	General	Hindu	Muslim
All India	**21.90%**	**20.00%**	**36.70%**
Andhra	14.00%	15.96%	12.65%
Bihar	19.80%	18.96%	32.29%
Gujrat	26.87%	28.21%	20.25%
Kerala	24.83%	23.23%	27.50%
Madhya Pradesh	24.16%	23.13%	25.45%
Madras	11.84%	11.13%	08.14%
Maharashtra	23.50%	13.85%	24.54%
Mysore	21.57%	21.90%	19.40%
Orissa	19.14%	19.59%	22.21%
Rajasthan	26.20%	25.44%	32.62%
Uttar Pradesh	16.65%	16.13%	19.48%
Assam	39.30%	33.96%	38.56%
West Bengal	32.06%	32.63%	36.48%
Punjab	25.85%	30.86%	38.01%

* Source: India 1963.

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As already seen above, there is a significant differential in the rate of population growth as between the Hindu and the Muslim communities in India, the respective percentage of increase during the 1951-61 ten year period being 20 per cent and 36.70 per cent. But when one looks into the fact that by far the more overwhelming increase in the Muslim population in the country appears to have occurred in the States adjoining Pakistan, it would appear to assume an added significance. But even in regions remote from the borders of Pakistan, but which had a sizeable residual Muslim population, the percentage increase of the population within the community during the last decennial Census period would appear to have been sizeably much larger than among the Hindus; thus in Bihar, Maharashtra and Kerala. This may have a significance the implications of which may not yet have dawned upon the country at large. So far as the States adjoining Pakistan are concerned, such as Assam, West Bengal and, to a certain extent, also the Punjab, the implications of the sizeably much larger Muslim population during the last Census decennium should be obvious. The fact has even been officially admitted that there have been systematic and large-scale infiltration of Pakistanis into these States against which the Government of the country did not consider it necessary to devise any effective measures until only very recently.

Official and, to a certain extent, general public indifference to these trends, significant as they would now seem to be, may have been accounted for by the fact that, by and large, the general desire for limiting population growth has never been known to have been shared by the Muslim community in the country. On the contrary, if one were to recall the pre-Independence days, there had been, during the hey day of the Mulsim League, even deliberate and consistent propaganda amongst the Muslims for rapid and large population growth among the community as a measure of political expediency. Besides, the Muslims in India have generally been a comparatively far less sophisticated community than the Hindus in general and have never be known to accept the beneficent role of limited family as a measure of social p gress. The Hindu community as a whol despite the backwardness of large masses of its population, has in gradual stages come to accept the benefits of a limited rate population growth as not merely a necessary precondition to substantial econo progress but also as a measure of necessa social hygeine. The differential in the ra of population growth as between these tw major Indian communities may sound be plausible and logical looked at from th particular point of view.

It is not, however, possible to conj away at the same time the indisputa fact that large scale infiltrations Pakistani Muslims has been going on years past into Indian States adjoining t borders of Pakistan not all of which can explained away by the complacent s assurance that these have been mere harmless job seekers who have been forc to this expedient by sheer economic nec sity. On the contrary, having regard to t Official attitude of Pakistan on the questi and her reactions to the recently adop measures of eviction of illegal immigra there would seem to be a deliberate patte in these processes of Pakistani infiltrati into India. It would be sheer folly a criminal complacence on India's part— she has been foolish enough already such matters to a degree which would n mally be unbelievable by any dispassion but appropriately sophisticated observe ignore this as being a matter of mi importance.

Lack of the necessary measure of p tical sagacity, it must be admitted always marked our Congress leaders' de ings with the Muslim community even f pre-Independence days. This has been un lined by the increasing measures of appe ment of Muslim political demands that marked Congress policy for years be independence obviously with a view curbing the latter's desire for a sepa State by a vivisection of the country. was a demand which, events proved, Congress had ultimately to concede at w

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price to the country, is yet to be assessed in factual terms. It was one of the rare instances of history where a ten per cent population of a country was able, by its hectoring demand, to carve out a sizeable portion of the country's territory to form a separate State for itself. What is significant about this is that when it actually came to a division of territories and the birth of a separate State, only about sixty per cent of the Muslim community elected to become its nationals while as many as something like forty per cent of the the total chose to remain Indian nationals. What, however, would appear to have been far worse than what had gone before was that this partition had been accepted and effected with a measure of criminal haphazardness without carrying it to its obvious logical conclusion. It was notorious that the late Mr. M. A. Jinnah had said that the logic of partition was mutual exchange of populations and that Mahatma Gandhi himself had endorsed this view. The Mahatma never endorsed the agreement to partition the country, but was reported to have stated that if it at all had to be conceded, the inevitable logic of the situation demands that there should also be mutual exchange of populations. This appears to have shocked the sensibilities of Mahatma Gandhi's principal lieutenants, notably Nehru, who literally gagged Mahatmaji from further pursuing the matter.

But why was it so ? is the question that must be both asked and answered even as late as now if a durable and reasonable solution has to be sought to the present unhappy problems of Indo-Pakistani relations. Was it because such a suggestion militated against the principles of socalled secularism of the Indian State-to-be ? It cannot be a satisfactory answer because even as Congress accepted the communally-based demand for a division of the country and the creation of an adjoining and wholly anachronistic State as Pakistan, the essential principle of secularism had been already sacrificed. By evading the issue as, obviously the Congress leaders under Nehru's tutelage had done, India's flanks were left wide open and the essential principle of national integrity was led to the shambles. India has already paid a large price for this folly and God alone knows when the account will be finally closed or if it will ever be possible to finally close it.

It may be said that Indian Muslims are loyal citizens of the country. One hopes that they, or at least the majority of them really are. But there are obvious signs to suspect that the Muslim elite in India—for, being followers of a mandatory religion the ordinarily unlettered, unsophisticated lot who are the large majority of the community can never be depended upon to follow lines except those laid down by their leaders and mullahs in either country—have not been emotionally and otherwise fully integrated into the Indian nation. Many instances to support such a view could be cited but to mention only a very recent one, the brutal atrocities upon the Hindus in East Pakistan last month and their mass killings did not seem to have provoked that natural measure of horror and disgust in our Muslim elite in this country until actually the Calcutta disturbance, endangering the lives of Muslims (some of them) in the city had started, that they considered it necessary to say even one word in condemnation of the Pakistani brutalities. One does not, by any means, condone what had happened in Calcutta and West Bengal for the simple and obvious reason that one wrong can never justify another. One cannot, at same time, ignore the obvious fact that what had happened here—at least in the scale which it had eventually assumed —was largely the reuslt of official ineptitude, administrative inefficiency and lack of imagination on the part of the Government and, especially that of the Chief Minister of West Bengal. This was not the first time that what would appear to be even remotely communal in implication seems to send the whole of the Congress Party and the Governments manned by it, into a veritable trauma and the measures then devised by them to deal with such instances become themselves usually generative of far worse trouble than even the grossest misanthrope would even think of

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predicting. That the beneficiaries of the last West Bengal disturbance were generally that community of anti-social marrauders, and both Hindus and Muslims suffered as a result in almost equal measure, would seem hardly to be in doubt now. But of course, only an impartial judicial inquiry, to which, however, Mr. P. C. Sen seems to be so terribly allergic, could alone reveal facts for what they actually were.

The trends of population growth in India as between the Hindu and the Muslim communities, especially in certain selected regions where they would seem to be even more significant than elsewhere, would seem to need a more careful study and analysis than appears to have been accorded to it so far either by official or unofficial agencies. We connot afford to forget that only about ten per cent Indians (although they claimed to be a separate nation even then) had, not so long ago, wrested a separate country from us. The trends of more than proportionately growing Muslim numbers in India today, may have implications in the eventual future which it may not be be quite pleasant to think about, but which may nevertheless be fraught with the gravest dangers to the future of the country. That these trends may have also something to do with the increasing cleavages in Indo-Pakistani relations is also something which it may not be quite wise to laugh out of court.

Rising Growth Rate ?

The Union Finance Minister presented to both houses of Parliament an elaborate survey of the country's present condition of the economy which, according to him, is said to present a "promise of rising growth rates" in the basic fields of industry. These rates, the Finance Minister was said to have conceded were, however, somewhat below Plan expectations. It is not quite clear what Plan expectation the Finance Minister actually referred to ? For, if he meant the original assumptions of the Third Plan, the mid-term appraisal of Plan progress essayed by the Commission sometime ago, and which was debated at pretty extensive length by Parliament, would seem to have already proved that these expectations were no longer to be relied upon as Plan achievements during the first two years have been very much below what were originally assumed in this behalf and it was equally clear that accelerated tempo of Plan implementation now essayed could not be expected to carry the Plan forward during the remaining two and a half years of the Plan to its originally targetted level of achievements over the aggregate period. Indeed, the Planning Commission has been very wisely reticent about what the level of Plan achievements would now be likely to be and would not give any figures in this behalf. Independent economists assessed possible achievement during the remaining three years of the Plan at perhaps no more than 3.5 per cent per annum in terms of increase in the national income which, together with the 2.35 per cent annual rate of growth assessed to have been achieved by the Planning Commission during the first two years, would account for an aggregate rise in the national income over the entire Plan period, of no more than 15.2 per cent against the originally targetted 36 per cent.

If Mr. Krishnamachari meant when he referred to the growth rate that it was below the original expectations of the Third Plan but above the rate of increase evinced during the First two years of the Plan period and not less than the expectation of the rate of growth during the following three years as assessed by independent economists, there is not much that he could find to congratulate himself upon in performance. If, however, he really meant that the rate of growth actually evinced in the meanwhile was really beyond the level of the dismal prophecies of these independent economists, there would seem to be both cause for hope and self-congratulation.

The Finance Minister's survey, it would seem, recorded the increasing trends evinced in the growth rate in industry, especially in the basic sectors. Mr. Krishnamachari is perhaps, the only realist in the Government of India and he takes care to warn, along in the same breath, of the need for "strengthening the forces" which contribute to

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higher level of growth rate in both industry and agriculture, especially agriculture. Agriculture, it would seem, is of the most crucial and fundamental importance in this context and the Finance Minister's anxiety that nothing must be allowed to impede progress in this field is reflected in the statement that the continued dependence of agricultural production quantums upon the mercy of the seasons should be progressively reduced and the industry must be made both self-sustaining and progressive to yield the requisite base for industrial advance.

The crux of the survey would, however, seem to be embodied in the exhortation that the present favourable situation should be taken advantage of for pushing up production and income to progressively higher levels. This according to the Finance Minister, is related to the vital problem of prices. There was need, he conceded, for continuing vigilance in regard to prices and he referred to current trends of wholesale and consumer prices which reflected growing pressures on the supplies of food grains and other essential consumables. This, according to the Finance Minister was attributable to both a rise in aggregate demand as well as a shift in the pattern of the peoples' consumption habits. A part of this pressure, he said, was inevitable in a growing and developing economy, but part of it must also be accounted for by the position of supply of food grains related to the increasing consumer demand on the one hand and by a shift in the pattern of demand—occasioned by improving living standards. One concedes that the Finance Ministers's economic survey is essentially a public relations document and it was inevitable that he should seek to play down the failures and shortfalls and correspondingly highlight the achievements. Nevertheless it would seem that to ascribe consumer pressures on essential consumable, food grains included, to shifts in demand flowing from rising living standards would seem to have been going too far, indeed. We have, repeatedly over the months since the question of national income distribution and the living standards of the vast sector of poorer Indians was brought to the notice of Parliament by Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, discussed the matter in these columns and we have no doubt but that we have been able to demonstrate by reference to facts that the so-called rise in the living standards has been confined to a microscopic section of the community. Living standards, for the average Indian barring, perhaps, the top-incomeearning twenty per cent of the population, has remained both rudimentary and the continual price pressures upon his resources of existence have reduced him, as so unwittingly revealed by the Union Home Minister, Shri Gulrarilal Nanda (then Union Minister of Planing), to a position in which he is obliged to spend for bare existence even, a little more than the actual available disposable income. This is a demonstrable fact of the present Indian economy which no amount of wishful demagogy will be able to conjure away and one wishes that Government were both realist enough and sufficiently honest to acknowledge the situation for what it really is and not what one would like it to be.

The fact of the matter seems to be that the unremitting price pressures especially upon food grains and other essential consumables is not so much the result of development and a gradually rising standard of living as claimed by the Finance Minister,—for development achievements to whatever extent they may so far have eventuated, have not demonstrably filtered down to the bottom layers of the economy, but has really been seived up at a much higher level—but must be ascribed to that sinister fact which, in rather vague and general terms, are described as speculative hoarding. The policy of credit soueeze clamped down by the Finance Minister earlier and which Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari has recently relaxed to a certain extent, if it did not quite arrest this trend had, to a certain extent at least, modified the impact of such abuse of credit. It is far too early yet to arrive at any realistic assessment of the ultimate effects of present relaxation in this behalf upon the price structure. But as Krishnamachari had, on an earlier occasion, frankly confessed, the

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dangers of speculative pressures upon the price structure especially in food grains and other similar essential consumption sectors, do not really flow from the organized money market, the operations of which is amenable to a great deal of circumspection and control, but from that rather comparatively vast unorganized sector of the money market, the operations of which are neither easy to detect nor to effectively check. That such a money market of considerable magnitude is constantly in operation in the country has recently been repeatedly confessed by the Union Finance Minister and that most of its operations lend grist to the speculators' mill is also practically without any question. No one would have any quarrel with the Finance Minister's thesis that the solution of the problem of price "lay only in production." But that the incentive to intensified productive effort would, in their turn, largely depend upon a stable price structure, is something about which there can hardly be any two opinions. Mr. Krishnamachari would not have any "undue proliferation of controls which might impede progress," but that stable prices are an essential precondition of progress and growth is also without question. If the Finance Minister would not have any "undue proliferation of controls"—and frankly we are inclined to agree with him that it might be impossible, as past experience in this behalf has already demonstrated, to ensure rational and effective use of controls—ways and means must be found to ensure that the price line may be held. Ascribing inflationary pressure upon the price structure merely to the alleged increase in demand as the result of improving standards of living or increasing income is a piece of obvious self-delusion which is not likely to serve any useful purpose at all. The fact must be faced that it is primarily speculative pressures upon the price structure especially in the essential consumer sectors which have been the principal culprit in this matter and if other measures than controls are likely to effectively moderate these pressures and induce a stability in price trends, one would be to glad to heartily welcome such measures.

The Finance Minister has talked of controls over distribution that are already in operation and has opined that these should be able to moderate the influence of speculative pressures in large measure. Controls one must underline, even merely at the distribution end, have only led to rampant black-marketing. That black-markets can thrive in commodities the distribution of which is chanelled through well defined courses, is in itself an indictment of such controls. Since the Government are demonstrably unable to administer these controls even at the levels at which they are in operation, diverting large stocks of various essential commodities into concealed hoards for black market operations—for instance it is notorious that there is a thriving black market in sugar in every large city and consumption centre in the country, or black marketing in cement has always been rampant—one is inclined to favour the view that it might not altogether be an unwise expedient to remove all official controls at all levels and let the normal juxtaposition between demand and supply effect a spontaneous equillibrium of their own to reach a stable price level. We have had experience of such courageous and bold action by the late Mr. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai even when the country was allegedly suffering from an acute shortage of supplies of food grains. Confounding the prophets of disaster then food grains prices all over the country registered a steep and very favourable decline almost immediately following withdrawal of controls. It may even be worthwhile to repeat the experiment even now—and one certainly heartily endorses the Finance Minister' view that any undue proliferation of controls at this stage beyond those already in operation may be disastrous not so much because they might impede growth as the Finance Minister seems to apprehend—for the simple reason that the price situation in the country could not possibly be any worse than it already is in a free market economy. This would be likely, on the other hand, to impede the rapid growth of monopolies and price-cartels towards which the commerce of the country appears to have been proceeding under our present planned programmes of development and progress!

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Indeed, the Finance Minister's economic survey, except for rather unduly highlighting the measure of improvement in the growth rate of industry and the corresponding increase in the national income in comparison with the first two years of the current Plan, would seem to paint rather a dismal picture as a whole. There was an obvious measure of anxiety over the increasing measure of external debts which would fall due for repayment over the next few years. Increasing export earnings have been somewhat of a relief and last year's excise impost on kerosene appears to have attenuated demand to a certain extent correspondingly affording relief in the measure of imports of the commodity.

The emphasis of the Finance Minister's survey, as already mentioned in passing has been on an alanysis of production and on price trends, as was only inevitable in the circumstances. But analysing the various factors that appear to have been putting pressure on the price levels, the Finance Minsiter appears to have deliberately evaded any discussion of current taxation trends and their possible impact on the price levels. In fact, in one aspect of the matter, this would also seem to have direct relation to that part of the resolution on democracy and socialism adopted at the last Bhubaneshwar session of the Congress which emphasizes the need to arrest current trends of increasing disparities in wealth and income and the determinantion to put a ceiling on private wealth and income. The need to curb present trends of increasing disparities which are already said to have assumed levels never before touched and the equally insistent need to ensure a stable price structure, especially in that vital sector of the economy which directly conditions the peoples' living levels, would seem to postulate that a consideration of the existing taxation structure and the need for its thorough and complete revision, would present both a fruitful and a crucil field. One does not by any means repudiate the need for increasing taxation. One does not even assume that it may be possible to adequately serve the twin needs of defence and development by altogether relieving the poorer sectors of the population of the need to share the burdens of taxation along with the more affluent sectors. The poor must bear his due share of the burdens of both defence and development along with the richer sections of the community. What is needed, however, is that the burdens of taxation must be redistributed in accordance with the ability to pay and they must be so refashioned so as neither to compel the poor to shoulder a proportionately heavitr burden than his economic condition would justify nor to generally destroy the incentives for development and increasing productions. Certain incentives are, of course, in operation already even in the vast sector of agricultural production as well as in essential industry, but they are not enough in themselves, for a great deal of this incentive is, in effect nullified by the impact of the taxation structure on this incentive. A great deal of the increasing price pressure especially in essential food grains and other consumables can be demonstroted to have emanated from the present unwise taxation structure in the country, although one does not deny that speculation and other allied factors have also been playing their appropriate parts in the process. One does not plead for any attenuation of the gross burdens of taxation in the country at the present juncture,—this would really be crying for the moon, and for all that one knows so far, there may have to be further additional taxation measures listed in the Budget that is is to be presented to Parliament within the next few days as we write. What one desires most earnestly and insistetly is that the taxation structure may be rationalized to more evenly distribute the burden than has been the case so far and that the present heavy incidence of indirect excise and other imposts upon essential taxation, a great deal of it in the shape of consumables and raw materials and producer bases for small industry, may be suitably amended to effect a rational balance in the taxation system. Excise levies must be confined to such commodities only the restriction of the consumption of which would be good public policy but not on commodities which enter directly into the living of the people or affect their fruitful economic activities. The survey has been a sore disappointment from this point of view.

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The State Budget This Year

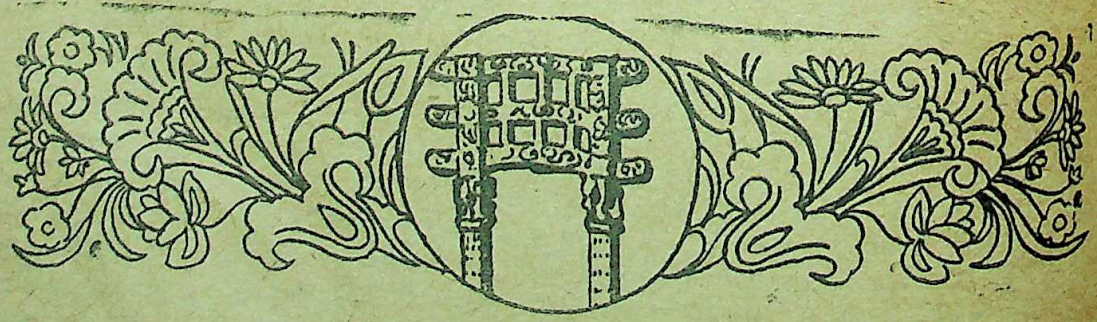
There is not much that the West Bengal State can do, problem-ridden and truncated as she continues to be, to devise and present any very fresh features in her annual budgets. Yet it must be conceded that Mr. S. K. Mukherjee, the State's new Finance Minister, has been able to present a clear picture of the condition of the State's economy and of his Government's constructive plans. His budget speech also gave a more or less clearer enunciation of the broader aims of policy which must be regarded as a welcome feature of the budget presentation. In all India planning there has always been evident a certain disregard of basic economic laws and human nature and the confused enunciations of policy and objectives, often disregarding such mundane matters as incentives for hard work and initiative and capital formation, has inevitably led development to a sort of cul-de-sac from which the Government have been cuurrently hard put to retrieve it and set the processes of development on the way to that faster rate of growth which is an imperative of the times.

So far as West Bengal is concerned, the Centre certainly owes it to the State to take a more realisic view of her many needs, especially at this juncture when, at least initially, the financial and administrative burdens that are bound to be laid upon her on account of the fresh influx of large masses of displaced persons from East Pakistan would be bound to devolve upon her shoulders. West Bengal has long been pressing very cogently her claims to a proper share of centrally raised resources. The need for revision of Cental policies in this regard has now become unavoidably extremely urgent and insistent. The Finance Minister says that the Centre should, without hesitation, come forward now to achieve a minimum Plan investment for the State of Rs. 327 crores which, in the background of the State's needs, would appear to be very modest indeed. That justice has never been accorded in full measure to this harassed and problem-rid State can not longer be repudiated and what Finance Minister claims would only appear to a very modest statement of essential requirem West Bengal's claim should get a more sym thetic hearing especially in view of the fact the Finance Minister has so ably sought to d nstrate, that in terms of the mid-term appra of the all-India Plan, West Bengal has, in done very well with its existing Plan outla

Two crucial sectors, agricultural develop and the improvement of the urban-industrial plex in Calcutta, should call far the closest immediate attention. On both large growth populations impinge and with all the expans actual and prospective, in this part of the cou civic amenities in Calcutta must have the hig priority in the thinking of the Central Governm

The Finance Minister has also given estimate of the investment that would be c for in the Fourth Plan to sustain a reasona rapid rate of economic growth, but it would doubtful in the context of the present Ce State pattern of financing, if this can be re tically hoped for. Pressures must be brought bear upon the Centre so that its thinking be conditioned eventuallly to look upon W Bengal's needs with a measure of justice fairness so far absent in their dealings with State.

The Finance Minister should also des congratulations for the announcement that made in the Budget of certain benefits to sele categories of Government employees. The imposts that he has proposed in the budget neither too extensive nor many, but t implications upon the finances of the State however, prove to be rather too burdens But that is a matter which would require closer examination before judgement can pronounced. The fact that the Budget disclose deficit should not, however, be looked upon any very great trepidation.



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THE ADVENT OF YOUTH

By the late ACHARYA BRAJENDRA NATH SEAL

[The following hitherto unpublished article from the pen of Acharya Brajendra Nath Seal, which has only been recently discovered, should form a fitting prelude to the ensuing birthday centenary celebrations of the Acharya. Composed as an address to the Bangalore Branch of the League of Youth on the occasion of its inauguration in 1924, it was never actually delivered. The last page of the typed mss. is also missing and the article ends abruptly in the middle of a sentence. We feel it were best to publish it exactly in the form it has come to us. Editor, *Modern Review*.]

If Nature has her cycles of the seasons and the hours, so also has the growth of the Spirit in human history. Man has his spring of roseate fancy, his summer of green luxuriant vigour, his autumn of golden harvesting and his winter of pale decay. If this is a true account of the history of Mankind, and if Shakespeare's seven ages of man were recounted as typical of the individual, Lessing gave us a four-fold division of human history, its four periods of childhood, youth, manhood and old age. But the burning question for us is—to what division does our epoch belong? Are we but *children* crying for the Moon, and getting only sugar-candy,—and, perhaps, the Moon itself is only a crystal of glorified sugar-candy,—from the paternal Providence presiding over man's history, who gives us now and then a Versailles for the fourteen points or phases of our Moon!—or are we *manly* Columbuses bent on a Voyage of Discovery to the farthest limits of the stellar or the atomic Universe, according as the fancy takes us for the big or the little glass,—or, at the other end of the scale, are we the fabled Tithonus, groaning under the weight of Age without Hope, and—Wisdom without Love?

Of a truth, old controversies have come home to us in new ways. Are we the ancients of the world, more ancient than our fore-fathers, or are we but the newest and youngest in the generations of man? Lord Verulam was content with claiming the higher wisdom for the latest adult progeny of Mother Earth, but those sapient youths, our children and grand-children, are better logicians than the 'Master of those who know' and claim the true inspiration for themselves as veritably the last of the race!

The true inspiration: that is Youth's claim. And this, they say, has scriptural authority. "Your old men shall dream dreams, and your young men shall see visions," says the Prophet. So Youth has the higher blessing. For visions are not so unsubstantial as dreams and are clearer intimations of verity. Now mark some wiseacres wagging their venerable beards at the Prophet for thus giving priority to the Young. But the Prophet knew God's truth better. Youth, indeed, shakes itself free from the shackles of the Earth, and is the inheritor of a transcendental sphere, while experienced age mingles something of the earth, earthy, even in its Messianic dreams. There lies the kernel of the matter!

The question is—what is Youth?—a more profitable question to my mind than Pilate's—what is Truth? Youth, at least, is not an unattainable chimmera:—Every one passes through it, except, perhaps, the one who is born old like our friend the cynical young man,—while Truth,—well, men are yet discussing the lineaments of Truth and whether there is such an entity at all! But the man who challenges the existence or credentials of Youth must have passed through it, and beyond it,—more's the pity!

Youth, above every thing else, is young: it is its duty to be young, if there is such a word in its vocabulary as duty! Call it the *dharma* of youth, the law of its being.

This *dharma* is the worship of life. Youth lights its lamps to adore the Lord of Life. And if architecture has its seven lamps, Youth has its five *pradipas*, *Pancha-pradipas*, in the ritual of its worship.

The first pradipa or lamp of Youth is its subjectivity, its freedom from the law of the

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object. As yet the great hard world of the objective fact does not hold the young soul in its iron grip—the iron has not yet entered into the soul. Youth dares to be original :—customs, convention, the Philistine's idol, go to pieces like Dagon, before the *mantram* of Youth. Youth dares to experiment,—is not Youth an experiment in life ? Youth dares to be free. An authority that is not vouched for by the inner self, a dogma that does not satisfy the individual judgment, a code that does not attract willing obedince, does not exist for it.

The second *Pradipa* or lamp is its Romance, its exalted sensibility, its sense of a newness in things. Youth, in its timelessness, Youth sub-*specie-eter nitatis*, is just the eternally New. For Youth is but Adam born over again in each one of us, looking with Adam's eyes over this big, blooming kaleidoscopic world,—in all its first wonder and novelty, its bursting freshness and variety. The flame of life burns intense, burns white, burns pure, on the alter of Youth.

Its third *Pradipa* or lamp is its creativeness, its power of conjuring up a world of its own, and by its own *dhyana*, its own concentration on the image, making this image real. It confesses, it creates. This is Youth's thaumaturgy or magic. Youth is, indeed, a world-builder. And it builds with any material or stuff, however intractable or unpromising. It transmutes the basest metal into its own gold. Such is Youth's alchemy.

Its fourth *Pradipa* is its invincible optimism, its perennial spring of joy and song, of hope and adventure. Youth, like a thing of beauty, is a joy for ever. Youth has an inexhaustible store of songs and tunes like Apollo's golden harp. Youth has heard the song of Sirens, and not closed its ears with wax like self-mistrusting Ulysses. Youth has climbed the Everest and dived into the bottomless sea, has traversed Darkest Africa and reached the Poles, has come to the secrets of the moon and the stars, in the beginningless yore,—Youth, the great Adventurer in all adventures that were, are, or shall be—the great traveller beyond bournes, beyond Land's End into perilous seas in fairy lands forlorn !

And the fifth *Pradipa*, that burns brightest in Youth's *Arati*, that Adoration with the Lamps, is its Immortality, its sense of inextinguishable, irrepressible life. A thing of palpitating life, what should it know of death ? And so Youth alone is capable of Love, for there can be no love without an assured conviction that that love is immo[illegible] And Youth is capable of self-immolating se[illegible] with a smiling countenance, because such se[illegible] is natural to one who knows that both the g[illegible] and receiver are deathless.

And all the five *Pradipas*, these five la[illegible] converge into one central light, but it is a [illegible] that never was on sea or land ;—a light w[illegible] shines only in the circumambient ether, [illegible] transcendental Universe which, in the Yo[illegible] consciousness, encompasses and often engulfs [illegible] bounded isle of the finite world and the [illegible] self.

Such is the character, or rather, the chartered freedom, of Youth. Does not W[illegible] worth, apostrophising Duty, say of the c[illegible] Youth,

> "There are who ask not if thine eyes
> 'Be on them ; who, in love and truth
> 'Where no misgiving is, rely
> 'Upon the genial sense of youth
> . . . . . .
> 'Serene will be our days and bright
> 'And happy will our nature be
> 'When love is unerring light
> 'And joy its own security."

Such is Youth, a prophecy of serener and bri[illegible] days when human nature will be more ha[illegible] composed than now, and love and truth and [illegible] can never err, can never betray those who [illegible] fide in them.

Does not *Rabbi Ben Ezra*, from his co[illegible] tower of Old Age, descry Youth amo[illegible] flowers and sighing—"which rose make [illegible] which lily leave, and then as best recall ?" perchance, "admiring stars" and yearning.

> "Nor Jove nor Mars !
> 'Mine be some figured flame, which b[illegible]
> transcends them all !"

If such is Youth, a great force, a '[illegible] urge' or world-builder (if only we knew [illegible] whose world is a new star, a figured flame [illegible] scending Jove or Mars, is there no place f[illegible] among the various forces that are now wo[illegible] to construct the world afresh from the ma[illegible] ruined debris, the great desolation left b[illegible] by the Great War?* No challenge to Manhood [illegible] Age and their achievements is meant [illegible] *Circumspice*, look around, as one would say, [illegible] you will find monuments of *their* glory. But [illegible]

* World War I ; 1914-18.

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are great gaps in that proud panorama,—the Ruhr, for instance, and other arenas ringing with Hymns of Hate. Let the wise men who govern other people's destinies (and their own) continue to govern in their wonted places. Youth has no wish to share in the government of the world. For Youth may be a Demi-urgus, but is no Demogorgon suddenly descending in a chariot to send Olympian Jupiter about his business! But young men have seen a vision (as is young men's wont, we have been told)—a vision which I, not being privileged that way, will put in the form of a query: What if Youth, with its *dharma*, of freedom and Immortality, were to proclaim its own evangel, its own gospel of deliverance to the nations of the world, its own Vision of a Land of the Rising Sun to the submerged masses in the bottom of this Dead Sea? And what if the Young were to take a vow of perpetual Youth? The question of questions for the hour is—cannot a League of the World's Youth, banded together for a common end, achieve, for mankind as a whole, in the coming generations, if not for the world of their elders, that magic transformation which Youth in the individual works in the soul?

Not that this youthful project is so wild as it looks. The storm and stress of Goethe and Schiller's youthful world, and the French Revolution in its fraternal rejoicings and red-letter days, were experiments in youth, experiments before their time, but we start under better auspices. For, already in the home and the school, the Young have won their Charter. The child rules the home today, and parents take a back seat, at any rate are back numbers. No doubt it will yet take time for things to settle down. Some parents are restive; others have fallen into a jog trot pace, but what is wanted is neither the rebellion of the fathers, nor their non-co-operation, but a sweet reasonableness in furthering God's own plan and pattern, and a reverent sense of the divineness of the unfolding life of the child. This is Piety towards the child, a natural piety.

The same change has come over the spirit of the times in our schol world. The old school-mastering now stands ashamed of its own handiwork, and has abdicated, more or less, its rattan throne and sceptre. It is now the humble servant waiting on the ways of the wayward child. For this is the quintessence of the pedagogy of our day that wisdom speaketh out of the mouth of babes. Have we not Boy Parliaments, and is not wisdom justified of her children? Have we not Father and Son Weeks that all the lecturing and hectoring may not be on one side? *Audi alteram artem* we say. We have Boy Police and Girl Guides, for they must begin their life work early; we only hope they will not loose their blooming innocence! We have a new festival in our national Calendar, Baby Week, and we will presently have an All Boys' Day. It is Boy writ large over our civilization today. Therein lies hope for the world. A Young World, my Masters!

And now the hour has struck for a new advent. After the Babe and the Boy, his heralds, Youth the Prince is coming. Already the child has made the home a Paradies, and the school a play-ground; cannout Youth "with the vision splendid" bring love and beauty and joy into the world family, and brotherhood and peace into the world arena of the Nations? Indeed, various significant movements of social service have already been rendered possible through the organization of the world's Youth. And in our own country the most significant advance in the life of our Universities has been in this direction. All calls for the relief of distress in widespread havoc or disaster, or for the uplift of the masses, are now promptly responded to by youthful stalwarts working under the guidance of their adult leaders. The task of social uplift and regeneration of the world is in a line with social regenration. Both can come only from a previous regeneration of the heart, and that is Youth's heritage.

The Boy Scout, the knight errant of our modern chivalry, has been a scout and a herald too. And he heralded the advent of the Youth Movement.

First came the Wander-vogel, the Wander-birds, and the Free German Youths with their "revolt against artificiality" and their experiments in communal living. They know no fashions for the soul, no *shibboleth* or tag, not even committing themselves to Futurism, that *shibboleth* agains all *shibboleths*. And when the War lost them the Vaterland (Father Land), they turned to the worship of the Mother, "assembling in the woods or on hill tops, staring for hours into the fire, and singing old chants to the Nature gods of ancient Germany. The Wander-birds dance the

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folk dances, get up mystery plays in the woods, and sing of the mystic Tree of Life and Rose of Love, of emblematic blue flowers and white lilies. To quote an eye-witness, "a green tree sometimes goes before them, sometimes a red flag. They know each other when they meet and call each other 'Thou'—three or four millions of them, one-third of all the youth of the land." There were other Youth Movements in other lands, the Wood-crafts Movements with their return to Nature, the Standard Efficiency Training Movements, all filled with the spirit of Youth. Last came the International League of Youth, to link up the various bands of different nationalities into one great Brotherhood of Youth.

Founded at the end of the War by a Young Dane, Hermod Lannung, the International League of Youth called conferences of all Youth Movements first at Copenhagen, and then at Hamburg. The first conference declared :

"The aim of the International League of Youth is to awaken Youth to the inherent unity of the peoples of the world, and to make future wars impossible by a fellowship based on trust and friendship.

"In the meantime, believing in the principle of compulsory arbitration, the League advocates the limitation of armaments, with a view to their ultimate abolition and the substitution of an International Police Force for the present National Military System. It will do all in its power to further the establishment of a tr League of Nations."

But even Youth, though it refuses to gover must organize itself. So they resolved at th Hamburg Conference :

(a) To act as Central International Burea for Youth of All Nations by means of : Inte national Conferences and Holiday Tours ; Correspondence Bureau ; and the exchange speakers, students and children. Also to circula monthly reports of the work of the differe Youth Movements, and also a true report of th conditions in different countries.

(b) To present its cause to Youth throug out the world by means of : Public Meeting Conferences ; Study Circles ; Articles in th Press ; General and Individual Propaganda.

British and Indian Sections of the Leag have been since started in pursuance of the lines of work, and today's celebrations mar the advent of Youth and its League at Bangalo

The Youth of the world has come to mak one brotherhood of all mankind. But I am i despair. Will the elders and their Governmen be excluded from this Universal Brotherhood We hope not. Though we cannot any long claim *loco parentis* where all are brothers a none are parents, we may not be held unworth of a place if only as elder . . . .

(Here the article abruptly ends)

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PERSPECTIVE OF INDIA'S PLANNED PROGRESS AND PROSPERITY

By Prof. C. L. KHANNA

Landslide attacks have invariably been hurled on the means and ends of our national plans formulated for the social and economic regeneration of our motherland. At one extremity are those who denounce the very idea of planned development of our backward economy even in this scientifically and technologically advanced age. They affirm, with vengence, that the Third Five-Year Plan's "hopes are a heap of miscellaneous ruin and are playing havoc with the public morale." Such fastidious critics are, of course, in an infinitesimally small minority. Moreover, if hopes are dupes, fears are liars, they say. At the other extreme are the pro-planners, dogmatic and irretrievably wedded to the process of planning. With them planning is a 'fad,' for they advocate regimentation and totalitarianism. In between the two are those who hold divided opinions on the plan patterns, resource mobilisation, modes of implementation, quantum of achievement, economic policies and programmes subsidiary to the plan processes. It is none of our purpose here to proclaim judgement in favour of one or the other school of thought. We only propose to probe into the limitations within which our democratic plans have to be worked out and see whether any measure of success has been achieved. Let us first discuss the limitations.

We are all agreed that India must be lifted out of the abysmal depths of proverty, human misery and social degradation. Imbued with idealistic enthusiasm our leaders embarked upon a mighty venture 13 years ago for the development of India's depressed economy through democratic planning. This was a unique experiment in the world in as much as planning had been known in a totalitarian governmental set-up, but not in a democratically-governed society. A combination of democracy and planning is a rarity. We may justifiably gloat over this novel venture. But what is the measure of our achievements during this period?

It may be pertinent to recall here in this connection the observations made by Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, who is also the Chairman of the Planning Commission—the supreme planning authority in the country—on August 22, 1963, during the course of his reply to the 4-day debate on the no-confidence motion tabled in the Indian Parliament by the non-Communist Opposition Group:

> "Inspite of poverty, there is greater well-being in India today, except in some pockets, than ever before. People are eating more and better food and are wearing more clothes. They have better housing. Schools are coming up and there are more health facilities."

Though it is not a statistical, but an impressionistic picture of modern India, it is largely not incorrect. Speaking in the same optimistic vein about the Third Five-Year Plan, Mr. Nehru held the same day: "Although the Government started the third plan with difficulties, they were carrying on a *little better* than expected. Inspite of various difficulties, the third plan will *improve the economic conditions in the country a good deal more* than the second plan" (Italics mine).

We have, thus, taken another step forward in the tremendous task of economic emancipation, according to our Prime Minister. But is it really so? Some critics of the plans have dubbed it as a "tall claim" on the part of the Government and the planners. They hold that the plan can serve the country best if it is farmer-oriented and not industry-oriented. There are others who consider it to be more beenficial to have the plan agriculture-employment-oriented. Still others would like to impart a technical bias to the plan. Obviously, these divergent approaches stem from the differences in plan-priorities. They are not interpretable as an argument to scrap the plans. The question of according precedence to one economic sector over the other is always open to discussion in planning which is conditioned by democratic thinking. That also lends an element of flexibility and continuity to our five-year plans. The targets set out therein are only sign-

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posts which our nation must endeavour and aspire to achieve. There is no sacrosanctity about them.[1] It does not mean that the targets are arbitrarily determined or that the failure in our attainments should be a matter of no significance. On the contrary, shortfalls are to be taken as opportunities for introspection and dedication to the national cause.

It must be remembered that in democratic planning the pace of progress must inevitably be slow—slower than that attainable under the coercive planning of the U.S.S.R. and other dictatorial or Fascist countries. More so, in the case of India which is steeped in illiteracy and ignorance, where plan-consciousness has been aroused only to a limited extent.

Secondly, planning by persuasion leaves much room for disagreement among planners, politicians with different party labels and loyalties and power-maniacs are busy in the tussle for power and position rather than economic reconstruction or creativeness. Fault-finding and party allegiances are the key-notes of these opportunist politicians. Putting spokes in the wheels of plan machanism, they thwart the achievements of the plan objectives and make the planners, the Government and the plans the scape-goats. This is not to claim that plans are perfect or that the planners are infallible. But it undoubtedly implies that destructive critics masquerading as democrats cannot escape the responsibility for the shortfalls.

Thirdly, as a backward economy India suffers from inadequacy of suitable resources, human as well as material. For many productive enterprises she has to depend on countries abroad for succour. If foreign aid is delayed or if it trickles down to our motherland in insufficient quantities, the execution of our "aided" projects is vitally affected. The "Bokhoro story" is an apt illustration. In the light of our past experience and also from the sentimental point of view, our Government has, time and again, been urged to reorientate the plan schemes so as to minimise the aid factor. This proposition is not looked with favour either by the Government or Indian economic experts. Acquiescence in this might, it is believed by them, retard the tempo of development.

Finally, in a predominantly agricultural country like India, the vagaries of Nature exercise, by and large, decisive influence on the developmental trends. Unfavourable monsoons, inclemencies of weather, natural calamities, such as floods and locust-swarms etc., affect the terms of our plans. We may suffer scarcity in food and industrial raw materials (like raw jute, cotton, oil seeds etc.) where plenty reigned supreme earlier. The economy is subject to "agricultural cycles." Economic transformation through agriculture implies, therefore, control over the invincible forces of Nature. The rigours of Nature can be mitigated in two ways :

(i) by reorientating Nature-dependent farming, which means increased reliance on man-made devices of land cultivation, modernisation of agriculture through mechanised farming, increased use of artificial fertilizers, provision of irrigational facilities through canal water supply, land utilization schemes and introduction of institutional reforms ;

(ii) by widening our industrial base in order to augment the community earnings. At present, the major contribution to the national dividend is by agriculture. The level of national income is inevitably contingent on the vicissitudes to which Indian farming is exposed. Its stability is, therefore, the end-product of the detrminateness of the agricultural sector.

Plans when studied in the context of the limitation of the democratic form of planning provide the correct perspective for criticism of the Government, the planners and others. This takes us to the second part of our proposition.

Taking the case of the Third Five-Year Plan it is designed to achieve slf-sufficiency in food, promote rapid industrialization with a bias for heavy industries ; create more jobs for the swelling population ; increase the national dividend and form an egalitarian society. The ultimate objective is not merely to jerk our economy from subsistence to a self-sustaining stage but also to bring about a social transformation.

AGRICULTURE

Despite 60 per cent rise in food from 50 million tons in 1950-51 to 80 million tons in 1962-63, the food problem has persisted in an unmitigated measure during the last two years and a half. Indian experts are not very optimistic

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about achieving the 100-million target envisaged in the plan. Even if it is attained, the ideal of food self-sufficiency might remain out of our reach as a result of the unprecedented population growth as the following figures show :

TABLE I : Growth of Population
(In millions)

Year	Second Five-Year Plan estimate	1961 Study group.	Quinquennial increase, as per col. 3
1	2	3	4
1951	361	361	..
1961	408	439	78
1966	434	492	53
1971	465	555	63
1976	499	625	130

The population has registered a rise from 361 million in 1951 to 439 million in 1961—that is an increase of 78 million mouths during a decade or 2.16 per cent per year. This is nearly 72 percent higher rate of growth in population than that envisaged in the first plan period. It was estimated that during the five-year period 1951-56 the additional annual requirement of food to feed the additional population will be of the order of 4.5 lakh tons or 2.5 million tons over the entire plan period. In other words, if the present rate of increase in population continues unmitigated throughout the third plan period, we shall require about 3.87 million tons of additional food to maintain the existing sub-human nutritional sandards. With the spurt in consumption norms and propensity following the increase in income and population, the food requirement is bound to be higher. Shall we be able to match the two—the population stream and the food supply ?

Mr. Sherwood M. Fine, director of O. E. C. D. Development Department, says that about half of the growth in real product in the less developed countries is offset by increases in the number of mouths to be fed. The projected increase of about 300 million new population in the less developed nations for the period 1962-70 (mostly in India, Pakistan, Indonesia and Nigeria) is a source of considerable worry in as much as the total income of the less developed part of the world would have to increase by almost $40 million from the present $180 million merely to maintain current per capita income levels.

On the contrary, Mr. Martin Jones, former professor of Agricultural Botany at Kings College, Newcastle upon Tyne, at the British Association for the Advancement of Science, held[2] on August 31, 1963 ;

"The idea that there would be soon more people than the world could feed was one of the most misleading conceptions that has even been promulgated. Ten times more food could be produced if man harnessed the world's water and irrigated tropical deserts and there were limitless opportunities for increasing food production to keep pace with the increase in population for at least 200 years."

Speaking about India, Prof. Jones observed that land in India had gone out of cultivation because of cheap American wheat having become available and the Indian wheat grower having fell out of step in the competition for markets. India could grow wheat on a tremendous scale—and more cheaply than in large tracts of America and Canada—with the aid of a 100-mile water pipe. This approach of 'minimal imports' of foodgrains might be welcome by the critics of our food policies.

The Advisory Committee on Economic Policy of the Planning Commission believed that the shortfall in agricultural produce was *inter alia* due to the fact that "the improved methods of cultivation were not percolating sufficiently to the district level and there was a gross lack of 'local approach' to matters relevant to land."

The Reserve Bank of India's latest Annual Report expressed deep concern that even after 13 years of planning agriculture still remained the "weakest link."[3]

A study on "Agricultural incomes by States" made by the National Council of Applied Economic Research has revealed that the total net value of the agricultural output of India in 1960-61 stood as Rs. 6,272 crore, that is, Rs. 270 crores above the official estimates. The study has brought into bold relief the inter-State (besides intra-state) disparities in productivity, whether it is gross, net or per acre productivity. The gross output per acre, for instance, varies from as high as Rs. 522 for Kerala to as low as Rs. 84 for Rajasthan. The range of variation in net output per acre is also of the same order. In the case of agricultural output per worker, Kerala tops with Rs. 1,159 followed by the Punjab

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with Rs. 861 and West Bengal Rs. 824. At the lowest rung of the ladder stands Himachal Pradesh with productivity at Rs. 214.

In consonance with our ideal of a socialist[4] society, planned outlay should be canalised to liquidate the inter-State and intra-State inequalities. From the outlays spread over the three plan periods it is evident that planned expenditure has not been employed as an "economic equaliser." The statistics tabulated below wax eloquent on this conclusion :

departments, want of cheap fertilizers and 'qua seeds etc. The net result is that hunger stalks ancient land of milk and honey—a land which once known for plenitude all the world over. Th is not an admission of the sloven and blat charge that the Sisyphean efforts of our plann have miserably failed and that nothing has be done since Independence. It does, however, our attention to the lacunae in our economy.

It might be of some interest to note be that for more effective and profitable utilizat

TABLE II : Showing outlays by States during 1951-66

(In Rs. Crores)

State/Union Territory.	In Mn. Population 1961	1951-56 (actual)	1956-61 (estimated)	1961-66 (programme outlay)
1. Andhra Pradesh	35.9	108	175	305
2. Assam	12.2	28	51	120
3. Bihar	46.5	102	166	337
4. Gujarat	20.6	224	143	235
5. Jammu & Kashmir	3.6	13	25	75
6. Kerala	16.9	44	76	170
7. Madhya Pradesh	32.4	94	145	300
8. Madras	33.7	85	167	290.9
9. Maharashtra	39.6	..	207	390
10. Mysore	23.6	94	122	250
11. Orissa	17.5	85	85	160
12. Punjab	20.3	163	148	231.4
13. Rajasthan	20.2	67	99	236
14. Uttar Pradesh	73.7	166	227	497
15. West Bengal	34.9	154	145	250
Total—States	431.6	1427	1981	3847.3
160. Andaman and Nicobar	0.06	2	3	9.8
17. Delhi	2.7	10	14	81.8
18. Himachal Pradesh	1.4	8	16	27.9
19. Manipur	0.8	2	6	12.9
20. N. H. and T. A.	..	..	4	7.1
21. Tripura	1.1	3	9	16.3
22. Lacadive, Aminidive	0.02	..	0.4	1.0
23. N.E.F.A.	..	4	5.6	7.1
24. Pondicherry	0.4	1	4	6.9
Total—Union Territories	6.48	30	62	174.8
Total—INDIA	438.08	1457	2043	4022

(*Source : Third Plan Report Page 89 and India, 1963, Page 7.*)

Indian agriculture still suffers from the traditional ills of soil corrosion, dwarf and fragmentary holdings, inadequate irrigational facilities due to the farmers' inertia and un-co-ordinated work of the various Government

of our limited land resources, a working gro of the Planning Commission has recommen recently a survey of the soil phased over a peri of 20 years.[5] For efficient mechanisation of far the Government of India has arranged for

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import of 2290 tractors from the U.S.S.R. and 1000 tractors from Poland to meet urgent requirements of the farm sector. The setting up of a network of seed multiplication farms, co-operative joint farming societies, intensification of the "package programme" and the re-orientation of co-operative credit are some of the other measures taken for the improvement of Indian farming.

Industrialization

Even more important (in certain respects) than the first objective of the Third or, for that matter, any of our plans, is the rapid industrialization of our country. India must appear soon, and prominently, on the industrial map of the world. Like the two sides of a medal, the industrial sector has to be dveloped *pari passu* with agriculture.

The basis for industrial growth were enumerated even before the birth of the five-year plans. In fact, the conception of planned development is incorporated in the resolution of the Industrial Policy proclaimed by Shri Shyama Prasad Mukherji, the Minister for Industries, as far back as April 6, 1948. Accoding to this policy, both old and new industrialization must mean self-sufficiency in the key and heavy industries, not, of course, at the cost of small or consumer goods industries nor of genetic industries. In order to curb industrial monopolies and concentration of wealth and income, the Government adopted, what is called, a "mixed economy" policy with a bias for the State as would be evident from the table given below :

The statistics given in Table III show that the outlay on projects within the ambit of the State sector was increased from 52 per cent in the first five-year plan to 60 per cent in the second and 65 per cent in the current plan. The outlay on the private sector correspondingly declined from 48 per cent to 35 per cent during the same period (1951-66). The basic reason for this "waxing State expenditure" is that the Government launched on infra-structure industries such as iron and steel, transport, coal mining and power generation. The key and heavy industries have a long gestation period and, therefore, the investment cannot but exert pressure on the available quantum of output of consumer goods making it difficult to hold the price line. The developmental expenditure has outpaced the volume of consumption goods and generated an inflationary potential and a fall in the real income.

As a result of the industrial policy, the index number of industrial production stood at 194 in 1960-61 and is expected to shoot up to 329 by the end of the Third Five-Year Plan compared with 1950-51 as the base year. In the agricultural sector, the index number was 153 at the end of the second plan and would move up to 176 by 1965-66, taking the same base year.

According to an unofficial study on private industrial investment, the net fixed assets together with the inventories are put at Rs. 312 crores during 1962-63 as against Rs. 289 crores in the preceding year. The growth rate trends of the fixed assets as revealed by the same study,

Table III : Showing Sector-Wise Distribution of Outlay and Investment

(In Rs. Crores)

Plan	Investment			Outlay		
	Private	Public	Total	Private	Public	Total
First Plan	1800	1560	3360	1800(48)	1960(52)	3760
Second Plan	3100	3650	6750	3100(40)	4600(60)	7700
Third Plan	4100	6300	10400	4100(35)	7500(65)	11600

N.B. : Figures in brackets represent the percentages of outlays over the total outlay in each plan.

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based on an analysis of 808 public limited companies, are as follows :

TABLE IV : Growth-Rate of Gross Fixed Assets of Public Ltd. Cos.

Year	Gross assets rate of growth	Year	Gross assets rate of growth
1951-52	5.9	1957-58	16.5
1952-53	7.8	1958-59	11.8
1953-54	7.6	1959-60	7.5
1954-55	9.3	1960-61	9.1
1955-56	10.8	1961-62	11.0
1956-57	14.6	1962-63	10.7

It is clear that out of the 12 years (1951-62), the growth rate curve of fixed capital formation during the first six years have been moving up—or convex to the x-axis along whcih the years are measures—during the seventh year (1957-58) it touched the peak and then roll back to form a U-shape trough in the following five years. More or less the same trend has been exhibited by the net fixed asset formation.

This analytical study by the unofficial body (as also the one by the Planning Commission) has come to the disconcerting conclusion that "the fixed capital formation in the private industrial sector is going on at a pace far slower than that envisaged in the Third Plan." It follows that there would be a sizeable spill-over of industries in the Fourth Five-Year Plan. There is no doubt that the average of 10 per cent in the matter of gross fixed asset formation has been maintained well even during the first two years of the Third Plan, but this is *not* sufficient. The capital market has sagged. But this phenomenon is only a passing phase.

All the same, the bridging of the gap between the target and the achievement of the private sector becomes an added and imperative obligation of the Public sector. Non-fulfilment of this might undermine the tempo of social and economic revolution creeping over India.

Industrial growth is linked with the employment potential. There is a short-range and a long-range aspect of the employment-oriented economic growth. In the short-run, the cottage industries provide an efficacious remedy. But rural industrialization through integrated rural development programmes is only a palliative. It has been urged that agro-industries should be embarked upon to stop the migration of village folk to towns and to avoid the social e following thereafter. Accent has shifted f localization to diversification of industr structurally, geographically and in content.

The real strategy of industrializing country lies in producing goods of higher that might ultimately help in the productio goods yielding direct satisfaction. In o words, we require machines for the manufa of iron and steel, cement, chemicals, fertil and so on. They are capital intensive and t consuming industries. The capital expend incurred swells up the income-stream wit making a corresponding increase in inventor The employment potential also does not show significant rise in proportion to the outlay. N withstanding these handicaps, the key and b industries constitute an important plank of developmental schemes.

EMPLOYMENT

In so far as the utilization of human sources is concerned, Mr. Gulzari Lal N former Deputy Chairman of the Plan Commission and the Minister for Plann admitted that "we have not succeeded to a markable degree in resolving the problem better utilization of human assets" (Speech the Lok Sabha on August 31, 1963). He o that for this purpose, rural works and rual in trialization must be woven into the structur the Plan.

Indusrial and agricultural develop are only partially helpful in syphoning off absorbing the surplus unemployed or u employed population. With the basic stru of the Indian economy remaining intact pressure of the population on the exi resources cannot be relaxed. The addi working force outstrips the new employ avenues. Ever-increasing backlogs are the able result.

While employment in the public s has shown an upward trend in all the area the private sector it has shown a rise in 61 —the position in the remaining areas has been static or indicated a slight decline. F ment in the public sector went up by 5. cent during the first year of the Third Year Plan and 7.2 per cent during the s

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plan; employment in the private sector increased by 2.4 per cent during the first year of the Third Plan and by 5.6 per cent during the Second Plan. The backlog of unemployment at the end of the Third Plan would be higher than what it was at the beginning as shown below:

TABLE V: Showing Employment Situation

(In Millions)

Plan	Backlong of unemployment.	Additional labour force.	Total employment seekers.	Approximate New employment created.
1	2	3	4	5
First Plan.	5	4	5	3.6
Second Plan.	5.3	10	15.3	6.5
Third Plan.	9 (about)	17*	26**	14

N.B.: *Additional labour force will be 23 million in the Fourth and 30 million in the Fifth Plans.

**Excludes 15 to 18 million under-employed.

One of the most important contributory factors to growing unemployment despite the growing plan expenditure is the declining mortality rate together with the almost static birth-rate. The plan is not to blame. We are responsible for the shortfalls resulting from half-hearted or defective implementation.

It is noteworthy that the educated unemployed, constituting the most explosive social material, will continue unabated unless the educaional pattern undergoes a radical change so as to become more and more employment-oriented or unless there is a fundamental change in our attitudes of the mind. The myth of dignity of labour is to be exploded and our innate weakness for the soft-handed jobs should be overcome.

NATIONAL INCOME

Raising the aggregate and per capita income is the ultimate object of our national plans. How this object has been forged ahead is evident from the statistics given below:

TABLE VI: Net National Output (At Factor Cost)

(In Crores of Rupees)

Year	At current prices		At constant (1948) prices	
	Aggregate	Per capita income.	Aggregate	Per capita income.
1. 1948-49	8650	249.6	8650	249.6
2. 1949-50	9010	256.0	8820	250.6
3. 1950-51	9530	266.5	8850	247.5
4. 1951-52	9970	274.2	9100	250.3
5. 1952-53	9820	265.4	9460	255.7
6. 1953-54	10480	278.1	10030	266.2
7. 1954-55	9610	250.3	10280	267.8
8. 1955-56	9980	255.0	10480	267.8
9. 1956-57	11310	283.3	11000	275.6
10. 1957-58	11390	279.6	10890	267.3
11. 1958-59	12600	303.0	11650	280.1
12. 1959-60	12950	304.8	11860	279.2
13. 1960-61	14160	326.2	12750	293.7
14. 1961-62	14630	329.7	13020	293.4

Source: Estimates of National Income 1948-1961-62, January 1963, issued by C.S.O., Government of India.

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While the aggregate national dividend has registered a rise from Rs. 9100 crores in 1951-52 to Rs. 13020 crores a decade later at constant prices, that is, an increase of about 42 percent, the per capita income has stepped up by only 17 per cent durnig the same period. This upward trend is no true index of national or individual prosperity. It ras often been urged that the distributive aspect of the national output has stood neglected. The creation of an egalitarian society in terms of the 1954 Avadi session resolution of the Congress is alleged to be an empty slogan to dupe the public. Actually, the provisions of the resolution are being observed more in the breach than otherwise. The social structure has all these years moved farther away from socialism because economic disparities have widened ever more. The change cannot be challenged or disputed statistically, for the structure of distribution of the entire income has never been assessed either on a census basis or on a sampling basis, either by an official organisation or unofficially. Only recently the Planning Commission has begun to inquire into income distribution under the chairmanship of Professor Mahalanobis. The report of the Committee is awaited.

Whatever the findings of the Mahalanobis Committee, the fact remains undisputed that there has been no phenomenal change through institutional or other measures adopted by our Government to bring about a radical re-distribution of wealth and income in the country. As a result India still remains, and will continue to be so for years, the poorest country in the world.

Look at the rapid advances of the United States of America, for instance. Perspectively the position of that country in 1973 will be as under :

TABEL VII : Projection of America's Economy in 1973.

Item	Unit	1973	1962	Increase or decrease percent in 1973 over 1962
1. Population	Million.	226	188	20
2. Annual income per family	Dollars.	9300	7100	31
3. Gross National Product	Billion. $	904	556	62.6
4. Unemployment rate	"	4	5.6	30 (fall)

This perspective outlook stimulates our interest when compared with similar economic environments in our country :

TABLE VIII : Some Projections of India's Economy

Item	Unit	1960-61	1965-66	1970-71	1975-76	Change during 15 years
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Population*	Million.	438	492	555	625	42%
2. National Divided	Rs. crore.	14500	19000	25000	33000 to 38000	231%
3. Per capita income	Rupees.	330	385	450	530	61%

*N.B. For the years 1961, 1966, 1971 and 1976.

The reason for the more rapid rate of development of U.S.A. than that of India is obvious. The more developed nations register higher growth rates due to their broader income-base. It has been estimated that the growth ratio is 20 to 1 in advanced and less developed countries. The average increase in the more developed countries is about $60 per annum as in the less developed countries about $3 per annum. This disparity is not bridgeable in the foreseeable future.

The position of some of the countries

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regard to the average growth-rate of the Gross National Product presents an interesting study.

TABLE IX : Showing Comparision of Growth Rates of GNP

Country	Percentage of growth rate of GNP
1. Chlie	3.0
2. Egypt	3.0
3. India	3.0
4. Israel	12.5
5. Kenya	3.0
6. Mekico	6.0
8. Paraguay	1.8
9. Taiwan	7.0
10. Tunisia	3.0
11. Yugoslavia	10.0

Out of these countries, seven are below the over-all average of 4 per cent for the period 1953-60 and only four are above it. The less developed countries (including India) have to increase their Gross National Product by about 22.5 per cent of the existing level of $180 billion only to maintain the existing per capita income. The increase in the GNP, if any, will evidently be absorbed by the 'torrents of babies.' This poses a big challenge not only to India but to the whole of the less developed or under-developed regions of the world. Why blame so wantonly only the Indian planners or top-ranking leaders? Why not treat it as an international problem? It is a happy augery that the United Nations Organisation and its allied agencies have started to realize the import of this all-important question and are keen to take far-reaching decisions.

But the problems admit of no easy solution. They call for certain radical socio-politico-economic changes. A keen determination to pursue growth objectives, a functioning elite with a real sense of national purpose, a reasonably competent and honest government, an adequate flow of investment capital, a workable schedule of priorities among numerous claimants for investment capital, a supply of relevant technical skills and a manageable level of population increase are some of the factors which will determine their satisfactory rate of economic progress.

Studied in the context of these premises, the perspective of planned progress and prosperity cannot brook the criticism that the Third Five-Year Plan's hopes are a "heap of miscellaneous ruin." Our democratic plans have certain weaknesses embedded in their very nature. If the capital market is in disarray, production is stagnant, prices are spiralling and playing havoc with the public marale, one must not run amuck with the idea that the plans must be thrown overboard. Planning by persuasion, just as we have been doing, needs occasionally some psychological shake-up to wean the people from a mood of drift, listlessness or mental stagnation. For creating a new dynamism, we need dynamic leadership capable of injecting vigour and vitality into our thought and action. The younger generation has to shoulder this long and arduous responsiblity in their life journey—the task of rejuvenating stagnant minds and of filling the nation with a new buoyancy for a better life.

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1. The task is not merely one of reaching fixed or static point, such as doubling of living standards, but of generating a dynamism in the economy which will lift it to continually higher levels of material well-being and of intellectual and cultural achievement. Page 21, *Second Plan Report.*

2. The F.A.O. in a recent study on "possibilities of increasing world food production" came to the conclusion that the lower Ganges-Brahmaputra basin, including Bengal and Assam, can produce about four times as much food as it does now.

3. Mr. Jawahar Lal Nehru, Prime Minister, said in a public speech at Ludhiana : "India's failure to attain self-sufficiency in food even 15 years after independence disturbs my mind more than Chinese aggression. I often hang my head in shame when I think that a nation with 70 per cent of its population engaged in agriculture depends on foreign countries for its food requirements.

4. Mr. Nehru observed amids cheers in Parliament on August 22, 1963 : "I am convinced that there is no choice for India, party or no party, other than socialism. No party, whatever it may feel, can stop this march to socialism, democratic socialism in this country.

5. During the last 60 years, the annual average productivity per cent has fallen from 940 lbs. to 643 lbs. according to official estimates, while yields in many other countries have registered increases by 300 to 400 per cent.

6. The demand for tractors is estimated at 10,000 per year by 1965-66—*Economic Times*, September 29, 1963, page 1, column 5.

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THE GHAZNAVIDE INVASION OF INDIA

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By the second half of the ninth century A.D. the Arab Empire was cracking into bits like a clay field in summer. The Caliphs had never quite mastered the technique of imperial administration; and the Arab chieftains, galloping into far lands on their own initiative, would accept no more than a mere nominal control from Baghdad. The Caliph, if vigorous and alert, could ride this high wave of conquest; but he could hardly ever control or direct it. And as the wealth from a thousand plundered cities poured into Baghdad, the Caliph developed the dangerous habit of sporting on the quicksands of luxury, and merrily sank ever deeper into the vile depravities of his seraglio. When the nucleus of power thus dissipated itself into impotence, the provinces fell apart, and the Caliph became a mere phantom emperor.

The most successful of the powers emerging from the ruin of the Arab Empire was the Samanid dynasty of Transoxiana, which, for a time, almost completely eclipsed the power of the Caliphate. However, its decline was as rapid as its ascension. In 963 A.D. Alptagin, the Lord Chamberlain of the Samanid ruler of Khurasan, rebelled against his master and founded the independent kingdom of Ghazni. He gained a certain renown as a just ruler, but died within a year of assuming sovereignty, and was succeeded by three rulers of no great consequence: Is-haq, Balkatigin and Piritigin. Piritign, "a very depraved ruler,"[1] a slave raised to high power, a hapless ruler who provoked internal and external enemies to action against him, was overthrown in 977, and Subuktigin, slave and son-in-law of Alptagin, assumed royal power and laid the foundations of an empire that was to spell terror among the princes and people of the Indian subcontinent during the reign of his son Mahmud.

The Ghaznavide kingdom was a vigoro and growing power which certainly wou not be contained within the mountain co fines of Ghazni; and as it is the nature the strong to wage war and seek power, t independence of all the peripheral powe was in immediate danger of violent extin tion. King Jaipala of the Hindu Shahi dynasty of Punjab, close to the eastern fro tiers of Ghazni, was intensely aware of th danger, the imminence of which became br tally clear when the Turks raided, time a again, the outer provinces of his kingdo making "his lands grow narrow under h feet."[2] Preferring not to be smothered overwhelming events, Jaipala decided fight, and he rose with his many relatio and generals and vassals, and hastened w his huge war elephants towards Ghazni. T ensuing battle was prolonged and indecisi and did not altogether go too well for t Ghaznavides. Then took place one of th miracles seldom absent in the Muslim ch nicles of their victory. Close to the Hin camp, on a high mountain, was a clear wa magic fountain, which, if contaminat would rouse the wrath of the elements would not be pacified "until red death sup vened."[3] Subuktigin, baffled in the bat field, decided to invoke the supernatural had some filth thrown into the foun Suddenly, "the horrors of the day of res rection rose up before the wicked infidels black rain clouds collected, whirlwinds accompanied by loud claps of thunder, summits of the mountain became black, fell. Thick black vapours enveloped Hindu army, and their food and water w filled with dust, and they fled though could not even see the way to flee!"[4]

Faced with such strange adverse Jaipala decided to solicit peace. Sabuk was inclined to grant it. But his son Mah crazed by the bloodletting and the pro

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of plunder, raised his voice to demand the total victory fit for Islam's honour. Hearing this, Jaipala threatened to "mount the horse of stern determination, destroy our property, take out the eyes of our elephants, cast our children into fire, and rush on each other with sword and spear, so that all that will be left to you, is stones and dirt, and dead bodies, and scattered bones."[5] Sabuktigin knew this to be no mere boast, and granted peace on the promise of heavy tribute and the cession of some territories.

Jaipala was an honourable prince, respected even by Sabuktigin, and to him treaty commitments were sacred, inviolable. But such was the threat to the survival of his kingdom that he now set expediency as the sole guide to political action, imprisoned the Ghaznavide deputies in his court, formed alliances with the neighbouring Hindu kingdoms, and prepared to stake fortunes once again in the battlefield. Sabuktigin promptly responded by raiding the Punjab, and plundering and buring the towns and the temples of the "polluted wretches" and "wounding and killing beyond all measure."[6] Jaipala now marched with his army of one hundredthousand. Sabuktigin, who set out to meet the enemy, "ascended a lofty hill from which he could see the whole army of the infidels, which resembled scattered ants and locusts, and he felt like a wolf about to attack a flock of sheep."[7] In this battle Sabuktigin confounded the numerically superior Hindu army with a revolutionary tactic: one after another he sent relays of fresh groups of five-hundred horsemen to harass the Hindu army, and when at last the enemy ranks were disarrayed and the soldiers baffled and flagging; the Sultan ordered a united charge of all his forces, and thus routed the Hindu army. The Hindus, according to Ferishta, "fell like corn before the hands of the reapear."[8] Once again Jaipala agreed to dishonourable peace.

Sabuktigin died in 997, at the age of fifty-six. With his death ended the first round of the struggle between the Turks and the Indians, the round of confrontation and probing. This early part of the saga differs from its bloody sequel in showing a chivalry and a classic heroism in its protagonists. There was a spaciousness about Sabuktigin's character, and though there were aberrations of babrarity in his career he was not without magnimity or compassion. He was noble. Minhaju-s Siraj informs us that the Sultan was "a wise, just, brave, and religious man, faithful to his agreements, truthful to his words and not avaricious for wealth."[9] His son and successor, Mahmud, though a great military genius and a patron of culture, was nevertheless venomous and demoniac, utterly lacking in nobility of character.

Sabuktigin had not meant Mahmud to wear the crown: he favoured his younger son, Ismail. But a father's will was no barrier to an ambitious prince in an age when the sword was the final arbiter of princely destinies. Mahmud, who was away from Ghazni at the time of his father's death, wrote to Ismail protesting his brotherly affection and suggesting that since Ismail did not have the competence or experience to govern the state effectively he should relinqish the crown and accept the governorship of Balkh and Khurasan. But Ismail was not willing, and so was overthrown and imprisoned, and Mahmud, twentyseven years old, assumed royal power. In 999 A.D. his claims to sovereignty was confirmed by the Caliph, who sent him a robe of investment and conferred on him the titles Yamin-ud-Daulah and Amin-ul-Millah. It was in the course of the formal ceremony of receiving these honours that Mahmud, overwhelmed by the occasion, reversed his earlier decision to conquer Sistan, and vowed to undertake Jihad, holy war, against India every year of his reign. He almost kept his word.

The second millennium A.D. thus opened for India with the fiercest ever onslaught on her immemorial civilization. Mahmud's avowed purpose in invading India—"of exalting the standard of religion, of widening the plain of right, of illuminating the words of truth, and of strengthening the power of justice"[10]—was, of course, very noble. But then, seldom is a conqueror so brazenly crude as not to justify his base

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actions with protests of high purpose. In A.D. 1000 Mahmud raided the Punjab, and pillaged the neighbourhood of Peshawar. The following year he defeated and captured king Jaipala, who had thrice opposed Sabuktigin. The Indian king, who had to suffer many humiliations in captivity, and had to ransom himself and face the derision of his people, mounted the funeral pyre and perished in flames. In 1004 Mahmud, "in his happiness,"[11] attacked Bhatinda, a wealthy and well-fortified city on the left bank of Jhelum, ruled over by Baji Ray, a courageous king and a great general, whose only fault was his impetuosity. Abandoning the security of his fortifications he marched out to attack the invaders. The war raged on for four days, but on the evening of the fourth day the Hindus were routed, and Ray, who fled to the neighbouring forests, stabbed himself to death when about to be captured by the Muslim pursuers. The army of the Sultan then swept into the city and glutted their sadistic fury by turning it into shambles. Only those who embraced Islam escaped.

Mahmud in his bigotry knew no distinction between the Hindus and the Muslims of the heterdox sects, and the prospect of plunder was a perennial fascination to him. So he now turned against the Ismailin heretics of Multan. As the Indus on the way to Multan was swollen with flood water, Mahmud desired to march the easy way, through the Shahiya kingdom. Anandapala, the son and successor of Jaipala, and ally of Sultan Daud of Multan, rejected Mahmud's request for permission to march through his kingdom. Mahmud then "stretched out upon him the hand of slaughter, imprisonment, pillage, depopulation, and fire, and hunted him from ambush to ambush," and pursued him "over hill and dale, over soft and hard ground of his territory, and his followers either became a feast to the rapacious wild beasts of the passes and plains, or fled in distraction to the neighbourhood of Kashmir."[12] When Daud heard of this calamity he lost nerve, and "notwithstanding all his power and the lofty walls of his fort, and his shining sword,"[13] fled from Multan with his kinsmen and treasures. Mahmud then entered the city and imposed on its pe a tribute of 20,000 dirhams.

Next Mahmud turned against Shahiya king, Aandapala, who had gre incensed him by daring to oppose during his Multan campaign. The raids Mahmud was a strange and revealing perience to the Hindus, for whom even had its own Dharma. But the Turks, had never heard of the Dharmasas obeyed only their barbarous nature wh urged them to kill and pillage and ra or to perish. Terrible were the atroc committed. Faced with such savagery princes of Ujjain, Gwalior, Kalin Kanauj, Delhi and Ajmer rallied th forces under the leadership of Anandap "The Hindu females," Ferishta tells us, this occasion, sold their jewels, and s the proceeds from distant parts to th husbands, so that they, being supplied w all the necessaries of the march, might earnest in the war. Those who were p contributed from their earnings by sp ing cotton, and other labour."[14] A co fortable and decadent civilization was ing jolted out of its complaisant lethar

In 1008 the opposing forces lay encam ed between Und and Peshwar, and for fo days none dared to make a move. At end of this forty days of waiting Aanan pala committed the one mistake he co not afford: he attacked the entrenc Ghaznavide army. Even then the sav thrust of the Khokhars caused such ha among the Turks that Mahmud contem ted retreat. But a diversive tactic Mahmud, of attacking the Hindu rear w a small force, and the incident of Anan pala's wound-crazed elephant fleeing fr the battle scene, created such confus among the Hindus that they, almost on point of victory, turned tail and f Anandapala, deciding that discretion the better part of valour, came to te with Mahmud, and became a tributary the Ghaznavide power. His success Jaipala II and Nidar (Fearless) Bhim breaking peace, made feeble attempts self-assertion, but were easily tram down. Punjab was finally annexed Mahmud in 1919, thus bringing to a c

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a struggle which lasted nearly half a century. As Al-Biruni writes, "The Hindu Shahiya dynasty is now extinct, and of the whole house there is no longer the slightest remnant in existence. We must say that, in all their grandeur, they never slackened in the ardent desire of doing that which is good and right, that they were men of noble sentiment and noble bearing."[15] Later on, when fortune no longer blessed the Ghaznavides, the successors of Mahmud were to make their final stand in this foreign province of the Punjab.

With the Punjab fallen, the rich Indo-Gangetic plain was open to the Ghaznavide inroads. In 1009 the rich city of Nagarkot fell, and with it enormous booty. In 1011 Mahmud raided the sacred city of Thaneswar, and sent the great idol of the city to Ghazni to be burried in a public throughfare where the faithful might tread on it to gain religious merit. In 1018 he once again set out form Ghazni. He streaked through the Indo-Gangetic plain, captured the imperial city of Kanauj (defended by forty forts and containing 10,000 temples) from its timorous ruler, and even penetrated into the territories beyond it.

On his way to Kanauj, Mahmud sacked the city of Mathura, the reputed birth place of Lord Krishna. Mahmud was astounded by the architectural grandeur of the central temple of the city, of which he said: "If anyone should wish to construct a building equal to this, he would not be able to do it without expending a hundred thousand dinars,—and it would occupy two-hundred years, even though the most experienced and able workmen were employed."[16] This aesthetic appreciation, however, did not restrain the Sultan from ordering "that all the temples should be burnt with naphtha and fire, and levelled to the ground."[17] To Mahmud beauty had meaning only as an exaltation of truth, and the truth as he saw it was the truth of Islam; and so, to him, these wondrous temples were mias-mal, exalting evil. It was, then, his sacred duty to destroy them.

This was Mahmud's most successful expedition. The treasure taken was enormous: 20,000,000 dirhams worth of plunder, 53,000 slaves and 350 elephants. Returning home Mahmud built in his capital city, as a befitting monument of his vastly successful expedition, the great Friday Mosque, the Bride of Heaven. A University, a library with books in many languages, and a museum "full of natural curiosities" were also built with his beneficence. The Ghaznavide nobles emulated their monarch, and all of a sudden culture blosomed in the mountain city. The Turks were not without noble instincts—when their lower appetites were glutted.

The next major raid of Mahmud was made in 1021—this time to avenge the humiliation of a Hindu prince! The cowardly behaviour of the Prathihara Raja Rajyapala of Kanauj in the face of the Turkish army had made it a disgrace to Rajput honour to allow him to continue on the imperial throne. Rajyapala had forfeited his right to be a Rajput and a king. If the nation could not be defended, at least its honour would be. So the Chandella Raja Vidyadhara of Kalinjar, taking on himself the responsibility of purifying Kanauj of the pollution of its cowardly prince, formed a confederacy of Rajput princes, attacked, defeated, and killed Rajyapala. Nothing was proved by this action, and its only result was to rouse the wrath of Mahmud against the ancient fort of Kalinjar.

On the banks of the river Sai, Mahmud found Vidyadhara waiting for him with an army of 36,000 cavalry, 105,000 infantry and 640 elephants.[18] When Mahmud saw these multitudes, his heart sank, and he cursed his impetuousity in starting from Ghazni. But he had advanced too far into India, and there was no question of retreat. So, trusting his fortunes to Allah, he prepared for battle. But while there was resolution in the face of adversity on the part of Mahmud, Vidyadhra, the self-appointed embodiment and defender of Rajaput heroism, showed a singular lack of the qualities of which he was the defender. Unnerved by the presence of Mahmud, he sneaked away from his camp in the dead of the night, leaving his numerous allies and

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followers at the mercy of the invader. This was so irrational and cowardly an act that Mahmud would not for some time believe in his good fortune, and he feared the flight to be some cunning tactical manouver on the part of the enemy. When he verified the fact, Mahmud considered himself lucky, and daring not to tempt fortune any further, he quietly returned to Ghazni. However, he returned the very next year to reduce Vidyadhara to the submission he deserved. Vidyadhara was a poet, and according to a possibly apocryphal account the Rajput procured favourable treatment from Mahmud by addressing an encomiastic poem to him.

North India lay desolate, bleeding from a thousand wounds, violated by a sadistic ravisher. Her morale was broken, her ancient temples difiled, her wealth plundered and her men killed, her women and children carried away into slavery. Yet news reached Mahumd of the arrogant claim of the priests of the temple of Somanatha in Gujarat that Aryavarta was punished with death and destruction only because of the disloyalty of the people to the Supreme God Somanatha, Siva. Mahmud was curious. He made discreet inquiries. What he heard excited his imagination and iconoclastic zeal. Nowhere else in India was a temple of such splendour, commanding such faith. Daily a thousand Brahmins attended to the rituals of its great phallic idol which was washed every day with holy water brought from Ganges, seven hundred and fifty miles away; three hundred and fifty devadasis (among them princesses) and singers in rotation continually sang and danced before it. Three hundred barbers served the daily influx of pilgrims. Revenue of ten thousand villages was necessary for the expense of the temple. Rumour had it that fabulous treasures were buried beneath its idol. These garish details excited Mahmud, and he decided to measure the might of Allah against the might of Somanatha—for the edification of the true believer, to open the eyes of the 'ignorant idolators' to the falsity of their faith, and, incidently, to add another precious heap of treasures to the royal treasury at Ghazni!

On October 17, 1024 a mighty a rolled from Ghazni towards Soma sweeping all before it. The Brahmin Somanath were unimpressed. They awa the Turk with scorn, being assured in th faith that Siva was drawing the enem Gujarat, like a moth to the flame, onl annihilate them. Only the commande the garrison of Somanath doubted the sibility of favourable divivne interven and prudently escaped to a neighbou island, taking with him his family and treasure. But the priests, busy cha incantations, had no eye for mere re As the Turks approached the city were astounded to find the Hindus cr ing the walls of the city, armed m with curses and jeers. But, contrary to Hindu expecttions, the Muslims did oblige by falling down and perish instead they scaled the walls and turne city into shambles. Lord Somanatha ha yet elected to act. So "band after ba defenders entered the temple with hands clasped around their necks, passionately"[19] and implored Soman favour, and then again rushed forth, till were all slain. For three days the b raged. At length a handful of surviv giving up their desperate hopes, fled tow the sea and attempted to escape in b but Mahmud had forseen this, and all cut down.

With the carnage over, Mahmud en the temple. It was "a great and an structure,"[20] its roof supported by wooden pillars "curiously carved" an with precious stones. Inside the temple dusk and gloom. The oil lamps burne flickering, and the air was heavy with f There was death in the air. The glitt the jewelled canopy and chandelier an golden chain and bell over the stone only stressed the eeriness of this hou God. But Mahmud, destroyer of a tho temples, unimpressed, advanced and his maze to strike the idol. But the a ing Brahmins, bent in supplication, e ed Mahmud not to destroy the idol, ing him with an offer of fabulous His ministers counselled him to accep ransom. To the prince whose ruling pa

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was greed the bribe offered was a terrible temptation; but Mahmud's sense of drama was stronger than his venality, and he exclaimed: "I desire that on the day of resurrection I should be summoned with the words, "Where is that Mahmud who broke the greatest of the heathen idols?,' rather than by these: "Where is that Mahmud who sold the greatest of the heathen idols?"'[21] So saying he sruck, smashing the linga. As it split open gems worth a hundred times the ransom offered spilled irridiscent on the oil smeared granite floor.[22] And Mahmud, much delighted, razed the ancient temple to the ground, and sent the fragments of the idol to Ghazni, Mecca and Medina, to be burried under the thoroughfares and at the gates of Mosques.

Mahmud was well pleased with his success, and finding Gujarat a rich and extensive land, abounding in gold and precious stones, with "the air so salubrious and pure,"[23] he 'wished to fix his residence there for some years.'[24] But his ministers prevailed against him. So, after resting at Somanath for a fortnight, and appointing a Hindu ruler as his tributary in Gujarat, Mahmud set out to retun to Ghazni. But the daring man who never shirked a battle was all caution now. When the neighbouring Hindu chiefs, under the leadership of Paramadeva, got ready to intercept him, Mahmud led his army through a devious westerly route to avoid battle. However, on his way, he attacked and defeated, for a second time, Chalukya Raja Bhima I at Kanthakot, by crossing the sea inlet between Kutch and Kathiawar at considerable risk of losing his army and all his treasures if the tide turned too soon. Marching through Kutch, Mahmud eventually crossed over to Sindh, and there engaged a guide to take him through the desert. But the guide was a devotee of Somanatha and seething to avenge the humiliation of his God, led the Ghaznavide army to the centre of a waterless wasteland, and then announced to Mahmud that there was no escape and all would perish in the desert. Mahmud promptly had the man slain, and sought Allah's help. Eventually, after much suffering—his soldiers raging mad from the intolerable heat and thirst, many dying—, but with the plunder safe, Mahmud reached Ghazni in the spring of 1026. There he received a complimentary letter from Caliph al-Qadhir Billah, conferring titles and distinctions on Mahmud and his sons, and recognizing the Sultan as the ruler of Khurasan, Hindustan, Sistan and Khavarazam.

This marks the pinnacle of Mahmud's career. His days were now drawing to a close, and a life spent in violence was coming to its peaceful end. He had a few skirmishes with the Saljuq Turks, who were raiding his western frontiers; and he led a punitive expedition against the Jats, who had harassed his army on their return from Somanath. But for these minor engagements Mahmud's last year were uneventful. During the expedition against the Jats Mahmud had contracted malaria which, now complicated by consumption and chronic diarrhoea, enfeebled Mahmud though the indomitable Sultan would allow himself no rest. But will has only a limited mastery over matter, and in the evening of Thursday, 30th April 1030, at the time of **asha** prayer, the great Sultan passed away—but not lying down, but sitting propped up in his bed, wilful to the end. From his death-bed he ordered his treasures to be brought to his bed chamber. The sight of these treasures surely evoked in him memories of the thousand perils and triumphs of his career, of the power he had over men and circumstances, and also the awareness of the futility of it all, the tragedy of his life, the tragedy of all life, that each man dies alone, naked. Mahmud died weeping. And that redeems him.

Altogether Mahmud raided India some sixteen times. He was a great military genius, capable of daring tactical improvisations, invincible in the battlefield. His Indian expeditions were all successful, except in the one instance when the inclement climate of Kashmir compelled him to raise the seige of Loharkob in 1015. Siraj tells us that at the moment of Mahmud's birth Sabuktigin "saw in a dream that a tree sprang from the fire-place in the midst of his house, and grew so high that it covered the whole world with its shadow."[25] This was a fitting augury to Mahmud's career.

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The Sultan was of demoniac energy, and his nature, says Al Utbi, "was contrary to the disposition of (men), which induce (them) to prefer a soft to a hard couch, and the splendour of the cheeks of pomegranate-bosomed girls to well-tempered sword blades."[26] According to his courtier Baihaki, "the king was singularly good in everything," even "a clever architect, not excelled by any mathematician."[27] He was inflexible in justice, steadfast in purpose, a good friend and a deadly enemy.

The Sultan was, no doubt, greedy; and he was bigoted. And worse still, his bigotry manifested itself only in destruction: he did not proselytise—he merely butchered the Hindus and desecrated their temples—; and, though belligerent, he did not build an empire—he merely scorched the earth and plundered homes. He was a restless soul, a man without patience, and he never consolidated his triumphs. And so it seems that all his grand efforts were without a purpose other than the consummation of the violence of his nature.

Yet, one can be too harsh in judging Mahmud. If he was greedy, it was not with the petty greed of a dribbling miser. When famine broke out in Khurasan in 1010-11 Mahmud opened up his treasury to alleviate the suffering of the people. And wealth symbolized power to him: often he used to exhibit his treasures on carpets in the royal courtyard to awe the foreign ambassadors and local citizenry. And he spent much wealth to patronise culture and to beautify the imperial city.

According to Ferishta, the Sultan had "a great propensity to poetry,"[28] and delighted in religious and literary discussions. A galaxy of poets and scholars adorned his court. There was al-Biruni, mathematician, philosopher, astronomer and Sanskrit scholar; there was Firdausi, the celebrated author of **Shahnama**; there was Farbi and Baihaki, historians and philosophers; and 'Unsuri, Farrukhi and Asjadi, the poets. Certainly, Firdausi's slander that Mahmud was "not a prince but a boor" is the measure of his disappointment with the compensation he received for **Shahnama**, rather than a true assessment of the man, for though Mahmud was often a boor he was much of a prince too. True, he was bi and violent; but then, toleration and vi were not then much known to civiliza outside India. Mahmud belonged to an ce mental race intoxicated with the zes life, with the sweat and the blood and daring and the doing of it all. Asjadi captured the spirit of the times in t wine hazed lines:

I do repent of wine and talk of w
Of idols fair with chins like silver
A lip-repentance and a lustful he
O God, forgive this penitence of m

What Stanley Lane Pool wrote of B —that though cultured in the humanitie often forgot to be humane—can be t fully said of Mahmud also. Yet this gr bigoted and demoniac man was all human. He was ugly in appearance very much concious of it. "The sight king," he once remarked sadly, "s brighten the eyes of beholders; but n has been so capricious to me, that my a seems the picture of misfortune."[29] W he fell in love with one of his slave and wanted to espouse her, he was a of social disapproval. "Will not the n bouring kings call me a fool," he aske confiidant and servant, Abu Nasr Mis "and will not you also, my servants slaves speak ill of me in respec society?"[30] And Mahmud's intimacy the handsome Turkoman slave Uyma a poignancy of its own. And it mus be noted that the Sultan, though impatient of contradiction, could ta just rebuke. Once, when an old wom Khurasan complained to Mahmud abo death of her merchant son (killed along caravan route because of the insecur the road) and suggested that the S "keep no more territory than you manage,"[31] Mahmud bowed to her accepted her rebuke.

Ultimately, Mahmud evokes compa and not wrath, because he was a ver happy man, more at war with himself with the world. Once, in one of his moments of repose he said of himself: ....considered that after.....(my fa demise I should be a great king. B

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truth was revealed to me when he died and his shadow was removed from my head, for since his departure I have not had one day's happiness. You think I drink this wine for pleasure, but this is a great mistake. I take it merely as a device to gain a few days' peace, and to relieve the people from all annoyance from me."[32] Human life is all too poignant.

In India the death of Mahmud was greeted with a sigh of relief. As one historian puts it, Mahmud's were raids of devastation, looked upon by the Hindus of the time as acts of God, like plague, before which they fled. The great Rajput dynasties all ingloriously succumbed to the invader. Perhaps the fault of the tragedy rests with India. The Rajput patriotism was local and clannish, not national, and their military strategy and political attitudes were shackled to dead traditions, not dynamically related to historical realities. The fatalistic religious and also the enervating climate of India had probably something to do with India's failure. The Indian, weary under the torrid sun, sustained by fatalism, seeking only nirvana beyond the transient miseries and tinsel vanities of inconsequential life, learned to endure with equanimity all the mutations of fortune. And the caste system, which made over national vigilance entirely to the Kshatriyas, left the majority of the people to shrug their shoulders indifferently in the face of aggression. But while there was only stagnation and apathy in India, the invader was all fire and fury, disciplined and inspired by a religion which claimed the sword to be the key to heaven and hell. Perhaps it is that civilization condemns men to a melancholy fatalism, and the innocent, but youthful, barabarian always triumphs; or perhaps, as some think, there is in all these matters a divine dispensation which is not amenable to human will.

Though shocking in itself, the effects of Mahmud's raids were largely ephemeral. No permanant harm was one. When at last the tide receded, the cities were repopulated, and they prospered again; the villages resumed their sluggish course, and the temples were rebuilt, sometimes with even greater than their original grandeur, as in the case of the Somanath temple. Tremendous was the economie resilience of this country. The only political result of Mahmud's invasion was that the Punjab was annexed to the Ghaznavide kingdom. But this is important, because it gave the Turks a foothold right inside India, and so, in the context of he decadance of Indian civilization and the political disintegration of the Indo-Gangetic plain, it became no longer a question of whether, but when the Turko-Afghans would rule over India.

The story of Ghazni after the death of Mahmud is of chaos and violence, with the state breaking up rapidly. The wealth plundered from India avenged India's dishonour by luring the once vigorous Turks to a life of dissipation and waste. Mahmud had nominated his younger son Muhammad to succeed him, and secured the Caliph's sanction for it; but Masud, another son, had other ideas, and he remarked: "the sword is a truer prophet than the pen."[23] History was now to repeat itself. Masud, like his father before him, usurped power against his father's will by ousting his brother Muhammad, who was a poet and a voluptuary, too gentle and languorous to govern the state in those troubled times.

Masud was vigorous and decisive—on the rare occasions when he was sober. He was inclined to sloth; but he was also avaricious, short-tempered, arrogant, heedless of advice. He too led an expedition into India, and captured the fortress of Hansi, known as the virgin, because it had never been taken by an invader. However, the Indian expedition, undertaken against the advice of the royal counsellors, proved to be a grave blunder, because the Saljuq Turks attacked Ghazni during the Sultan's absence. Masud rushed back home, only to receive a crushing blow from the Saljuqs and to double back to India for refuge. But on his way back the Turkish and Hindus slaves of his army mutinied, and Masud was assassinated.

Muhammad, the poet, now blind, was brought out of his prison and placed on the throne. But he was soon overthrown by Maudud, son of Masud, and he in turn was

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followed, in rapid succession, by a number of rulers—some ruling for less than two months—who were not altogether bad, as rulers of the times went, but were utterly incompetent. These wretched princes, clinging on to their tottering throne, more like timorous children than enthroned rulers, were all sucked into the whirlpool of chaos. And as the schismatic forces multiplied within the state, the external enemies, breaking in through the barely guarded frontiers, converged on Ghazni. Bahram "handsome, manly, liberal, just and a friend of his people,"[34] the fourteenth ruler after Mahmud within eighty-eight years, was defeated by Ala-ud-din Husain, prince of Ghor, who burned down to ashes the city of Ghazni, and thus came to be known in history as Ala-ud-din the World Burner. For seven days the city burned, and the Ghaznavide rulers were torn from their great monuments erected by Mahmud perished. The remains of the Ghaznavide rulers were torn from their graves to make a bonfire. All the male inhabitants of the city were slaughtered, and all the women and children carried away into slavery.

At last, pressed beyond all endurance, the descendents of Mahmud found uncertain refuge in the land of Punjab which they had once so wantonly desecrated. Bahram's successor, Khusrav Shah, was the last prince of the lineage of Sabuktigin to rule from Ghazni: he was expelled to the Punjab by the Ghuzz Turkmans. In 1187 his successor, Khusrav Malik, a prince who was 'exeedingly gentle,"[35] was hunted down near Lahore by Muhammad Ghori, and eventually died in a prison whimpering over his fate. And with him ended the line of Sabuktigin.

References :

1. *Siraj.* (E & D : II : 268).
2. *Al-Utbi* (E & D : II : 19).
3. *Ibid.*, 20.
4. *Ibid.*, 20.
5. *Ibid.*, 21.
6. *Ibd.*, 22.
7. *Ibid.*, 23.
8. *Ferishta* (A. Dow) : 29.
9. *Siraj.* (E & D : II : 24).
10. *Al-Utbi* (E & D : II : 24).
11. *Ibid.*, 28.
12. *Ibid.*, 31.
13. *Ibid.*, 31.
14. *Ftrishta.* E & D : II : 447.
15. *Al-Biruni.* Quoted in the *History* [illegible] *Culture of Indian People*, [Vol. V : 17. (Vi[illegible] Bhavan Publications)]
16. *Al-Utbi* : (E & D : II : 14).
17. *Ibid.*, 15.
18. This is the figure given by Nizam[illegible]din. According to Ftrishta the size of the infa[illegible] was only 45,000.
19. *Ibn Asir* : E & D : II : 470.
20. *Ferishta* : Dow : 74.
21. *Tarikh i-Alfi* : E & D : II : 472.
22. This is the story told by Ferishta : [illegible] rather improbable as lingas are invariably s[illegible] However, as Al Biruni indicates, the top of [illegible] linga was garnished with gold and prec[illegible] stones ; and probably there were also treas[illegible] beneath the linga.
23. *Ferishta* : Dow : 78.
24. *Rauzatu-s Safa* : E & D : II : 475.
25. *Siraj* : E & D : II : 269.
26. *Al-Utbi* : E & D : II : 33.
27. *Baihaki* : E & D : II :
28. *Ferishta* : Dow : 40.
29. *Ibid.*, 40.
30. *Muhamma 'Ufi* : E & D : II : 183.
31. *Muhammad-l Husna* : E & D : II : [illegible]
32. *'Ufi* : E & D : II : 190.
33. *Siraj* : E & D : II : 272.
34. *Ibid.*, 279.
35. *Ibid.*, 281.

** But a courtier commented : Only o[illegible] tenthousand sees your face ; but all know of [illegible] virtue. It was a sophisticated court !

* Nine centuries later, an invading [illegible] Indian army was confounded by a similar [illegible] not so miraculous snow storm in Afghani[illegible]

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MAHAKAVI VALLATHOL

"Tagore" of Kerala.

By Dr. ABRAHAM PAUL

Even though Mahakavi Vallathol came to be known outside Kerala through the Kerala Kalamandalam, to the people of Kerala, he is their most outstanding poet of modern times. He has sometimes been referred to as the "Tagore" of Kerala, "The People's Poet" or "the poor man's poet." No other literary man of Kerala has equalled Vallathol's tremendous literary and intellectual output.

Childhood and Education

Vallathol Narayana Menon was born on 12th October, 1879 in an aristocratic Nair family of Ponnani taluk in Malabar. His father, Damodaran Elayathu, though not a learned man, had ample general knowledge and was very much interested in Kathakali. The boy, Narayana, started his education at the age of five, under Variamparampil Kunjan Nair, who taught him the three R's and the elements of astrology and Sanskrit. He started to learn the epics at the age of eight under his uncle, Ramunni Menon, who was a scholar, astrologer and ayurvedic physician. The boy started writing poems at the age of twelve. By the age of fifteen, he had mastered the epics and began to teach students under his uncle's guidance. He sent poems to Malayalam newspapers and journals and by the age of twenty, he had earned the reputation of being a good poet. Vallathol was a voracious reader and possessed unusual powers of concentration and retention. He could recite a poem after hearing it once and he earned the reputation of being an "Ekasruthadharan." Between 1895 and 1900, he published several poems, of which the most important was "Rithuvilasam", an adaptation from Kalidasa, which was noteworthy for its beauty of diction and richness of meaning and imagination.

Family Life

In 1902, the poet married Madhavi Amma, his uncle's daughter. It was a kind of love marriage, which was not without obstacles. A year later, a daughter was born and the poet wrote a poem to celebrate the event. Madhavi Amma was a model house-wife and the couple had, in all, eight children, five sons and three daughters. In 1905, Vallathol started translating Valmiki's Ramayana into Malayalam and completed it in two years. It has become one of the rare treasures in the Malayalam language. During this time, he took up the management of the Kerala—Kalpadhrumam Press at Trichur and, in the course of five years, put its finances on a sound basis. In 1910, he left the job and was given a grand send-off and presented with a diamond-studded ring and a lamp.

Vallathol's Poetry.

Poet Vallathol was a self-made man. Except the Sanskrit education he received from his uncle, all his knowledge was acquired by self-study. He read not only epics and Puranas, but on diverse subjects and his wide knowledge was reflected in his poetry. When Vallathol started writing poetry, the pattern in vogue was that of "Venmani Mahan", which was characterised by refinement of language and beauty of diction. But Vallathol, who dived deeply into the Sanskrit classics, was not satisfied with this technique, which was light-hearted and lacked depth. He, therefore, embarked into new realms and evolved his own technique and style. He kept aloof from the controversy on alliteration in poetry between Valia Koyil-Thamburan and Raja Raja Varma and was of opinion that learning, aptitude and perseverance were the essential requisites for a poet. Even though he wrote poems in

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both Malayalam and Sanskrit, his real love was for his mother-tongue and he dedicated his life to the enrichment of Malayalam, by producing original works and translations and adaptations from Sanskrit. His "Rithu-vilasam" and "Vilasalathika" are adaptations from Sanskrit. "Vilasalathika" is one of the most beautiful and dignified romantic epics in Malayalam. Vallathol was capable of extemporaneous poetry-making in Sanskrit and Malayalam. Often he wrote to and replied other poets in poems, replete with his native humour. His letters in Sanskrit and Malayalam verse, will alone comprise a big volume.

His art and Method

Vallathol's poetry was an intimate conversation with nature. He was a keen student of nature and a votary at the altar of beauty. Beauty is the chief hallmark of all his works. He loved life and the beautiful things there-of. Children and flowers formed a common subject of many of his beautiful descriptions. Even the most insignificant subject was made attractive by Vallathol's beauty of diction and construction. He gave a "new look" to many puranic themes, but he always maintained a sense of propriety, as for example in "Anirudhan" and "Father and Daughter." Vallathol's art and method were different from those of other poets. He formed the lines in his mind, while lying awake in bed or during his evening walk. When he began to write down or dictate to his secretary, there would be only some finishing touches or minor alterations to be made. But Vallathol was very much influenced by the Sanskrit poets, Kalidasa, Bhavabhuthi, and Sriharsha. Of these, he had the greatest love and veneration for Kalidasa. He was particularly fond of Kalidasa's "Raghuvamsa" and there was a time when he used to read it daily, before going to bed. Vallathol was fond of emulating the style of the old masters and in his great epic, "Chithrayogam", he shows the style of different poets in different portions. Even though he did not know English, he acquainted himself with the method and style of English poets, through his English-knowing friends.

Dravidian Metres

After 1915, there was a profound chang in Vallathol's poetry. He stopped writing poems in Sanskrit, except on rare occasions. He felt that it was his duty to serve his poo mother-tongue rather than the rich Sanskr He also began to write in the once-forgotte Dravidian metres, like Kaka, Kaka Makandhamanjari etc. Vallathol was chief responsible for their revival in mode Malayalam. To write in Dravidian metre one should be familiar with the notes an rhythm of Indian music. Vallathol's bea of construction, depth of ideas and sense propriety imparted a particular attractiv ness to the Dravidian metres. It was fro this time that he began to write many his "Khanda-Kavyas" or smaller epics. the opinion of some critics, it is the small works that make him a "Mahakavi" rath than great epics like "Chithrayogam Vallathol was not only a poet, but a writ of good Malayalam prose. Sardar K. Panikkar has compared his prose style the style of the English Bible. He was als a humorons speaker and his speeches we simple and full of anecdotes and litera interest.

Part in Freedom Struggle

Poet Vallathol played a notable part India's freedom struggle by rousing th national consciousness of the people throu his powerful pen. He considered Gandh as his "Guru" and tried to propag Gandhijis ideals through his works. H poem, "My Master" and another one Khadi have been translated into Engli and won the admiration of Gandhiji himse His poem, "Bapuji", describes the eve from the time of Gandhiji's assassination the immersion of his ashes. Sardar Pani kar has praised this work, as being next excellence, only to the poet's own inim able work, "Mary Magdalene". "Ma Magdalene" has been translated into Engli and published in England. The poet h written a soul-stirring song, "Pora Por in salutation of the National flag. Thou a nationalist to the core, Vallathol w

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proud of Kerala, her scenic beauty and rich culture. He tried to reflect, through his poetry, the political, social and economic disabilities and aspirations of the people. He was also influence by Marxist thought in his ideas, as evidenced in his works, "Song of the peasants" and "Thirur-Ponnani river". Poet Vallathol received several honours from the Maharajas of Travancore and Cochin, including the titles of "Kavithilakan" and "Kavi-Sarvabhouman". In 1948, the Congress Government of Madras appointed him Poet Laureate of Kerala and granted him an allowance of Rs. 1,000|- per year.

His Deafness

A handicap from which the poet suffered throughout his life, was his deafness, which started about the year 1910 and defied all treatment. He once humorously remarked that even though he had lost his power of hearing, he never felt like committing suicide! He has however, bewailed about his defect in the poem, "Badhira-Vilapam", which is one of his priceless gifts to the Malayalam language. But deafness has not stood in the way of his extensive travels in India, Burma, Malaya and Ceylon, to popularise "Kathakali" and collect funds for the Kerala Kalamandalam. He also met and madé the acquaintance of several eminent persons like Gandhiji, Tagore, Malavyia and Jawaharlal Nehru. In 1951, he went to Warsaw at the invitation of the World Peace Conference. From there, he went to London and stayed there as the guest of Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon, High Commissioner for India. During the same year, he visited Russia at the invitation of the Russians Writers' Conference. These travels enlarged his knowledge and experience and contributed to the enrichment of his poetry.

Kerala Kalamandalam

Poet Vallathol was no mere dreamer. The Kerala Kalamandalam at Cheruthuruthi, in Kerala, is a standing memorial to the poet's organising ability, perseverance and interest in Art. The Kalamandalam, where Kathakali artistes are trained, is the first institution of its kind in India and has produced several talented artistes like Ananda Sivaram, Gopinath, Madhavan, Tara Choudhry, Ragini Devi and Leela Desai. Vallathol was interested in Kathakali from his childhood and used to walk several miles, accompanied by his father, to Witness Kathakali performances. Seeing the poor state into which the ancient art of Kathakali had fallen, the poet, with the assistance and co-operation of Manakkulath Mukundaraja and other friends, established the Kerala Kalamandalam. He raised funds for the institution, by conducting a lottery and going on a tour of Malaya, from where he collected a substantial amount. He also toured Burma and the major cities of India, with a Kathakali troupe, and conducted Kathakai performances. In 1938 he visited Shantiniketan with a troupe and won the approbation of Poet Tagore, who described Kathakali as an art of a very high order. Poet Vallathol personally supervised the training of Kathakali artistes at the Kalamandalam. The celebrated dancer, Uday Shankar, has visited the Kalamandalam more than once. Many distinguished visitors from all over the world came to the place to witness Kathakali. The poet also revived "Mohiniyattam", another ancient art, which is characterised by beauty of movement and song. With great difficulty, he found a woman who was trained in the art and arranged training of girls under her. Due to the economic depression of the thirties, the Kalamandalam got into financial difficulties and the poet handed over the institution to the Cochin Government. The Government appointed a committee to manage the institution, with Poet Vallathol as President and Art Director.

Vallathol the Man

Poet Vallathol's life was a happy combination of the old and the new. Faith in God and respect for elders were among his noble qualities. He disliked the extremes of atheism and asceticism and he was against superstition and the evils of caste. His principle was to love, enjoy and serve

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the world. Even though he was not afraid of death, he used to say humorously, "Supposing one goes to heaven, what is the guarantee that there will be Kathakali there ?". What imparted a particular lustre to his scholarship were his simplicity and sincerity. He has helped many aspiring poets with his constructive advice and by correcting their works. He had no exaggerated notions about his own poetry and he often ig ed praise or criticism about his works. was humble enough to revise his translat of Valmiki's Ramayana, thrice, before e succeeding edition. Vallathol lived a hap and comfortable life, depending solely the income from his earnings. He pass away in the year 1958 at the age of seven nine.

THE WORLD COMMUNITY DAY CELEBRATION

By Dr. HARIDAS T. MUZUMDAR*

The World Community Day, which has been observed by the Church women of this country for the last 20 years, is a specially significant day. You launched the World Communtiy Day 2 years before the U. N. was born, just as I wrote my book, *The United Nations of the World*, three years before the San Francisco Conference was held to write the Charter for the United Nations Organization. Since the birth of the U. N., you have been observing the World Community Day in terms of the promise the United Nations holds for mankind.

Since 1945 mankind has gone through a number of setbacks in the quest for peace : World War allies fell apart, and instead of the One World we had all hoped for and prayed for, we found ourselves in the midst of a Divided World —a world divided ideologically between communism and democracy, a world suffering from the cold war, which blew up into a hot war in Korea a decade ago. We have a divided Berlin, a divided Germany, a divided Inida, a divided Korea, a divided Vietnam. This division of the world into blocs, the communist and the free, and this fracturing of national entities into two parts, are a setback to the general tendency of the twentieth century, which is the consolidation of small parts into a large whole.

As a matter of fact, this distraught world ours may be viewed from another perspect from a positive perspective. The same post-w years that saw a divided world also bear testim to the constructive tendency of our age. Fi there emerged the economic union of the Bene countries—Belgium, Netherlands and Luxembo This economic union served as a foundation the Common Market, which may one day le to the formation of the United States of Eur —a hope cherished by William Penn the Qua and by Immanuel Kant the philosopher.

The war-shattered economies of Europ nations were rebuilt and put on their feet American aid through the Marshall Plan ; so w did we do our job that Germany and Japan today shining examples of miracles of rehi industrially speaking. Divided though she Germany is assuming her role as the workshop Europe. And in the Orient Japan has resumed role as the workshop of Asia.

The miracle of the post-war years is, ho ever, not the rebirth of a dynamic Germany a dynamic Japan ; to me, the real miracle our times is the birth of free nations in A and Africa. Peoples who had been held subjection to foreign rule have come into th own. Today no country in Asia is under for tutelage. The Asian Continent which cont more than half the population of the world Africa with one-tenth of the world's popula today presents the spectacle of free nati engaged in the challenging task of solving problems of freedom.

The subject peoples of yester-year in A

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* Dr. Haridas T. Muzumdar, a co-worker of the late Mahatma Gandhii has been an American citizen since 1947. He is at present Chairaman of the Department of Sociology and Dean of the Division of Arts and Sciences at A. M. & N. College, Pine Bluff, Ark, U.S.A.

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and in Africa are realizing, for the first time, perhaps, that the attainment of freedom, the achievement of nationhood, is the beginning of the road, not the end of the road. And the road they have to traverse is marked: (1) maintenance of freedom, (2) improvement of the economic lot of the masses, (3) introduction of free and compulsory education for all the children of school-going age, (4) development of machinery for maintaining internal peace and stability and (5) for promoting peaceful contacts, in terms of trade and diplomacy, with the rest of the world.

These five signs on the highway to peace, prosperity and progress require the best efforts and eternal vigilance even of well established nations like the United States of America, Great Britain, and others. That they will put a heavy strain on the newly freed nations is a forgone conclusion. These newly freed nations of Asia and Africa have a vast reservoir of man-power, but it is mostly an unskilled man-power. Hence one of their primary tasks is to train their man-power for the machine age. Second, some of these nations have abundant resources—on land, and underground, and in the water—but they are lying dormant because of the underdeveloped state of their economy. Third, illiteracy, unemployment, underproduction, hunger, malnutrition, disease, stalk over most of these lands.

It is in these areas that the know-how and experience of well established, older, more prosperous nations can be of great help to the new nations of Asia and Africa. And I may say in passing that the people of the United States have risen equal to the challenge of our times. The aid we have given to the underdeveloped and developing nations of the world, in terms of food, clothing, funds, capital goods, and skilled personnel, is without parallel in the annals of human history. We may humbly thank God that we have been recipients of His bounties and that He has guided us on the path of service to our fellow men.

But while our motives have been pure, sometimes—I might say, quite often—our ways of rendering service have done harm to ourselves as well as to those whom we were trying to serve. The techniques and the resources with which we solve our problems here in America are usually unsuited to an underdeveloped country. Furthermore, unacquainted as we are with the folkways and mores of the host country, we may unintentionally offend those peoples and hurt their pride. The lessons from such complexities are sometimes learned after irreparable harm is done in international relations. Finally, I must castigate in no uncertain terms the foolish attitude of our State Department that we must aid all and sundry if they can asure us that they are anti-communist. The tragedy of this attitude of our government is to be found in the misuse made of our aid by the government of South Vietnam which has been using our funds and military equipment to persecute innocent Buddhists who constitute over 75 per cent of the population of the country.

Our enemy in the newly freed ntaions of Asia and Africa is not the communist ideology: our real enemy is poverty and hunger, disease and death, illiteracy and superstition, unemployment and underproduction, unbridled autocracy and feudalism. These are the enemies we must fight. If these enemies are successfully overcome, communism will liquidate itself.

We are learning. We have come to realize what Mahatma Gandhi had preached over a decade ago. The world community and peace on this earth can be achieved, not through imposition by the powerful nations of the world but through the voluntary co-operation of all free nations. Thus freedom for all nations is a precondition to the evolution of our world community and to the establishment of a warless world.

Let me quote Gandhi's own words: "Internationalism is possible only when nationalism becomes a fact, *i.e.*, when peoples belonging to different countries have organized themselves and are able to act as one man." But Gandhi's ntaionalism had no truck with "narrowness, selfishness, exclusiveness." For him patriotism was the same as humanity. To quote his immortal words once again: "I am patriotic because I am human and humane. My patriotism includes the good of mankind in general . . . . Isolated independence is not the goal of world States. It is voluntary interdependence . . . . I see nothing grand or impossible about our expressing our readiness for universal interdependence rather than independence."

This concept of patriotism as being synony-

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mous with the world community needs to govern the thinking and actions of older nations as well as of newly freed nations. Happily for our generaton, the United Nations Organization provides a machinery which helps us to identify patriotism with the good of all mankind. A hundred years ago Abraham Lincoln observed, "This nation cannot endure half free and half slave." Today, we have to raise our sights to the global scale and say : "This world community of ours cannot endure peacefully long half free and half slave, half prosperous and half hungry."

In the United Nations, over a hundred nations, most of them underdeveloped, some developing, a few developed, are co-operating one with another as equal members of a team. I hope the wise insights of some of these economically underdeveloped but culturally developed nations will be avalied of by us and by the other economically developed nations for the common good of all mankind.

I may conclude by congratulating the Church Women of Pine Bluff and of the whole world on their vision and persistence in promoting the goal of a world community. You are engaged in a pioneering task, but soon you will be joined by men of goodwill the world over. My own book, *The United Nations of the World*, first published in 1942, was a pioneer concept. I have the satisfaction of seeing the United Nations Organization actually formed and functioning for eighteen years. What is more, I take humble pride in the fact that some of the points advocated by me in 1942 have become a reality in our day—and may yet lead to the transformation of the Un Nations Organization into the United Nations the World.

For instance, I was the first one to use the word "underdeveloped" instead of "backw countries. Again, the concept of "human rig was for the first time set forth in my book— we have the Human Rights Charter of the Un Nations. My picture of the many agencies of UNW (United Nations of the World) has b realized in the organization of the UNO (Un Nations Organization) whose agencies are d excellent nation-building work the world ov UNESCO, WHO, Social and Economic Co to mention but three agencies.

The past twenty years, you, the Ch Women, have been engaged in the pioneer of promoting the idea of a world communi the world community is to be a reality in next twenty years, you and I and all of us have to pray for God's blessings and guid that we may put into practice the twin prec (1) "God hath made of one blood all the na of the world to dwell on the face of this ea and (2) "I am my neighbor's keeper." T twin precepts are derived from the two comm ments of Jesus, implicit in all High Relig Love of God and Love of Fellow Man.

I hope twenty years later it may be pos for those who celebrate the World Comm Day to say that the way is cleared for the tu of the sword into the plowshare and fo establishment of peace on earth and good among men.

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METHODOLOGICAL PROBLEMS OF RURAL RESEARCH

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Introduction

Basic research processes in the social sciences have, over the last few decades, been fairly clearly articulated. A common frame of reference is shared by the accepted research techniques. However the techniques themselves need suitable modification for adapting them to particular areas in which the problem happens to lie. Thus the research methods suited to small primary groups may not prove useful when applied to larger communities. Social anthropological studies covering entire communities or culture groups, fall back heavily upon survey methods, which are admittedly again very different from those which call for experimental manipulations of selected variables under standardized conditions. Only the latter lend themselves to drawing conclusions about depth phenomena in human relations and activities. Thus research in the rural setting is found to possess certain special features, which will be discussed in this paper.

Methods of Rural Research

The usual methods of research which appear to be fairly standardized and find extensive application for rural studies are first briefly described below.

1. USING AVAILABLE RECORDS AS SOURCE MATERIAL: A variety of records and documents can be used for rural research. Census reports, records maintained by the village patwari, records maintained by different departments like Agriculture, Irrigation, Health etc; records of village schools, village dispensaries, etc., may all be used for obtaining valuable information. Accounts maintained by the village grocer, records of births, deaths and marriages, genealogical tables maintained by the village priest, and records of panchayat samitis and gram panchayats are examples of rich sources of original data which can be tapped for particular studies. The researcher has to show ingenuity and insight in discovering and making use of such available records, as emphasized by Rallis (1955). What sort of records may prove useful will depend upon the precise formulation of the aim of the research in question.

Personal documents like diary, autobiographical records, letters, even school essays, etc., are theoretically acceptable material for utilization, though these types of primary records will not be found in abundance in the village. However, a problem that is common to the use of any type of records for research purposes is the question of validity of their contents. It is essential to ensure that the material which is taken as evidence has intrinsic validity. The whole issue becomes quite complicated when use is made of contents of the usual mass communication media like the press, the radio, movies, literary productions, etc. While their relevance to rural studies may not be very great, the possibility of distortion of their contents is considerable, as happens frequently in such processes as spreading of rumour, formation of prejudices and ethnic stereotypes, etc.

2. OBSERVATIONAL METHODS: Methods under this class are usually subdivided into three subclasses:

(a) Participant Observation
(b) Systematic Observation
(c) Observation in standardized experimental or test situations.

Of these the first two classes appear to have considerable scope for rural studies. The last one has many limitations for rural research. Good descriptions of these methods are to be found in Jahoda et. al. (1951), and in the article by Whyte (1951).

All, are agreed that the first important

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step in the participation observation method is to gain communtiy or group co-operation, for which the following four guide points may be useful.

(i) The investigator should give brief and simple explanation of the purpose of the study.

(ii) Explanation should generally cover the entire range of activities, so that fresh explanations are not called for from time to time.

(iii) Support and co-operation of some key persons in the community should be enlisted. Implicit support of the sarpanch, or the Dalpati of the Village Voluntary Force, or the local school teacher or the village priest will enable the investigator to obtain requisite co-operation from larger sections of the community.

(iv) Assistance may also be sought from a few key persons of a different type in the community: those who are themselves good observers and are placed in strategic positions to observe others unobtrusively.

Another question relates to the amount and extent of participation by the observer. The optimum level of 'immersion' by the observer-participant has to be determined carefully: too little 'immersion' prevents a free flow of information, and too much of 'immersion' prevents objective, accurate and complete recording of data. The following suggestions made by Whyte (1951) are useful:

(a) Total 'immersion' should not be aimed at.

(b) Active sympathy to the community and its aims should be shown, but in judicious quantity.

(c) There should be frequent contacts with the villagers, of moderate duration.

(d) Taking sides in group conflicts should be avoided, unless the matter involves an overbearing moral issue, or apprehended breach of law and order.

Systematic observation techniques applied to small groups have made considerable progress in recent times. For exam the Bales technique, and its variants Zander for a brief description, 1951), be extended to studies in the rural sett and can be adapted for studying vari problems like identification of rural lea decision making in gram panchayats, c munication patterns in group meet etc., etc.

3. INTERVIEW TECHNIQUES APPROACHES: These techniques d from the foregoing in one important di sion: in being more structured. Within interview, the degree of its structure can be systematically varied, from highly structured formal interviews to c pletely unstructrured, permissive, directive interviews of the client-cent type. In recent times the open-ended, s structured interview method has gain popularity, because the greater permis ness of the interview situation appea favour spontaneity on the part of the re dents. Client-centered techniques w possess a marked therapeutic orienta seem to offer considerable scope for research. As a general principle it ma stated that in situations where respon are likely to feel constrained or threa due to the formality of the atmosphere, directive interviewing may elicit the ed information, without in any way sa cing the precision of the data obta thereby.

4. SOCIOMETRIC TECHNIQUES. T techniques, depending upon the gathering social preference data, may also be use certain types of rural studies, such as ide fying local leaders, and local factions tensions, and for measuring various type group characteristics like group solid group cohesivity, inter-group attractio repulsion etc.

5. ACTION RESEARCH PROGRAM

Action research programmes are m much methods of research as method initiating controlled change in a social ation by manipulating relevant group ables. In addition to its pragmatic applied orientation, it is based on formulated hypotheses or premises, an important variables are clearly recog

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and the outcome of the action programme is utilized for further refining and reformulating the theoretical underpinnings of the action programme itself. In a miniature scale, role playing or psychodrama, if arranged with a clearly formulated therapeutic aim, is an action research program. Such terms as social engineering and human engineering as used by the sociologists are gaining relevance to the extent that well formulated action research programmes are carried out scientifically, and the outcomes are incorporated into still larger action programmes involving large numbers of people. To cite one example: it was found that displaced persons from East Bengal had a tendency to abandon some of the colonies meant for their settlement and return to the hardships of the Calcutta pavements. Various remedies were suggested and tried from time to time with indifferent results. Here, a few well formulated action research programmes could have been tried, the results of which could be used fruitfully in indicating the overall rehabilitation pocedure likely to prove most effective for this class of displaced persons. It may be seen that many community development programmes can be more successful if these are based upon the results of some select action research studies.

6. PROJECTIVE TECHNIQUES. These utilize sophisticated application of specialized psychological instruments to one individual at a time. The stimulus material presented is very unstructured and ambiguous, so that the responses elicited are related to the deeper levels of motivation and personality of the respondent. By their very nature the projective techniques have limited application for rural research in our country.

Philosophy of Rural Research Methodology

The methods of study and research briefly described above find general application in various discipline as of the social sciences. Adaptation of these techniques to rural studies have to take into consideration the basic philosophy of rural research methodology. Srinivas (1955) has rightly pointed out that when a social scientist goes to stay in the village for months or even years, his primary aim not merely to collect a mass of unsystematic information, say about curious social customs or beliefs or peculiar social customs or rituals; his main aim is to study a theoretical sociological problem with its manifold implications and ramifications, so as to contribute to the growing body of theoretical knowledge about the nature of human societies and its functions. According to Srinivas, too much stress on utilitarian research may become self-defeating and responsible for lowering of intellectual standards. Yang (1955) very clearly states that the primary objective of social research is the desire to derive sociological generalizations from the facts observed, though in some surveys with immediate practical purpose the formulation of the social theory may not be emphasized. However, even with the aims of the social scientist clearly articulated in terms of their theoretical underpinnings, the methodological aspects of the research process itself deserve clear understanding. Following Rallis (1955) the main issues involved may be stated thus: the social theorist is interested in the answers to such questions as: What is going on? What sort of interactions are present? What type of relationships is active? How are group and individual behaviours patterned? What are the various motives, attitudes, prejudices, etc. that are operating and being projected? The research methodologist, in turn, is interested in finding out the **right methods** of ascertaining what is happening, and what are the dominant interactions. He intends to standardize the methods and procedures to ascertain, record, codify, measure, gauge, index and communicate, after proper analysis, the social inter-relationships, motives, attitudes and patterns of group and individual behaviours. Thus, as Rallis puts it, the methodologists "are the theoreticians to the practitioners of empirical research." Rallis has also listed certain pre-requisites for making social science research methodology yield the right instruments for the

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appropriate research situations. The prerequisites are:

1. Deep insight into the component parts of the research process; understanding of the basic methodological aaspects inherent in the research design.
2. Clear differentiation between the inductive and the deductive analysis of data gathered from the field.
3. Flexibility of the research question and its adaptability to the level of proof or validation attempted.
4. Appropriateness of the context.
5. Role and impact of the investigator on the group.
6. Precise and unambiguous definition of the research situation, with clear spelling out of the domain of response date included in the study.
7. Enlisting rapport and co-operation of the community.
8. Methods of verification and proper sampling of response data.
9. Scope for utilizing data from convergent sources and their relative freedom from distortion.
10. Technological facilities with regard to data gathering, codification and processing.

A clear understanding of these prerequisites of rural research will point to certain methodological problems which are disucussed below:

Methodological Problems of Rural Research

Any study of a rural problem or phenomenon, irrespective of its scope, orientation, content, types of instruments used for data collection, the level of language used, the techniques used for data collection and processing, and the depth of data analysis, has got to give first consideration to the overall setting. The totality of the village setting is determined by a number of factors:

1. Physical factors such as the area of the village; population; density of population; other ecological factors.
2. Caste and class composition; stratification based upon religion, ethnic composition, language, means livelihood.
3. Channels of communication availa and preferred; degree of isolati from similar settlements, centers o resources, of legislation, of soci and cultural influences.
4. Power structure and political hi archy; leadership characteris composition of administrative bo like village panchayats; relations between official and non-offi sources of power and leadership.
5. Occupational patterns; level employment; means of subsiste extent of co-operative facilities collective bargaining characteris
6. Nature of community organizati present such as welfare agenci educational institutions, recrea centers.
7. Intra—and inter—group charac istics; factions, cliques and coteri

Keeping the above criteria in view, so of the problems that the research metho logists face, with regard to village setti are discussed now.

(a) **Problem of rapport:** The building rapport with the village community prese some intriguing problems. From the the tical point of view the elements of rapport building are known. Rallis (19 lists the following as ingredients for building of rapport:

i. Understanding of mutual com nication system.
ii. Congruence of frames of refere
iii. Acceptance of reciprocal value
iv. Trust, confidence and lack reticence.

It follows that an approach w favours intimacy of face to face con between the researcher and the villag which provides evidence of friendliness positive effect, which enhances the fe of security, which invites opening up spontaneous expression of opinions, tend to foster the process of rapport buil

Dube (1955) has pointed out that tract rules as listed above, have to translated into concrete actions in the setting. First the convenience of the vill

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has to be given attention. The villager is periodically busy and idle; the time sequence of his busy period and the lean period has to be co-ordinated with the data gathering operation. The reaction of the village community toward the investigator is an important limiting factor with regard to rapport building. If the investigator does not know the language or dialect of the people, if he dresses differently, has different food and living habits, and by his gestures and words gives the impression that he is critical of village customs and people, rapport cannot be easily established. Lack of literacy of the villager may also delay the building of rapport. The villager will open his mouth when he is fully certain that it is safe to do so before the investigator. The shy and reticent villager who recoils from the individual interview situation may be drawn into a lively discussion in a group situation, if judiciously prodded and provoked by his fellow men. Thus data which may be difficult to obtain in a face-to-face structured situation are made available in a group situation which is less structured. Of course group discussions in the rural setting present some complexities which tax the ingenuity and tactfulness of the investigator, who has to control the general direction of the group discussion and has to see that it does not become discursive, purposeless and acrimonious. Skilfully guided, the group discussion held under a permissive atmosphere is a source of rich sociological data.

A particular method of establishing rapport, which succeds in one situation, may fail in another situation. The method of establishing rapport and seeking co-operation from the community has to be flexible to suit the particular occasion. The writer was once conducting a house to house survey of toys and play-things available in rural homes in Mewar, Rajasthan. The team of investigators which included a couple of girls conversant with the local dialect was not meeting with much success in building rapport with the village children from whom the data had to be collected on the spot, essentially consisting of making an inventory of toys and playthings present in each home. However an idea borrowed from another research project that was simultaneously going on helped the team to solve its problem. This other research was a projective test called the Toy World Test in which a collection of toys and made-to-scale replicas of material possessions found in typical Indian homes, was being used. Out of this collection a small kit was made containing some interesting and attractive toys which was carried by the team while visiting the rural homes. After reaching a home, the team would call the children, open the kit before them, and invite the children to play with them; thereby the initial shyness of the children would be overcome. A little later the children would be urged to bring their own toys to be shown to the team. By that time the children would be eager to show their possessions to them, so that an on-the-sopt inventory could easily be made. This method which succeeded will with unsophisticated village children might not work with sophisticated urban children.

(b) **Problem of Sampling:** In any rural study another question that has to be answered is: What is going to be the unit of observation? How many such units are to be included in the research study? The basic unit of observation will depend upon the nature of the study. One investigator was studying the pattern of acceptance and adoption of improved methods of agriculture by a community. Here the most natural unit is the 'family,' and the head of the family or any other responsible member of the family is able to provide the data sought. Another study on rural indebtedness pattern, taking the family as a unit may not do so well so far as the precision of information is concerned. In still another study on prevalent child rearing practices the family as the basic unit will be too large to provide the intra-familian variability which is relevant to this study. Thus the size and compostion of the unit of observation, and the number of such units to be included within the sample have to be carefully decided in the light of the total setting and the aim of the study.

The ecological factors of rural settle-

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ment pattern have also to be considered. It is a far cry from the anthropological studies of small tribal communities to studying entire rural or semi-rural communities possessing multi-dimensional stratification of great complexity depending upon its proximity with an urban centre, their channels of communication and transport, their employment pattern, and their social institutions. Adequate sampling will ensure that the various substructures within the community under study have been fully represented.

In this connection the factor of the scope and extent of interaction between the rural community on one hand and the urban centers of administrative power and supply lines should be clearly recognized. The mere fact of geographical distance of a rural settlement from an urban center may hide important factors, and may even give a distorted picture of the setting. Thus the culture of the bustees of Calcutta, chawls of Bombay and the juggis and jhonpras of Delhi, by cutting across rural and urban patterns, partake of a complexity wnich defies description. In pre-partition East Bengal, there was a village 200 miles away from Cultutta, 100 miles away from the nearest rail-head and reached after a steamer journey followed by a three mile boat journey, which had the proud nickname of "Chhota-Calcutta" which had some justification in terms of its palatial buildings, broad roads, hospitals, schools, a well-laid out 'hat' (market-place) and other amenities. The social scientist will ask the question: What are the factors responsible for this type of a typical situation? What are the complex interactional forces that give rise to the culture of the slums in the very heart of the metropolis, and the prosperous, clean village far away from the capital city? Social research does not confine itself to the descriptive, taxonomical level, but tries to go to the roots, to unravel the interplay of the complex causative factors giving rise to a particular patterning of socio-cultural phenomenon.

(c) **Problem of Validity of Evidence:** The rural scientist does not ignore the historical records available within a community, b is also cautious to minimize bias in his da Modern 'historiography' sets much sto upon contemporay chronicled records. B many contemporary village records are full of errors and mis-representation of facts The record of the village patwari, by them selves a valuable source information, if u critically accepted may lead to erroneo conclusions. Social anthropologists and rur sociologists set much store on folklore, fol tales, folk-songs and similar cultural medi These are admittedly rich source of da if only used critically along with oth concurrent meterial. This is imperative theoretical conclusions are sought to b drawn on the basis of content analysis such cultural material obtained from th community.

(d) **Problems of the Extent of Depth** Large rural studies fare better if instea of only one or two investigators, a we chosen team is used which may profitabl include a few who belong to the loc community, and who have been propert trained in the fieldwork aspects of the pro blem under study. This training will ensu that the local field investigator does n ignore such rural phenomena which appe trivial and insignificant to him because his familiarity, and yet may have importa scientific implications. Another proble arises if the investigator is a purely loc man: other villagers may identify him wi a particular interest group, and to the exte of this group identification they may wi draw from opening out before him, b attributing to him motives, interests a leanings, obtained from his alleged gro membership.

Action research programmes, as poinde out by Pareek and Khanna (1961) m provide material suitable for depth studie But this is possible if the relevant variabl are controlled to a reasonable degree. T careful attention to rigorous control relevant variables that is a pre-requisite all projective studies is not eas attainable in the rural setting, which lim their use. Conclusions drawn fsom proje tive tests applied to village people have be treated with caution for this reason.

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Summary and Conclusions

A research project can be launched upon only after taking into full consideration the total rural setting in all its ramifications and overlappoing permeations of influences and counter-influences operating upon the community. The specific instruments to be used, the way they are to be used for obtaining the required data would have to reflect the complexity of the phenomena being observed. The instrument has to be so flexible and tailor-made that they fit the occasion. When the villager is fully preoccupied with his work in the field say with harvesting, or irrigation or sowing operations, to confront him with a long questionnaire is not a desirable procedure. Participation-observation technique, which may be useful here, may be self-defeating if applied to a study of the village panchayat working.

The scope for rural research in this country is vast. The need of the hour is the raising of the standard of the current rural research practices in our country, so that much of the social planning and economic development programmes which depend upon the conclusions derived from these studies may have a firm footing. One major way of raising the research standard, with the limited resources available for this purpose, is by stricter adherence to the methodological aspects of the research problems, some of which have been discussed in this article.

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BUDDHIST CULTURE IN BENGAL

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The dying flame of Buddhism took its last shelter in the soil of Bengal. She kept this flame ablaze for many hundred years with all her earnestness in the teeth of various oppositions. This flame, in course of time enkindled the whole of Asia. Thus Lord Buddha's India receives the homage of Asia and the whole of the world through the noble efforts of the Bengalees. Bengalee life received an inspiration unprecedented in its history by contact with Buddhism, a clear manifestation of which may be found in our national life and literature.

Buddha's Visit to Bengal

Among the chief disciples of the Buddha there was a Bengalee. His name was Bengisa. He was gifted with poetic talents. It is stated in the Theragatha : Bange Yatoti Bengiso vacane issarotica—He is rightly called Bengisa being born in Bengal where poetry is much appreciated, and himself being a poet. It is also stated in the Sanyukta Nikaya that once Lord Buddha himself paid a visit to Setakanagara of Sumbhabhumi in Bengal. We have another evidence of the Buddha's visit as referred to in the tale of Sumagadha, the daughter of the famous Banker Anathapindika. By this time the Buddha had been staying at Pundrabardhana (Northern Bengal) for about six months. Hiuen-Tsang, the famous Chinese traveller narrated in his accounts that the Buddha himself came down to Bengal and preached his religion at Pundrabardhana, Samatata and Karnasuvarna. But modern historians do not give so much importance to this. So one cannot ascertain whether Buddhism was preached in Bengal during the lifetime of Gautama the Buddha.

Buddhism in Bengal

But it is beyond doubt that Buddhism had obtained a footing in North Bengal before the Maurya Emperor Asoka (273-2[illegible] B.C.). This is best illustrated by the voti[illegible] inscription of Sanchi Stupa. One of th[illegible] donors who met the expenditure of erecti[illegible] the gates of the Sanchi Stupas was [illegible] Bengalee lady : Dhamataya danam Punnav[illegible] dhana—The gift of Dhamata or Dharm[illegible] datta, inhabitant of Pundrabardhana. Th[illegible] proves that Buddhism spread over Pundr[illegible] bardhana before the second century B[illegible] During the reign of the Emperor Asok[illegible] Buddhism got a sound footing in Bengal. [illegible] the fifth century A.D. Buddhism flourish[illegible] in Bengal. This can be known from th[illegible] accounts of the Chinese traveller Fa-hie[illegible] At that time he learnt Buddhist Philosop[illegible] at Tamralipti for two years. He saw twen[illegible] two Buddhist monasteries at Tamralip[illegible] One can rightly deduce from this as to wh[illegible] extent Buddhism spread over Bengal.

Hiuen-Tsang left a vivid account [illegible] show that Buddhism was found to be th[illegible] dominating religion in Bengal by th[illegible] seventh century A.D. At that time the[illegible] lived thousands of Buddhist monks in th[illegible] various monasteries at Samatata, Kajang[illegible] Pundrabardhana, Tamralipti and Karnas[illegible] varna. Besides, from the accounts given [illegible] the two other chinese travellers, I-Tsi[illegible] and Sheng-Chi, we can have a nice histo[illegible] of the condition of Buddhism in Bengal a[illegible] also of the culture and wisdom of th[illegible] Bengalee Buddhists. The name of S[illegible] bhadra, who was the abbot of Nalan[illegible] University, may be mentioned in th[illegible] connection. This illustrious son of Beng[illegible] will remain ever bright in the memory [illegible] the Bengalees.

Pala Period

In the middle of the 8th century A[illegible] Buddhism became very influential in Beng[illegible] with the rise of the Pala Kings. The [illegible] of the Palas is known as the Golden Per[illegible] in the history of Bengal. The Pala period [illegible] matchless for achievements in the var[illegible]

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spheres of our national life. "During the four centuries of their rule, Bengal and Bihar remained the last stronghold of Buddhism which gradually lost hold in India. But it was precisely during this period that Mahayana Buddhism, under the patronage of the Palas, became a powerful international force, and exercised dominant influence from Tibet in the north to the islands of the Malay Archipelago in the South." (R. C. Majumdar—**History of Bengal** Vol. I). Vikramshila, Sompur Vihar, Odantapur Vihar, Jagaddal and the Nalanda University were immortal achievements of the Palas.

Sahajayana and Charyapada

Before the advent of the 8th century A.D. Buddhism underwent a change. The Mahayana form of Buddhism had developed into a form of mysticism. This religion remained dominant in Bengal and Bihar for centuries. Its influence spread outside India over Tibet, Java, Malay, Sumatra, etc. This mystic form of Buddhism is generally known as Tantrayana. One of the main systems of the Tantrayana is Sahajayana. The Sahajia Yogis composed some verses known as Charyapadas to popularise their religion. These were generally composed roughly between 10th and 12th century A.D. These Charyapadas were the first sources from which sprang forth the fountain of Bengali language and literature. The Sahajias had no belief in worship and mantras. They expressed their disregard for all these external rites and performances :

Mantana tantana dheyana dharana,
sabbabi re bada biobhamakarana.

—All these incantations, rites and worships are only causes leading to puzzles. From their subtle criticism of those old ceremonies and beliefs we can easily have an idea as to how free thinking and intellectual growth were working in them.

Voidness (Sunyata) and compassion (Karuna) together form the most peaceful state of the Bodhichitta which is the only desirable thing of the Sahajias. This peaceful state was the foundation of their meditation. The philosophical interpretation of the charyapadas were not only the proofs of their superiority, but had their literary value nonetheless. Besides, the historical value found delineated there in about the contemporary society of Bengal is by no means insignificant. These rhymes augers what we call in common parlance—'people's literature' and have, indeed, built up the edifices of the Bengali literature. The religious thoughts of the Bauls and the Vaishnavas of Bengal and other mystic saints of the middle ages were also highly influenced by the Sahajia Buddhism. But it is very essential to remember that the amalgamation of the trend of Tantrism in Bengal with the pondering moods of the Sahajias reached such a state that it deviated to a great extent from the ideals of original Buddhism.

Age of Reactions: Advent of the Sena Rulers: Muslim Invasion

Then came the age of reactions against Buddhism. This age extends roughly from the thirteenth century to the Seventeenth century. The thirteenth century is an age of revival of the Brahminical religion in the history of India. By this time at the avdent of the Senas, the Shaiva and the Vaishnava religion got a tremendous impetus and again the Vedic and the mythological ceremonies, rites and rituals regained their supremacy. At that time Buddhism was not only deprived of the royal patronage of the Palas and the Chandras but it had to confront many oppositions. The Senas and the Burmans were very conservative. They had no such liberal outlook as the Palas and the Chandras. It is important to note that neither the Senas nor the Burmans were originally Bengalees. They were immigrants in Bengal. In this respect the Palas and the Chandras were really Bengalees. The Bengalees still enshrine the memory of their beloved Mahipal, Yogipal and Bhogipal in their folk songs. At that time Buddhism had to face a two fold opposition—on one side the reactionary force of the Brahminical society and the Muslim invasion on the other side. By the inhuman cruelty of the Muslim invaders the Buddhist monasteries

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which were the nucleus of Buddhism were destroyed. Thus the dying Buddhism of Bengal took its last shelter in the frontiers of Bengal mainly in the regions of Chittagong and Tripura. These Buddhists of the Eastern part of Bengal has been keeping the dying flames of Buddhism burning.

The reaction of the Brahminical society against Buddhism has expressed itself in many ways. The revived Brahminism made every effort to wipe out a great and noble chapter of Buddhism from the pages of Indian history. Though once they declared the Buddha one of the incarnations (Avatara) of Vishnu and composed a few lines praising the Buddha, still it finds very little room in the vast scriptures of Brahminical society. Works like Chaitanya Bhagavat (of Vrindaban Das), Chaitanya Charitamrita (of Krishna Das Kaviraj) and Danasagar (by Ballal Sen) show the stern antipathy of the Brahminical religion towards Buddhism. In one chapter of the Chaitanya Bhagavat we find that Nityananda Mahaprabhu, one of the chief disciples of Chaitanyadeva, angrily kicks on the heads of the peaceloving Buddhists and drives them away. We can find other proofs of hatred and spite from the part of the 'modest' Vaishnavas towards the 'atheist' and 'heretic' Buddhists. We hear that the Vaishnava ideal is to cherish unbound love even to the lowest chandalas. But do their attitude and behaviour towards the Buddhists bear any testimony to this? Due to the reactions of the Brahminical society many Buddhistic deities had to take various disguises and sometimes the images of Lord Buddha too had to conceal themselves under the guises of Siva, Jagannath etc.

Dark Age

Then came the Age of Oblivion. No longer was such distinct exposition of Buddhist culture to be found in our literature. Since in the last part of the seventeenth century our nation became oblivious of it. There may perhaps be some scattered allusions available here and there. As the Buddha and Buddhist culture lost their pristine positions in our national life so were they wiped out from literature as well. Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen expressed his deep grief in this regard and said, "even the people of Vikrampura totally forgot the name of Dipankara, the illustrious son of Bengal. Did anybody even hear the name of Vikramsila, Nalanda, Odantapur and Suvarna Vihar? We had only learnt to take pride in the name of Yudhisthira, Bhima etc. We had a great fascination for the mythological characters like Dhruba and Prahllada. We even forgot the great war of Kalinga which took place near our house and that by killing millions of soldiers the Emperor Asoka became repentant. But we learn in verse from the legends of old far off days when and where the monkey king Sugriba along with his followers going to fight with the giant Kumbhakarna, entered into his stomach and came out through the holes of his ears, and when and through what direction Maruti taking the Gandhamadan mountain on his shoulder for the recovery of Laksmána from the piercing spear, entered into the kingdom of Lanka."

(Vrihat Banga)

Age of Revival

But this oblivion of our national life cannot be everlasting. So one day the light dawned tearing the darkness, and came the era of revival. Towards the last part of the nineteenth century, with the reawakening of our national life, the Bengalees again came to realise the glory of the Buddha and Buddhist culture. This was actually quite natural for Bengal where thinkers like Raja Rammohan, Kesab Chandra Sen and Rabindranath Tagore were born. This Buddhist consciousness of young Bengal reflected in every sphere of our culture and literature. Savants like Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra, Sarat Aghorenath, Satyendranath Tagore (elder brother of Rabindranath Tagore), Sarat Chandra Das, Haraprasad Shastri, Chandra Chandra Bhattacharya and Isan Chandra Ghosh devoted themselves to the restoration of the Buddhist heritage. Besides 'Buddhadev Charita' drama (1885 A.D.) by Girish Chandra Ghosh, 'Amitava' (1932

*The legends of Valmiki Ramayana

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A.D.) by Nabin Chandra Sen and also poems like 'Buddhabaran' and 'Buddha Purnima' of Satyendranath Dutta threw much light upon the thought of contemporary Bengal.

Rabindranath Tagore

In Rabindranath Tagore we find the sole expression of Bangali thought for the cultivation of Buddhist culture. Boundless are the contributions made by Rabindranath for the establishment of the Buddha and the Buddhist culture in the annals of Bengal and India. His devotion to Buddhist culture has been beautifully expressed in one of his sayings: "Materials of different shades of Indian thought and culture are confined in Buddhist literature and due to the lack of intimacy with them the entire history of India remains unfulfilled. Being convinced of it, cannot a few youths of our country dedicate themselves to the restoration of the Buddhist heritage and make it a mission in life"? At that time Rabindranath deputed Prof. Nityananda Binode Goswami to Ceylon and Burma for higher studies in Buddhism. Besides, Tagore's Santiniketan is today one of the greatest symposiums of Buddhist culture.

Buddhist culture has found its Spontaneous expressions to a deep and great extent in the poems, songs, dramas and essays of Rabindranath. Rabindranath realised that Indian civilization reached its peak through the Buddhist culture. He observes, "The spread of industry, commerce and imperial power was never so prominent in this country as it was during the rise and under the influence of Buddhism." (Jatrar Purbapatra—Pather Sanchay) so the poet looked back again and again to the glorious past of India for solace in the midst of our present agonies. The poet earnestly prays to the Buddha who was the great leader of that glorious chapter of Indian history:

Bring to this country once again the
blessed name
Which made the land of thy birth sacred
to all distant lands!
Let thy great awakening under the
Bodhi tree be fulfilled.
Sweeping away the veil of unreason
and let, at the end of an
oblivious night
Freshly blossom out in India thy remembrence!

—Parisesh Poem 37.

The flow of Buddhistic spirit which Rabindranath had once brought forth in our literature will never stop. It is hopeful that in our present Bengali literature too we find the right cultivation of Buddhistic traditions.

Bengalee Buddhist writers of Chittagong

The contributions of the Bengalee Buddhist writers in the revival of Buddhist culture are not less significant in our country. Really speaking, the Buddhist writers of the nineteenth century were the pioneers who introduced Buddhist culture in the field of Bengali literature. Though they remained still unknown to the historians of Bengali literature they were not insignificant. They not only kept alive the last flame of Buddhism in India but also added a valuable chapter to the Bengali literature. Poet Phulchandra is the foremost amongst the Buddhist writers in Bengal. He was born in the village of Noapara in Chittagong district where poet Nabin Chandra Sen was born. A few ballads written before Phulchandra are also found to be existing. But the names of the authors were unknown. Phulchandra composed 'Bauddha Ranjika' (1873 ?) under the patronage of the Queen Kalindi of Chittagong Hill Tracts. Amongst other writers and poets the names of Pandit Dharmaraj Barua, Nabaraj Barua, Bhikshu Agrasar and poet Sarbananda Barua are worth mentioning. Sarbananda showed his poetic talent in his boyhood. Based on the life of Gautama the Buddha he wrote 'Jagajyoti' (The Light of the world) which became famous at that time. Going through the manuscripts of 'Jagajyoti' the poet Nabin Chandra exclaimed, "Sarbananda, I would have not written 'Amitava,' if I had knowledge of your 'Jogajyoti.' This sincere appreciation of the poet speaks volumes about the poetic genius of Sarbananda. Besides, many a person took interest in introducing Buddhist thought in Bengali

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literature. By this time amongst the Buddhist periodicals Bauddha Patrika, Bauddha, Bandhu, Jagarani Buddhist India, Sanghasaki, Bauddha Bani, Uday and Sam-Bodhi may be mentioned. So one can understand that the Buddhist writers Bengal sowed the seeds of Buddhist cul in our national life and literature.

MAITHILI HAS BEEN FOR A LONG TIME AND IS TODAY A LIVING LANGUAGE

By Dr. JAYAKANTA MISHRA, M.A. D.Phil,
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THE words in the title of this essay are quoted from a recent pronouncement by the Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. It is a pity that while many would readily accept the first part of this statement they might be ignorant of the second part. The fate of Mithila and Maithili is in many ways parallel to that of Greek literature and culture. Till recently when a Greek litterateur had won the Nobel Prize for literature in 1963 there was a common belief that Greek literature is a thing of the past and there is perhaps no remarkable achievement of it in modern times.

Glories of early Maithili Literature (10th-15th Century)

It is true Maithili had a very glorious past —perhaps as glorious as that of Greek. The rise of modern vernacular literatures in North India was heralded by Maithili—in the *Bauddha Gan O Doha* of the Siddhas in South-East Mithila, in the large prose work and the dramatic lyrics of Jyotirishwar Thakkura who flourished round about 1324 A.D. and in the wonderful witchery of the prose, drama and lyrics of the great Vidyapati (1360-1448).

Middle Maithili Literature (16th-19th Century)

The influence of Maithili during the later years is also being recognized. Maithili exercised immense influence over the whole of Eastern India—Assam developed its lyrics and dramas in Maithili, Bengal and Orissa their Vaishnab Padavali literature, and Nepal its dramas. Moreover, the medieval drama Maithili—the great Kirtaniya Drama—fills large gap in the history of Indian stage Northern India. After the downfall of the Sanskrit drama it was in the quiet courts of Mithila drama found a refuge in the face of the Mus antipathy towards it as an "anti-religious" of literature. In the obscure jungles and shes of Mithila a new vernacular drama which kept on the North-Indian tradition play writing. Several hundred dramas written and, more important, acted in Mai during 16th-18th centuries in the Hindu of Mithila and Nepal.

Modern Maithili Literature (1880-1963)

The fact remains to be emphasized Maithili continued to flourish even after Early and Middle periods, that even today a flourishing and living literature. The tre of Maithili literature have changed, as must, if a literature and language are a li entity. Today it has almost discarded its script called Tirhuta and adopted the pan-I script of Sanskrit (viz., Devakshar). Maithili also begun to give greater emphasis to New forms of literature mostly influenced by Western forms of literature have come to Changed though it is, it is still conti alive and kicking. It is futile to attempt suppress it by refusing to recognise it in Sahitya Akademi or in the constitution of land. Let us here make an acquaintance few of the very great figures in Modern literature.

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Kavishwar Chanda Jha (1830-1907)

One of the greatest poets of modern times Kavishwar Chanda Jha was the father of modern Maithili literature. He laid the foundations of modern scholarship in Maithili, he created modern Maithili prose and he gave a new turn to the lyric-ridden tradition of Maithili poetry. His *magnum Opus* was *Mithilabhasha Ramayan* (1886) which has become very popular all over Mithila and has run into several editions by now. He helped Sir George A. Grierson in studying the Maithili language and literature (who by the way, was the first modern scholar to literally "discover" Maithili and place it on the linguistic map of India). Chanda Jha also worked for many years in collaboration with the late Sarda Charan Mitter and Babu Nagendranath Gupta when they were compiling the authentic poems of Vidyapati during the eighties of the last century. It goes to the credit of Chanda Jha to have restored Govindadas to Maithili literature and it was largely on the basis of his findings that fifty years later Dr. Amaranath Jha could bring out a scholarly Maithili edition of Govindadas's poems called *Shringerbhajanawali.*

Muralidhar Jha (1868-1921)

Pandit Muralidhar Jha was the architect of modern Maithili journalism. He started a monthly magazine *Moda* in 1906 from Benares and attracted a large number of young and old writers to his magazine. He encouraged them to write freely, and himself wrote fearlessly essays and editorials on a variety of topics—social, literary and political. His style was marked by pungency and *suave satire.* It is regretted that as yet a complete set of his writings has not been published but the twenty-three volumes of *Moda* stand as a permanent monument of the great force he was once upon a time in the growth and development of Maithili prose.

Suarama Jha (Born 1891)

One of the disciples of Pandit Muralidhar Jha, Sitarama Jha is the oldest living poet of Maithili. He has been described truly as the poets' poet. He has literally made many of the modern Maithili poets. Among his poetical works may be mentioned *Ambacharita* 1958 (epic), *Suktisudharatnasangraha* (in several parts) and *Lokalakshana* (the characteristics of men).

Mahakavi Raghunandan Das (1860-1945)

Raghunandan Das belongs to the group of Maithili writers : Harkhanatha Jha, Chanda Jha and Vishwanatha Jha. He wrote the famous patriotic drama *Mithila Nataka* and *Putangada Vyayog* and gave a new turn to Maithili drama. Among his poetical works may be mentioned *Subhadraharan* (epic) and *Vira-Balaka* (Khandakavya).

Laladasa (1873-1920)

A prolific writer Laldas is today remembered for his prose work *Strishiksha* and his epic *Rameshwar Charita Ramayana.*

Mahavaiyakaran Dinabandhu Jha (1874-1950)

Dinabandhu Jha was a great Sanskrit scholar and during his last years adorned the Chair of Vishishta Vidwan in the Mithila Sanskrit Research Institute. His place in the history of Maithili literature is immortal on account of the remarkable dictionary and grammar which he wrote. His grammar *Mithilabhashavidyotana* was written in 22 years and is unique because like the great Panini he has presented the entire grammar of Maithili in sutra form. I do not know if such a scholarly grammar exists of any other modern Indian language.

Kavishekhar Badarinatha Jha (Born 1898)

Another learned Sanskrit scholar who has made himself immortal by his contributions to Maithili literature, Kavishekhar Jha is the author of a great epic *Ekavali-Parinaya* (1938) which is full of poetic excellences in the best Indian tradition.

Bhola Das (Born 1897)

A Vakil by profession, Babu Bholadas has been a Founder-Seceretary and later President of the All India Maithili Sahitya Parishad of Darbhanga. He is a veteran scholar of Maithili

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and has edited many works, including the Parishad magazine *Bharati*.

Bhuvaneshwarsingh Bhuvan (1907-45)

Fearless critic, experienced editor, thoughtful and forceful essayist "Bhuvan" was an innovator in Maithili lyric. The preface to his collection of poems *Ashaha* (1936) is a standing testimony to it and may well be compared to the 1802 preface of the *Lyrical Ballads* by the English poet Wordsworth. His attempt to reform Maithili spelling in the magazine *Vibhuti* which he edited anonymously has however failed to find followers.

Ramanatha Jha (Born 1906)

One of the most learned of young scholars in Maithili, Ramanatha Jha has written many works of criticism. He is chiefly associated with the quarterly journal which he used to edit several years ago the *Sahitya Patra* and which finally brought into vogue the scientific and the traditional spelling of Maithili which other scholars had long been advocating.

Professor Harimohan Jha (Born 1908)

Professor Harimohan Jha is the greatest and the most popular writer of Maithili. He has written several novels and short stories and is a master of the comic spirit. His famous novels are *Kanyadan* and *Dwiragaman* which are soon going to be filmed.

Saroj (1908-1945)

One of the most ardent Maithili enthusiasts of his day, Saroj died a premature death. He was a good fiction writer and his *Madhavi Madhava* is still read with interest but he could not fulfil himself as he fell a victim to the sorry pecuniary circumstances which unfortunately are the lot of many of our young promising writers in this country who want to adopt writing as a profession.

Professor Surendra Jha "Suman" (Born 19

One of the most accomplished writers Maithili today Professor Suman is simultaneo poet, critic and editor. He is popularly kno as "Sampadakji" in the Maithili world. H loved and respected by all—he has no g affiliations and nobody is his enemy in this w world. He has edited the *Mihira*. (Week *Swadesh* (daily) and *Vaidehi* (monthly) f number of years and trained and encourag large number of writers. Among his publi books of poems may be mentioned *Pratip* and *Archana*.

Madhupa (Born 1907)

A born poet Shri Madhupa is a poet of g originality. His poems are collected in sev volumes, Chief of which are *Shatadal* a *Jhankar*.

Raghavacharya (Born 1917)

One of the most impressive of the poets the present generation, Raghavacharya is author of several volumes of poetry *Banak Madhukana, Jwalamukhi* etc.

It is neither possible nor it is my intentio present here all the writers—not even all writers who count. All that has been done is to introduce a few great writers—rather a trarily chosen, as many important ones been left out. To name a few such emin whom it would be equally if not more delig to meet and make even a similar cursary acq tance of, I may be permitted to ment Harkhanath (1847-1898), Vindhyanath, Gan (1869-1913), Jivan Jha (1845-1912), Bal Mishra, Jyotishi (Born 1890), Mm. Para war Jha (1856-1924), Janasidane (1869-19 Mm. Bakhshi (1860-1938), Yaduvara (1888-1 "Madhuva," Gangapatisingha, Ishanatha Umesha Mishra, Ramakara, Dutta br Kiran, Narendranathadas, Yatri, Subhadra "Amara" and many, many others.

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BOOK REVIEWS

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EADPUR—A WEST BENGAL VILLAGE : Published by the Socio-argo-economic Organization, Department of Agriculture, Government of West Bengal and authoured by Sri Santi Priya Bose, assisted by Messrs. Satadal Das Gupta, Social Anthropologist, Bani Rudra, Asstt. Agricultural Chemist and Tarit Biswas, Agronomist. Demy 8 Vo. Pp. 70, price not mentioned.

This little brochure is ostensibly a study in the rice yields of a West Bengal Village. The occasion for such a study, as described in the Foreward, was the report that came to the Department of Agriculture that rice yields in this village was very high even compared to those from contiguous areas in the same subdivision with comparable levels of soil potentials and facilities and their lack being indentical.

The importance of increasing agricultural yields, especially in the essential foodgrains sectors, in the context of economic advancement and progress is all too obvious to need any stress. In fact, according to most schools of economic thinking in this country (what little may still seem to servive the increasing regimentation into a predetermined grooves) and also abroad, one of the fundamental defects of economic planning as it is currently being essayed in this country under Government sponsorship, has been the premature emphasis that would seem to being laid upon rapid and massive industrialization before the necessary bases of agricultural surpluses have been laid. In fact, if the statistical material that are being cooked up from time to time in the kitchens of the various official statistical organizations can be relied upon to even remotely indicate actual trends, there would not seem to be any question but that India will have to travel a long way ahead and make up for a great deal of already subsisting shortfalls before she can hope to get out of her present rather enormous dependence on imports for even her basic food requirements which are at somewhat rudimentary levels. True, the Planning Commission have, from time to time, been spelling out targets of production which, if they were realised, would take the country on to self-sufficiency. Unfortunately targets in this behalf have never, so far, been realised even within what may be described as reasonable margins ; neither during the first two quinquennial plans, nor are they likely, on present showing, to do so during the current Plan.

In the meanwhile the Planning Commission have been glibly spelling out over-widening industrial targets at enormous expense of resources, a great deal of which is being borrowed from abroad at what may only be regarded as ruinous cost. The whole process, in its entirety, has not nearly been inevitably affecting the over-all dynamics of economic progress but has also been overlaying the very constitutional foundations of this so-called process of progress. While it cannot be denied that there has been some increase in over-all production as indexed by the increase in the gross national product (claimed to have been some 42 per cent during the first decade of planning), it is also demonstrable that its benefits to the nation has been more than off-set by progressively increasing concentration of both income and wealth in fewer and fewer hands as never before as well as in the increasing impoverishment of the masses by the twin process of spiralling price levels and continuously mounting levels of indirect taxation

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directly and, often far more than proportionately, affecting basic living costs.

It is also correspondingly demonstrable that agriculture, except for spelling out ambitions targets which have always been predestined to remain substantially unrealised, has been receiving very litle of the attention it should have been given. The history of the more industrially advanced countries of the West would show that rapid industrialization in those countries has always followed, not preceded, the laying down of a sound and surplus agricultural economy. Eeven as recently as in post-world war II Europe, the basic strength of the EEC and their bargaining advantages even compared to other industrially advanced countries have been founded on and reinforced by, the appropriate emphasis upon and the co-ordination of industrial advance with corresponding advance in farm production.

One of the principal requisites towards the enanciation of the needed dynamics in Indian agriculture would seem to be a factual assessment of the present conditions of this vast industry, on which very meanly 70 per cent of our people have yet to depend for their sustenance, and its future potentials. We come across a mass of statistical materials from time to time issued from various official sources, a great deal of which are often found to be mutually incompatible and even contradictory. In fact we are never told how these facts are culled or the statistics generated. For, as far as the country is aware there has never yet been a comprehensive survey of Indian agriculture since the days 36 years ago, when the Linlithgow Commission submitted their Report. There have been basic changes not merely in the concepts of agriculture snice those days, but also in the geographical premises upon which the Linlithgow Commission had based their findings; for one thing the country itself has been divided into two independent and generally always bickering twins. A new, comprehensive, fact-finding survey would, therefore, seem to be the most urgent need of the hour, before anyone can assess its present condition and future potentials. It must have taken the Planning Commission an unusual measure of clairvoyance in the present condition of rather abysmal ignorance of agriculture, its real needs and future potentials, to have enabled them to plan for it as glibly albeit futilely as they seem to have been doing.

It is in this wider context that I have been studying this little brochure under review. A great deal of patient, painstaking and detailed study and research, it would seem, have been concentrated upon this one little village in West Bengal and the findings based upon incontrovertible facts are listed in the brochure. The conclusions drawn are, at least some of them, very startling, even revealing in their basic contents. For instance, the disparity in the paddy yields of two almost adjoining villages with comparable soil fertility and other advantages and disadvantages almost equally balanced; whereas in the one village there was a larger proportion of use of fertilizers and greater emphasis upon cultural operations with correspondingly much higher yield per acre, in the next village it was not so done. The question that would seem to be posed thereby should be quite fundamental. The author puts it down to the fact that while in the village with the higher yield the cultivating families consisted of the Ugra Kshatriya caste who have traditionally been tillers of the soil for innumerable generations and are, therefore, more deeply rooted to the soil, those in the next village were compounded of a heterogeneous admixture with far looser ties with the soil. It may very well be the right answer and if it were so it would seem to pose problems of a corresponding measure affecting the processes and fortunes of agriculture as a whole throughout West Bengal.

The study under review covers only a limited field as also a correspondingly limited purpose. Even so, it appears to have been both honestly and scientifically carried out. What is required is to extend and widen the fields of such honest, scientific and detailed studies to progressively cover the entire agricultural field. Then must follow the even more onerous task of coordinating the findings of all such scattered enquiries, eliminating all wrong emphases and other defects and thus arrive at a realistic and balanced picure of the entire field of Indian agriculture and not, as at present, as the fancy of the Planning Commission paints. Only then an assessment of potentials could be real and eventually realisable. Shri Santi Priya Bose has shown the way. It is now upto the powers that be in the *Subas* of the Indian empire as well as in the imperial *Salamat* to decide to follow it up with a more comperehensive and purposeful consideration.

Karuna K. Nandi

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Indian Periodicals

How Positive is Our Credit Policy ?

The following article published by the *Economic Weekly* under the above caption would seem to be an intelligent and timely evaluation of current trends in credit policy :

Following the Finance Minister's October 11 statement, the Reserve Bank of India replaced the three-tier system of lending rates with a two-tier one wih effect from October 30, 1963. Banks may now obtain Reserve Bank accommodation to the extent of 75 per cent of their statutory reserve at 4½ per cent per annum and a further 75 per cent at 6 per cent. Accommodation over 150 per cent of their statutory reserve may be available to banks, also at 6 per cent per annum, but only after negotiation between them and the Reserve Bank.

After the high hopes raised by his broadcast, the Reserve Bank's announcement came as a damper. The new measure was widely described as half-hearted and a case was made for total abolition of the "outmoded" multiple-tier system.

During the first half of 1962 the consensus of opinion was in favour of raising the bank rate so as to bring it into line with market rates. But the drop in investment activity following the declaration of the Emergency, however, brought about a complete change in the climate of opinion and the pendulum swung to the other extreme. The need now was for cheap and liberal bank credit as an instrument for reviving investment.

Opposite Criticisms

The multiple-tier system of lending rates has been subjected to two opposite criticisms. On the one hand, it is argued that the system has failed to achieve its objective of keeping the expansion of bank credit under control. When the Reserve Bank introduced the new system in October 1960 it was explained that the aim was to secure "an abatement of the pressure of monetary demand which has been a contributory factor to the rise in the commodity prices." This criticism, however, can be rebutted by a reference to the statistics of credit expansion. Between May 1960 and May 1963 bank credit increased by Rs. 429 crores or at an average annual rate of 13 per cent. Considering the rise in industrial production during this period, this increase cannot be considered excessive.

On the other hand, it is argued that the tier system has put bank credit in a strait jacket so tight that it has been responsible for the stagnation in investment. This criticism has become more vocal since the money market turned very tight in the last busy season when the inter-bank call money rate remained perched at 6½ per cent for quite some time. Most of the banks borrowed from the Reserve Bank at the penalty rates and in March, the amount of such borrowings exceeded Rs. 83 crores. Banks unloaded about Rs. 120 crores of Government securities to meet the credit demand as against Rs. 25 crores during the previous busy season. Further, bank deposits from the public declined by Rs. 10 crores between October 1962 and March 1963 while they had risen by Rs. 106 crores during the corresponding period a year ago. These developments lend weight to the banks' argument that the Reserve Bank should have been more liberal at that time as the credit demand for legitimate purposes had increased steeply. In March 1963 the Reserve Bank relented somewhat and announced that banks would be eligible for additional accommodation against their advances to small-scale industries and against export bills discounted by them. This was in pursuance of the Government's policy of encouraging small industries and promoting exports, but it could hardly be expected to go very far towards easing the banks' liquidity position at the height of the busy season.

Use of Bank Credit

A case can be made out for more liberal credit but the danger of such a policy in a situation of scarcity, where the chances of diversion of funds to speculative hoarding are very great, must be clearly recognised. The Government's pricing policy, among other factors, has already caused a diversion of investment into non-priority sectors. This has been admitted. Cheaper credit may aggravate this trend and thereby further frustrate Plan priorities.

It has been pointed out by the proponents of liberal credit that in recent years the proportion of industrial advances to the total bank advances has increased significantly at the expense of commercial advances. According to a survey of

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bank advances by the Reserve Bank, 57.2 per cent of total bank advances were to industries in March 1963 as against 52.7 per cent in April 1961. This is no doubt an encouraging sign, though it should be remembered that the Reserve Bank has recently taken upon itself a sizeable share of the burden of agricultural financing through its advances to cooperatives. To that extent, therefore, banks are in a position to increase their industrial advances. The change in the direction of bank credit has been advanced as an argument that any brake on its expansion will affect industrial production.

There is another aspect to be considered. The increasing reliance of industries on bank advances as against equity capital was strongly criticised by the former Finance Minister. So long as a reasonable loan-equity ratio is not established, increase in banks' industrial advances cannot be treated as an unmixed blessing. If, instead of supplementing, bank advances supplant equity capital, industrial production will not rise with the increase in bank credit.

Rate of Interest and Investment

The criticism that by raising the cost of bank credit the Reserve Bank's monetary policy has been responsible for the drop in investment activity grossly exaggerates the importance of the rate of interest as a determinant of investment. It has now become a text-book maxim that the cost of bank credit has little effect on encouraging or depressing investment activity. "The data obtained from a number of inquiries starting with that of the Oxford Economists Research Group and ending with the Radcliffe Report point consistently to a low sensitivity of investment to interest cost within the normal range of interest rates . . . . undoubtedly there is some rate of interest at which investment would be significantly curtailed but within the range of rates experienced in the fifties it seems unlikely that private investment can be contracted by more than 2 per cent."

In a largely protected economy, like ours, where profit expectations rule high, dear money loses importance as a deterrent to investors. "The importance of the interest rate becomes quite minor as compared with fiscal considerations. In the case of borrowing indeed the saving of tax is actually more important than the question of how great a burden repayment will place on the borrower." With high rates of income tax, the effect of interest rates on investment activity gets further weakened. In most of the advanced countries the emphasis has shifted, therefore, from trying to influence demand for credit by manipulating the bank rate of regulating credit from the supply end by operating on the liquidity of the banks.

The tier system is a compromise between quantitative and qualitative control, and has been adopted, in different forms, in many advanced countries. In Germany, for example, banks obtain central bank accommodation in two ways: through rediscounting bills at the bank rate up to a prescribed discounting quota and, beyond that limit, through advances at a rate higher than the bank rate. In some other countries the bank rate is "graded according to the Central Bank credit taken, so that an increase in the amount is subjected to discrimination."

The pronounced seasonal character of bank credit in India makes credit control difficult. Further, the small size of the market for Government securities limits the scope of open market operations, while the Reserve Bank has yet to gain sufficient experience in the use of variable reserve ratios against the background of wide seasonal variations in credit demand. Prior to the introduction of the tier system, the Reserve Bank was operating through what may be called a "system of threats"—at the end of each busy season the Governor issued a warning that if a specified reduction in credit supply was not achieved during the slack season, the Reserve Bank would tighten up its advances policy in the next busy season. The threat did work, but it was admittedly a crude system to operate.

Not too Rigid

Heavy reliance by banks on Reserve Bank accommodation at the peak of the busy season is a normal feature of banking in India. Although banks say that their borrowings from the Reserve Bank are temporary, the loans persist until the pressure of the busy season eases. Under such circumstances, quantitative credit restriction through a system of variable ratios is likely to prove to be too rigid and its impact on credit supply may be too severe. In this respect, the holding out the possibility of Reserve Bank accommodation even above 150 per cent of the banks' statutory reserve, the two-tier system introduced in October makes for flexibility. Through its two slabs, the system allows the element in interest rate to test the intensity of demand. Before deciding to borrow at the higher rate banks would re-evaluate their advances and judge more strictly the legitimacy of loan proposals so as to be able to present a plausible case to the Reserve Bank at the negotiation stage for advances above 150 per cent of statutory re-

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serves, should that stage come subsequently. The multiple-tier system thus allows the cost element in interest rate some scope for operation. And if the growth in deposits which took place during the latter part of the last busy season is maintained, the increase in the quantum of accommodation available to the banks at each of the two rates will be quite substantial.

The factors responsible for the slow down in investment are fairly well known and are mostly non-monetary in character. As long as effective steps are not taken to remove these obstacles, more liberal bank advances through larger Reserve Bank lending to banks will not bolster up investment. It is interesting to note in this connection that a recent survey of 34 companies showed that only two were handicapped by the stringency in the money market (*The Economic Times*, November 11, 1963).

The important point to note is that a "positive" credit policy must aim at more than ensuring easy availability of bank credit. In a planned economy like ours, it must go farther and ensure that bank advances conform to the objectives and priorities of planning. It is here that the Reserve Bank's tier-system proves to be inadequate.

At present bank credit does not form an integral part of the Plan and is largely left to be regulated according to demand and profitability. Such a policy has its pitfalls. For one thing, bank credit is likely to go largely to the big borrowers, particularly during a credit squeeze. If statistics were published by the Reserve Bank of the breakdown of bank credit according to the size of loan amounts, the extent to which the big borrower predominates in bank advances would be revealed. Banks cannot be blamed for this, since lending to big borrowers is generally more profitable, stable and safe. If adequate bank finance has not been available to small-scale industries, to which the Plan attaches so much importance, the blame must be laid at the door of the Reserve Bank for its failure to give any positive direction to bank credit.

A number of institutional agencies have been set up for financing small-scale industries, but the problem is too big for such agencies to tackle by themselves. Banks have to shoulder a greater responsibility in this respect than they have done hitherto. The Reserve Bank at present allows additional accommodation, but the amount is not likely to be very considerable. What the Reserve Bank should do is to make the additional accommodation, which is now available to banks for the asking, conditional on the fulfilment of certain targets of advances to small industries. Banks may be asked to channel a certain percentage of their advances to small-scale industries and additional accommodation should be made available to banks only if they fulfil this target.

The Reserve Bank could go even further and penalise banks which fail to lend to small industries to the extent prescribed. The penalty may take the form of a reduction, by the amount of the shortfall in advances to small industries, in the accommodation available to banks under the second-tier of the Bank Rate. Similar measures could be adopted to channel bank advances to export-oriented industries also. In New Zealand, for instance, since March this year, banks have to place 1½ per cent of their total deposits with the Central Bank in a fund earmarked for financing exports and meeting the long-term needs of industries. Some such arrangements may be usefully adopted here.

Bank Advances and Plan Priorities

The reorientation of credit policy should not stop with this. The Plan lays down a scale of priorities but no effort has been made to make bank advances conform to these priorities. As far as the banks are concerned, at present they operate in a virtually plan-less economy. Greater pressure from the Reserve Bank on the banks to regulate their advances according to Plan priorities is, therefore, essential. But before that can be done, the priorities have to be defined with much greater precision than the Planning Commission.

The Finance Minister has raised high hopes by talking of a "positive" credit policy. But until he spells out the measures he has in mind, it will remain uncertain how far he will go. No doubt, the bill to amend the Banking Companies Act, now before Parliament, gives the Reserve Bank very wide powers to control banks. But assumption of powers without a better appreciation of the purposes for which they are to be used, as well as readiness to use them for these purposes, will not go very far.

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Foreign Periodicals

The United Nations nobody knows

Paul G. Hoffman, Managing Director of the United Nations special Fund, writing in the *Saturday Review* under the above caption presents a behind the curtains picture of the U.N.'s multi-faceted activities which should be of immense interest to all those who are concerned in the future of the human race :

Most people in the United States, recent polls have clearly shown, support the United Nations. One poll, for example, revealed that 79 per cent of American citizens felt that the U.S. should retain its membership in the world organization, while only 8 per cent wanted the country to get out of the U.N. (13 per cent had no opinion). Surprisingly, however, an overwhelming percentage of those favoring the U.N. have only the foggiest notion of what it has done—and can do. Less than 10 per cent of the organization's American supporters, a recent study showed, had any extensive knowledge of its work. This is, to say the least, disturbing, since the U.N. needs wide public understanding of its activities if it is to have the backing it requires.

Broadly, these activities fall into two categories: first, political and diplomatic work aimed *directly* at the maintenance of peace ; and second, social and economic activities that *indirectly* promote stable, lasting peace by helping to eliminate the underlying causes of conflict.

Of these two categories, the "peacekeeping" function of the United Nations is known best. Thus Korea, Suez, and the Congo have become household names. Fairly well known, too, is the most recent U.N. "peacekeeping" success in settling the dispute between the Netherlands and Indonesia over West Irian (New Guinea). But many of the U.N.'s greatest successes in "peacekeeping" have come about as a result of "quiet diplomacy" by its Secretaries-General.

I remember Dag Hammarskjold's quick reaction when, as a newcomer to the United Nations, I urged him to publicize his success in negotiating a dangerous dispute between two countries. His reply was firm and categoric : "No, not a whisper of this must get out." He was afraid that publicity might embarrass the countries concerned and cause other nations to hesitate before seeking the good offices of the U.N. in connection with their problems.

If some people have a limited awareness of the U.N.'s political role, public knowledge of its constructive social and economic work is, by comparison, almost nonexistent. Many otherwise well-informed Americans are surprised to learn that 20,500 of the 23,000 staff members employed by the U.N. and its family of related agencies (that is, 89 per cent) are exclusively engaged in promoting social and economic welfare. The point can be driven home with other significant statistics. Since 1949, for example, no less than $5.75 billion flowed from the three capital-supplying institutions associated with the U.N. to help meet urgent capital requirements of developing countries, and 18,000 international experts have been sent to those countries under U.N. family auspices to impart their skills.

Yet despite the scope, magnitude, and usefulness of results already achieved in the socio-economic field, such U.N. efforts still pass unnoticed. As Secretary-General U Thant recently declared to a group of Asian editors: "It is not easy to focus the interest of the public on subjects that do not carry in them elements of drama and controversy such as the political news that crowds headlines and radio waves." His remarks confirm what a journalist friend once said when I asked him why the press did not report more fully the U.N.'s important contribution to economic and social progress. "You must understand one thing," he replied. "The task of helping low-income countries leap into the twentieth century just doesn't seem dramatic. It's not newsworthy. Let me put it this way: If you build a fifty-seven-story skyscraper in the heart of Manhattan, my editor would probably give it a spot mention someplace in the financial section. But if you blow up a two-story building anywhere, I can get you top billing on the front page."

Even though the U.N.'s social and economic activities may not be "newsworthy" in this sense, they still should be better understood and supported. They have an essential role to play in the epic struggle currently being waged by almost two-thirds of humanity to raise living standards.

With hindsight, future historians may see the outcome of this struggle as the pivotal event of the twentieth century. Currently, hundreds of millions of people in Asia, Africa, and Latin America are actively revolting against inadequate living conditions—a fact of momentous significance.

The antecedents of this sudden revolt lie in

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the far-reaching, world-wide impact of the extraordinary advances in transportation and communications. Radio and television, jet plane and space vehicle have made puddles of the oceans, molehills of mountains, and sandlots of deserts that once separated Eastern and Southern peoples from those of the North and West. Only yesterday, it took eighty days to go around the world; today, astronauts girdle it in as many minutes. The largest audience that could be reached yesterday with the spoken word was measured in thousands; today, in million; and tomorrow, it will be possible for the human voice *and image* to be carried to hundreds of millions in all parts of the globe simultaneously. The world has in fact become one neighborhood.

But if so, the world's inhabitants are only just beginning to grasp the revolutionary implications of this fact. It is not easy to start thinking of three billion people as neighbors.

For a sharper perspective, let us imagine for a moment a mythical city of 3,000,000 people, each individual symbolizing, 1,000 others of similar social and economic backgrounds in the actual world. The flourishing districts of this city are inhabited by 1,000,000, mostly light-skinned, citizens. Although there are wide differences between them in ideology, in religion, in customs and mores, most of them live comfortably and many, indeed, in affluence. They are adequately fed, well educated, quite healthy, and have a life expectancy of roughly seventy years. The contrast with the *other* 2,000,000 inhabitants of our mythical city of 3,000,000 is striking. The overwhelming majority of these are undernourished, destined from birth to poverty, ignorance, and disease, and certain to die before the age of thirty-five.

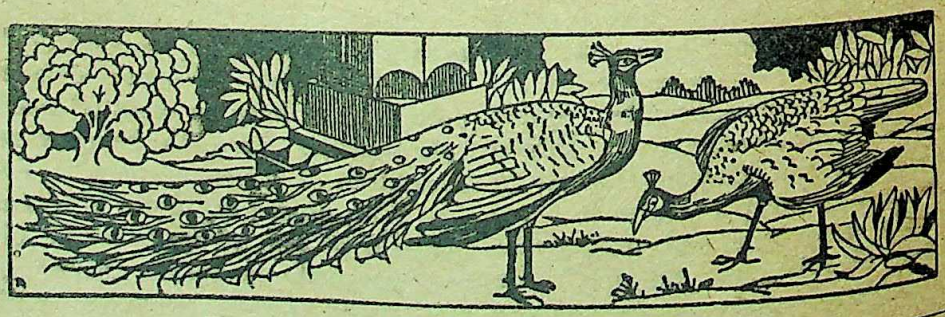
If conditions like these existed in a real city today, social tensions would be acute, even dangerously explosive. Yet, on a larger scale, precisely this situation prevails in our world today.

In virtually *all* of the developing countries, for example, one finds a radically transformed attitude toward poverty, hunger, illiteracy, and preventable ill health. For centuries, people in the low-income areas, because they were isolated and knew no differently, patiently accepted these terrible scourges as inescapable. But with radio in almost every village and jet planes overhead, underprivileged people everywhere now realize that people in the advanced countries enjoy very good lives. And they are determined to achieve for themselves and for their children lives of decency and dignity.

Happily, the leaders of developing countries recognize that the primary responsibility for bringing about these improved living conditions lies with them and with their people. Major national efforts in this direction are already under way. This fact is of fundamental importance because development assistance can only help those who are willing to help themselves. It can supplement, but never be a substitute for, the *national* effort.

Without outside help, however, the leaders of the developing nations stand little chance of being able to help their people satisfy their reasonable and very legitimate aspirations. Poverty, unfortunately, has a tendency to be self-perpetuating. To escape from the treadmill that economists call "the vicious circle of underdevelopment," developing nations require external assistance of many types.

In almost the entire range of technical and economic activities, the United Nations and its specialized agencies have been providing more and more development assistance to low-income countries. The bulk of it has come from the capital-supplying institutions and two voluntary programs.



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The MODERN REVIEW

NOTICE

The offices of **The Modern Review** as well as their printing establishment **The Prabasi Press Private Ltd.**, have been shifted to new premises at 77/2/1,, Dharamtala Street, Calcutta-13 (Phone : 24-5520).

The inevitable dislocation in the printing organization and programme caused by the removal to new premises made a great deal of delay in the publication of the April, 1964 number of **The Modern Review** inescapable which is very deeply regretted.

Subscribers, contributors and other interested parties are requested to note the change of address and to please all their communications, remittances, etc., to this new address henceforth.

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Calcutta-13
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Education in Mughal India —Atulananda Sen
Krishnamachari's Second Budget —Karuna K. Nandi
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APRIL
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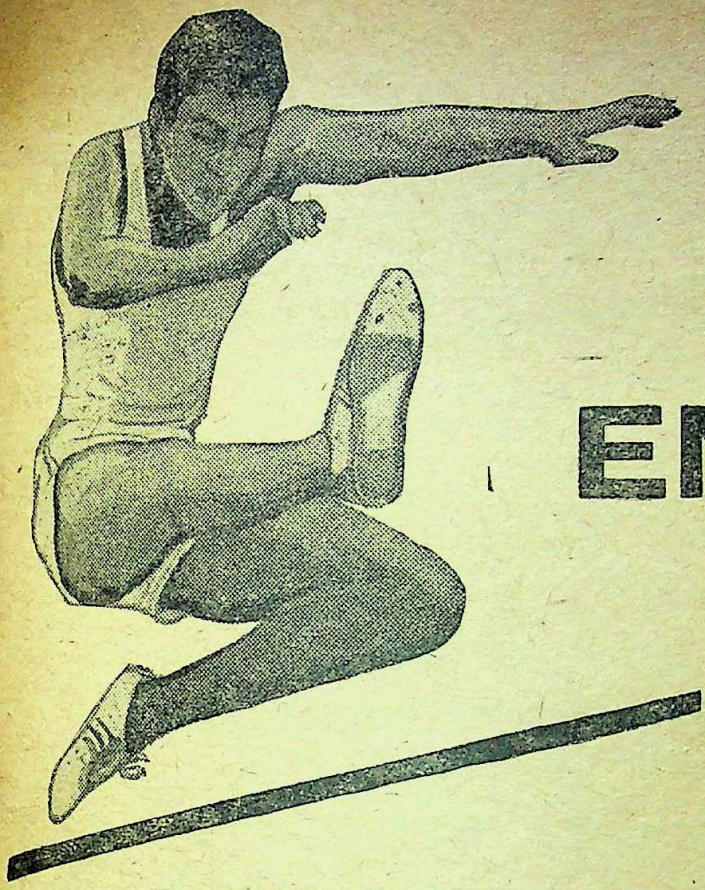

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ছাত্র বা নর-নারীরই শিক্ষা
সম্পূর্ণ হয় না

কাশীরাম দাস বিরচিত অষ্টাদশপর্ব্ব

মহাভারত

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রামানন্দ চট্টোপাধ্যায় সম্পাদিত

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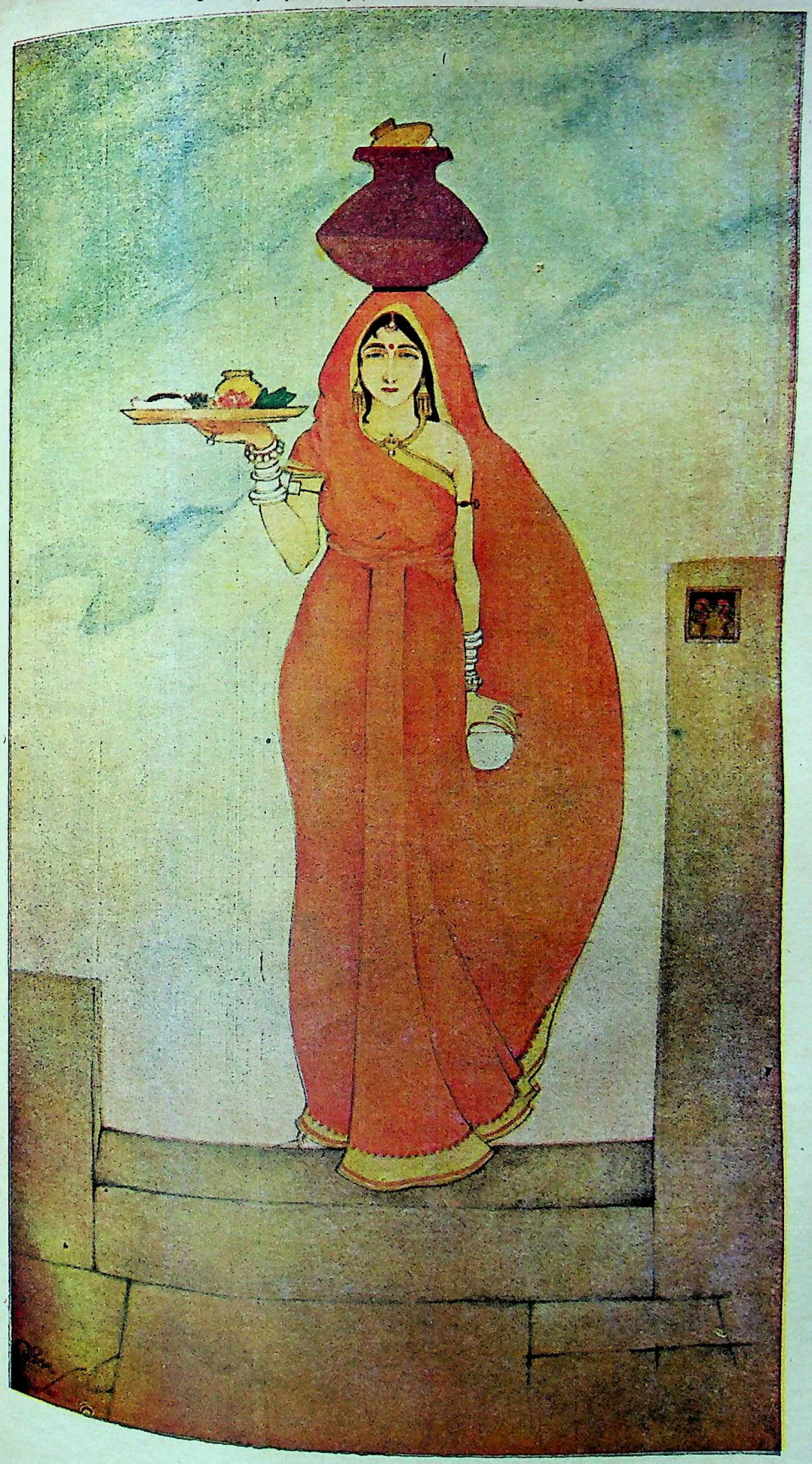

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THE MODERN REVIEW

APRIL 1964

VOL. CXV, No. 4 WHOLE No. 688

NOTES

THE WORLD

The international situation is in a state of flux. The two giants of the Communist World have fallen out, though as yet the only outcome of this rift is an outpouring of acrid comments and denunciations from both sides. The first open declaration of an ideological War came from Red China which tried to stage a show-down with the Soviets on the ground of the betrayal of fundamental tenets of Marxism. The Soviet leadership tried to play down the differences at first, despite outrageous criticisms of the Soviet's international stand on the principle of peaceful co-existence and deliberate levelling of insulting remarks at Soviet leadership in the person of Nikita Khrushchev. The Soviet attempt to patch-up the widening gaps in ideology, for the sake of maintaining an outward appearance of solidarity in the Communist Enclave before the rest of the world, failed when Peking accelerated its attempt to wrest the leadership in Communism from the Soviets. The breach became wide-open with the conclusion of the anti-Nuclear Test Treaty.

Now the Soviet leadership has taken off its gloves and is hitting back at the China of Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai. The differences are long-standing and the "revelations" that have followed the break-off of the negotiations are merely well-kept secrets. The compromise of 1960, when Moscow tried to bridge the gap between the two stand-points with statement of principles adopted by a Communist "Summit meeting", broke down under the differences of interpretation in the two rival capitals. Then last July the Russians tried direct talks but they collapsed through the strain imposed on them by Chinese intransigence. Then the Russians tried to "avoid public polemics" but the prolonged Soviet silence only encouraged the Chinese to intensify their attacks. Finally the Soviet attempts at placcating the Peking accusers were given up and the silence on the Russian side was broken with an attack on the Chinese in **Pravda**, published about the end of March. It was further disclosed that the Soviet Communist Party's Chief Theoretician, Mikhail Suslov, had told a party plenum that the party was seeking another meeting of all Communist Parties in order to try to overcome the difficulties caused by the differences between the Chinese Communist party leadership and the international Communist movement. Further, during the first week of April, while touring Hungary, Premier Khrushchev ridiculed the Chinese brand of Marxism as one that would willingly see "half of mankind destroyed" in a nuclear war. He stated that "the convulsive efforts of the Chinese leaders to seize power over the Communist movement will end in abject failure."

At the same time there was evidence that the Western Communist parties were giving in deep and anxious consideration to

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the implications of the Soviet call for another meeting. The reluctance to agree to a "show-down" type of meeting that could cause a formal split not only within the Communist movement as a whole but within many individual parties was understandable. That these fears are not baseless has been clearly evinced by the breach in the Communist Party of India.

According to Western calculations the countries with Communist governments that are clearly with the U.S.S.R., are Mongolia, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland and Yugoslavia. Those that show some reluctance as yet to take sides, include East Germany, Rumania, Cuba and—to some extent—North Vietnam and North Korea as well. The two that are solidly at the extreme of the ultra-revolutionary wing are Albania and Red China. Amongst the parties that openly function in non-Communist countries, most Western European parties and that of Italy, solidly support the U.S.S.R. though small factions exist that are pro-Chinese, as in India. But factions that are strongly pulling for China exist in Norway and in Indonesia, Japan, New Zealand, Malaya, Thailand and Cambodia. Communism has now become an object of infinite variety. But Western experts doubt that Russia wants to break off with China openly. They believe that these are pressure tactics. But nevertheless Premier Khrushchev is not likely to halt his campaign for the public repudiation of Peking by as many Communist parties as possible. The "little summit" meeting in Moscow at the middle of April seems to be only the first of a series of inter-party consultations, which are likely to continue for sometime. The ultimate resolution of the differences between Russia and China does not seem to be the sole objective. The issues seem to include the growing demands amongst the 90 odd Communist parties of the World for greater freedom of action. The idea of "separate roads to Socialism"—a thesis up held by both Marx and Lenin but suppressed by Stalin—which was endorsed by Khrushchev at the Twentieth Soviet Party Congress held in February 1956 during his denunciation of Stalin, seems to be on the March. Mao Tse-tung had questioned Khrushchev's doctrinal innovations within a few months of that, and starting with that the whole Communist world is now in a ferment.

Meanwhile changes in the view point seem to be in the offing, at the other extreme of the political world. Although as yet there is no open breach in the solidarity of the NATO powers, the conspicuous displays of independence **vis-a-vis** the U.S. demonstrated time and again by President de Gaulle shows that the rigid integration of the NATO alliance is in danger of disruption, unless a timely readjustment of controls is made. Amongst all the heads of the states that form that alliance, the towering personality of de Gaulle stands out with its dynamism and glamour. And all that is being exerted to the fullest extent against the two "anglo-saxon" powers, the U.S. and Britain.

He had previously thwarted and humiliated Britain in her attempts to enter the European Common Market. And now he is out to dim the image of U.S. as the "Big Brother" in the Americas. The following extracts from **The German Tribune** of Hamburg, West Germany, of April 11, give a fairly graphic view of the activities of de Gaulle, particularly before and during his tour in Mexico. We give the extracts in **extenso** as they also illustrate the attitude of West Germany towards the French President's views. The main concern of the West German authorities being, of course, what repurcussions the statements and political manoeuvries of President de Gaulle will have on the rest of the E.E.C., that is on the solidarity of the Western European nations by and large.

The admiration which he roused in Mexico travelled fast. No country wants to stand back when the French President undertakes his great trip to Latin America this autumn. The invitations submitted to the General have become more urgent all the time. There cannot be any doubt: his next tour will be another grand success. The Latin American States have come to accept a new phase: It is impossible not to be visited by President de Gaulle. And even Washington gives him reluctant tribute

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"General de Gaulle seems to outdo even Fidel Castro in popularity." But what is it that makes both de Gaulle and Castro so attractive in the eyes of the Latin Americans? "The only thing the hot-headed Fidel Castro and the royal President de Gaulle have in common", American journalist Marguerite Higgins said bitterly, "is the inclination to wish that America would go to hell."

Washington of need observed the rising surge of President de Gaulle's popularity with growing misgivings and apprehensions. And it appears, as recently New-York-Times commentator Sulzberger forecast, that the "American-French relationship has deteriorated all the time, and in the end it will amount to a world-wide confrontation : We have radically different views on strategy and nuclear arms, on the significance and role of N.A.T.O., the value of the United Nations and on the existence of S.E.A.T.O. We compete in Europe and in Asia, we have clashed on the Chinese issue, and we will certainly come to grips soon in Latin America". Perhaps, this prophesy is coloured by a little too much pessimism of a professional Cassandra. The fact, however, is that President de Gaulle will never fit into the political image of the world as conceived by the United States. For America he is the second keen disappointment since 1945.

The French President has never left the world in doubt about his real intentions. Many of his steps may certainly have surprised the partners of the Alliance ; but the basic lines of his policy, however, were visible from the very beginning. In his memoirs one can read this sentence : "I shall strive to assure to France a leading role in Western Europe, to co-operate with the East and West, and, if necessary, to conclude alliances with both sides—however without accepting any form of dependency."

Raymond Aron is right, when he accuses the General of mustering only very little revolutionary social changes of our times, and of understanding the power of ideologies. All that may be true, but it does not change anything about the very fact that President de Gaulle makes his own policy, and that he creates the paths and roads for the developments of tomorrow.

In Mexico, for example, General de Gaulle has appeared not only as a representative of France. In a joint communique published after his visit the following thought was expressed "President de Gaulle emphasized the role which France and the Common Market could have for the development of the Latin American countries". The General has thus raised himself to the rank of a spokesman for Europe. The concept that France should hold the first place in Europe, by the way, is by no means limited to the General. His Premier Pompidou has stated that "by its geographic situation and its history France is condemned to play the role of Europe."

And, indeed, President de Gaulle's diplomatic offensive in Latin America and in other countries of the Third World will be reasonable only if backed not only by the potential of one country, but by the powerful reserves of the European Community.

Could the Americans at all be ready to co-operate in that respect ? It is true that while in Mexico de Gaulle with a clear allusion to Washington had stated that French policy could 'harm no one', but it can neither be denied that the French President owes his success in Latin America and elsewhere to his anti-American attitude. But is it really only an attitude, and mannerism ? Is it really possible to have oneself cheered as an Opponent of the U.S. while co-operating with the very same U.S. at the same time ?

The Europeans are now confronted with the question under what conditions co-operation will be possible ; perhaps only if the French claim to hegemony will be recognized by them ? The Europeans, it is true, were ready for integration, but this would mean giving up part of their sovereignty, and delegating some of their national authority to a central common institution, which in the end would have been to the benefit of them all. According to statements and views that have now been expressed, however, it is no longer conceivable that as many as one of the other fine E.E.C. partners would be ready—if national interests instead of integration were to be given priority again—to renounce anything of their

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own interests and advantages just to give glory to France.

With great apprehension the Europeans see the appalling danger arise that the integration of the Alliance, built as it was with so much pain and devoted effort, is gradually delapidating again. They fear that this Alliance, in the end, will become incapable of any political action, because national egotism would prevail instead of good-willed co-ordination.

Whether there will be a united Europe or not, is a decision that seems to lie entirely in the hands of General de Gaulle. And by taking his decision he will also answer the question which keeps so many people awake now : Is Charles de Gaulle more of a dreamer or more of a realist ? If he were really to resolve to become a kind of leader of the Third World—a role in which all have failed: Khrushchev, Nehru, Tito, Nasser—even if this experiment would mean risking the unity and integration of Europe, he would certainly have to be compared to the proverbial man who had a pigeon escape from his hand in the attempt of catching a sparrow on a roof.

The American view-point, referred to in the above extract seems to be also in a liquid state, as evinced by the "major declarations of policy by key figures" in the U.S. Government, namely by President Johnson, in remarks to union leaders, by J. W. Fulbright Chairman of the U.S., Foreign Relations Committee, and by Adlai Stevenson, U.S., Ambassador to the U.N. Senator Fulbright was the most outspoken—**The New York Times** called his oration "a full-dress Senate Speech" and Mr. Stevenson also stressed on "alternatives" in his leetures at the Princeton University. All these declarations were made during the third week of March last.

The New York Times (international edition) of March 29 says that "In Washington and in the nation at large there appears to be beginning **a deep re-examination** of United States foreign policy and a **great debate** over that policy." Referring to the statements by President Johnson at the meeting with Union leaders, by Senator J. W. Fulbright before the U.S., Senate and by Mr. Adlai Stevenson, the U.S. Ambassador to the U.N., at Princeton, **The New York times** said :

"Through all these statements ran the theme that American policy must be reviewed in the light of the far-reaching consequences of the nuclear stalemate between the U.S. and Russia. There seemed to be a consensus that some of the basic premises of American policy may be outmoded—that as Senator Fullbright said :

"We are confronted with a complex and fluid world situation and we are not adapting ourselves to it. We are clinging to old myths in the face of new realities . . . . ."

Regarding the foreign policy of the United States, the editorial outlined the existing premises as follows :

United States foreign policy throughout much of the postwar era rested on two main premises :

First, that Communism was an implacable enemy of the West and that Communist power and expansion must be blocked on every front. Thus there was a tendency to view the Communist bloc as monolithic. No significant distinctions were made among Communism in the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, Communist China, Cuba or Vietnam all were regarded as part of the same world-wide conspiracy.

Second, that in view of the Communist threat, tightly knit alliances among the non-Communist nations were imperative. Thus there was opposition to any attempts by Western nations to pursue independent foreign policies or challenge U.S. leadership. There was also a strong distrust of neutralism and a tendency to regard the underdeveloped areas as a battleground for allegiance between Communism and the West.

There have been modifications in practice, if not in principle, in these policies in the past few years as a result of profound changes in the international picture.

The greatest single factor in the change became evident, first, that the proliferation of weapons was becoming meaningless insofar as relative military strength was concerned ; and second, that nuclear war could not serve as an instrument of rational policy.

After detailing the changes in the U.S.

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posture towards Russia, the unaltered tensions in regard to the Chinese threat to South-East Asia and the cautious attempts at the exploitation of the divergences between the Soviets and China, the **Times** editorial went on further to summarise the issues involved in the speeches of the key figures in the U.S. thus:

"Three major points emerged from the Johnson, Stevenson and Fulbright speeches and the Rusk news conference last week.

First, that a changing world may have invalidated many of the fundamental premises of U.S. foreign policy.

Second, that therefore far-reaching policy changes might be in order.

Third, that if so, a dfficult task of re-educating American public opinion would be required."

"President Johnson's comments, not included in his prepared text, were made at the end of a speech on domestic affairs to a labor gathering in Washington. The President said:

"The world has changed and so has the method of dealing with disruptions of the peace . . . . General war is impossible and some alternatives are essential. . . . . The people of this country and the world expect more from their leaders than just a show of brute force."

"The matter of "alternatives" was the principal subject of Mr. Stevenson's talk last week at Princeton University. He, too, stressed that nuclear weapons have "made even 'limited' war too dangerous," and said:

"The central trend of our times is the emergence of what . . . .might be called a Policy of Cease-Fire, and Peaceful Change."

Mr. Stevenson said the U. N. had a key role to play in promoting those policies and that it was "urgent" that the organization expand and improve its peace-keeping machinery. He conceded that "perhaps it is too early" to establish a standing United Nations force, and suggested as an alternative that the member nations stand ready to contribute units for peace-keeping operations "on a moment's notice."

The "full-dress" review of the U.S. foreign policy by Senator Fulbright was, however, given the most prominence in the editorials, **The New York Times** commented thus:

On Wednesday when Mr. Fulbright delivered the speech, the Senate chamber was almost empty. Nevertheless, the impact was great and immediate, particularly among the foreign embassies and legations in Washington. As chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations committee, Mr. Fulbright is regarded as the most important Congressional influence in foreign policy.

Among the "myths" the Arkansas Democrat proceeded to list as still cluttering foreign policy were:

(1) The "myth" that the Communist bloc is "a monolith composed of governments which are not really government, at all but organized conspiracies . . . . determined to destroy the free world." Mr. Fulbright said that considerable diversity had developed among the Communist nations and should be encouraged by the West, primarily through trade agreements. He said some of the Communist regimes pose no threat to the free world and their form of government was their own business.

(2) The "myth" that Cuban Communism, on the one hand, is a grave danger to the United States, and on the other is a "transitory menace" that can be eliminated by trade boycotts and other economic and diplomatic pressures. Mr. Fulbright described Cuba as a "nuisance" but not a threat, said the attempts at boycott had proved unworkable, and suggested that the "continued existence" of the Castro regime was not an "insuperable obstacle" to any important U.S. objectives in the hemisphere. He suggested, in fact, that U.S. trade with Cuba might help weaken its ties to Moscow.

(3) The "myth" that Chinese Communist hostility toward the United States is necessarily a permanent state of affairs and that normal relations between the U.S. and Peking will never be possible. Mr. Fulbright saw the possibility that a "new generation of leaders" might end the conflict between Peking and Taiwan and that mainland China might be drawn into "existing East-West agreements in such fields as disarmament, trade and educational exchange."

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(4) The "myth" that there is "something morally sacred" about the 1903 treaty on the Panama Canal— and presumably, about similar accords. Mr. Fulbright said it was preposterous to regard U.S. honor and prestige at stake in a controversy with a small, weak nation such as Panama, and he saw no reason why the U.S .should balk at renegotiating the 1903 treaty.

On one critical issue—Vietnam—Mr. Fulbright supported the main lines of current policy. He specifically rejected neutralization on grounds that it would lead to a Communist takeover.

The rifts in the Power Blocs that have been facing each other ever since the beginnings of the cold war are now clearly apparent. And as such the tensions that have so long threatened to envelop the entire world in the catastrope of an atomic war have been inevitably slackened to some extent.

But that does not mean that the world has seen the end of enmities and campaigns of hatred and bellicosity. Conflicts, major and minor are occuring at frequent intervals all the world over, causing rises in tensions and readjustments as their consequences. Brazil in South America, and Laos, Vietnam, Malaysia and Indonesia have been the seats of such tension and re-adjustments. The Sino-Pakistani campaign against India is, of course, going along its smouldering course. In Africa, Zanzibar and Tanganyika have entered into a full political union.

In Brazil there has been a military **coup d'etat** ending in a fairly bloodless take over of this gigantic State, of 3,288,050 sq. miles and 68,000,000 population, from the Leftist Government of Joao Goulart. A former General, Humberto Castello Branco, has been placed in office as President. It seems to be anybody's guess as to what road in politics the new incumbent will take but he seems to be a straight-forward blunt soldier who is aware of his responsibilities.

The union of Zanzibar with Tanganyika came as a surprise to many Western diplomats. The United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar, as it is named, has chosen President Julius K. Nyerere as its President and Zanzibar's President Abeid Karume as First Vice-President. The settlement took place when the strongman of the tiny island State of 350,000, peoples, Foreign Minister Abdul Rahman Mohamed—also known as "Babu"—was out on a foreign tour, and it is reported that he was stunned when the news reached him in Pakistan and that he has refused to comment.

In Laos a Rightist **coup**, which temporarily unseated neutralist Premier Prince Souvanna Phouma, became ineffective due to pressure brought on it by Foreign diplomats who did not want the 1962 Geneva agreement to be flouted. The two right-wing generals withdrew their forces and released Prince Souvanna Phouma, who is again negotiating with the Pathet Lao forces for a negotiated settlement of disputes.

In South Vietnam the see-saw war with the Viet-Cong guerillas continues as ineffectively as before. For the U.S.A., which has poured in money, arms and war-technicians in an attempt to stabilise the extremely fluctuating situation, it is a matter of prestige now. Top ranking officials have repeatedly visited the Capital, Saigon, as also some parts of the war-torn terrain, in order to determine a way-out from the **impasse.**

In Malayasia the elections has put back Tungku Abdul Rahman and his colleagues more firmly into power. The disputes with the Philippines and Indonesia remain unsolved. Manila has agreed to exchange and re-establish consulates but without giving up its territorial claims on Malayasia. Indonesia's fire-eating President has reiterated his "Confrontation" plan and has threatened to step-up his warlike moves.

A minor flare-up has occurred near the Yemeni border, between the British led South Arabian Federal troops and the rebel tribesmen in the Radfan mountains on the Yemeni border areas.

In India the continuous series of raids and long-range machine gun firing by Pakistani armed forces remain unabated. The attempts at destruction of civilian morale and provocation in open warfare, has failed so far due to the endless patience of the Indian authorities. But the outlook is far from promising.

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Kashmir and Sheikh Abdullah

Ever since his release, the "Lion of Kashmir" has been on the political rampage, causing irritation to all save politicians in India and jubilation in the camps of the enemy—which of course includes the war-mongering British and U.S. press-lords. Indeed, but for the blundering tactics of the U.S. policy in this part of the world, based on the singularly hasty and ill-considered moves of the Eisenhower Government, and but for the covert moves of the British Foreign office under the Conservative Government most of the ills of South-East Asia —inclusive of this sub-Continent—would be well on the roads to resolution and remedy. It is just these subterranean sources of incitement and encouragement that have sustained Sheikh Abdullah in his orgy of speeches, although they do not seem to have urged for an outright break-off as they did some twelve years back.

It is too early to define what the Sheik's motives are. The torrent of speeches that has been sprouting out of him does not as yet add-up to anything substantial in terms of political assessment and reasoning. So much has been left vague, and he has tacked in so many directions with every gust of political breeze that it is impossible to determine which way he is going. But despite all the confused thinking and contradictory statements that is apparent in all his moves and talks, it is evident that as yet Sheikh Abdullah is campaigning primarily for Sheikh Abdullah, only the cap and the cloak which he intends putting-on remains undetermined.

The statements made by our Cabinet Ministers at the center, are clear on one point—that the accession of Kashmir to India is final and irrevocable. This clear and unambiguous fact has issued out of the stir caused by the Sheikh's erratic statements and moves.

There is the Security Council meeting in the offing and there are the manifold behind-the-scene moves of Pakistan's friends and patrons in the West, to be considered before we can estimate the sum-total of the effects of Sheikh Abdullah's speeches on the Kashmir situation. Meanwhile he has declared that he wants to consult Vinobaji on "spiritual affairs", and Rajaji on politics. Let us hope that his thoughts would crystallize and his statements would become coherent after drinking in those spiritual and political fountains!

APOLOGIA

The inordinate delay in bringing out the April, 1964 number of **The Modern Review** is deeply regretted. It was, however, unavoidable in view of the complete dislocation of the work of our printing establishment on account of its having been obliged to shift from our old address to the new premises. A certain amount of delay, also in the publication of the May, 1964 number, is inescapable. It is hoped, however, that with the June, 1964 number, the publication schedule will again be brought uptodate. We are sure our readers and well wishers will bear with us in this unintended default.

Editor, **The Modern Review**.

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Current Affairs

By Karuna K. Nandi

The Future of Coal

Contrary to the usually dythirambic approach to the woes and problems of the coal industry, the recent address to the Annual Meeting of the Indian Mining Association by its President, Mr. Pran Prasad, rather highlighted the opportunities that lay ahead of the coal industry in the country. The key to the future, as seen by Mr. Prasad, lay in a change towards full mechanization and advanced management techniques, calling for increased equipment and corresponding prospects in respect of increase in productivity. That is to say the future of the industry lay more in the development of large mines—a course which has long been pursued with a great deal of success by its counterparts in the developed countries. Such a trend, it is easy to visualize, will be bound to have the approval of the World Bank which has been increasingly interesing itself in the fortunes and future of the Indian coal industry. It can be expected that consumers, likewise, will also be keenly interested because they, as much as the Government, are bound to be much concerned with the costs of basic fuel.

Such a view of the future of the coal industry as well as those of other basic and key industries in the country naturally pose a crucial question, that of the extent to which ,in the present conditions of development of the Indian economy, the use of advanced technology may prove both justifiable and progressive. The climate of development in the country to-day has been such that increasing reliance is being placed upon the progressively widening applications of advanced technology in the development of industry in general. But as Prof. John K. Galbraith warned in course of his addresses to the premier Indian universities in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, during his period of sojourn in this country as the U.S.A's Ambassador, the use of advanced technology is largely an accomodation to labour shortages and its application in an underdeveloped economy where labour is both abundant and cheap, its cost may even prove to be ruinously inordinate. This is a warning which cannot be altogether ignored in planning for the progressive industrial development of the country, but a natural complication would seem to be introduced in the thinkng on this matter by the need to conform, at the same time, to global competitive standards which it would obviously, be impossible to attain without the aid of modern technology, despite the low employment potential of such usage would become inescapable. The basic producer industries, on the efficiency and productivity of which both the pace and potential of over-all industrial progress would vitally have to depend, would be bound to more and more employ the techniques of advanced management and production, if they are to play their appointed part in the process of industrialization and general economic progress. That of these coal is a very important one, is all too obvious to need any emphasis.

It is fortunate that Mr. Pran Prasad does not seem to be unduly worried by the current surpluses of coal supplies which are said to have been needlessly aggravated by the unplanned production of low grade coal. There is potential market for such coal in the rural areas for use as domestic fuel. But it is nevertheless a pointer to the need for greater precision in planning and more realistic thinking on the lines of the industry's future development. This would seem to be all the more emphatically underlined by the fact that until only a short while ago, the industry in the private sector, hedged in as it was by a variety of restrictive controls and

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inhibitions, was denied the opportunities of expansion even though it was both ready and prepared to finance the process from out of its own resources and as a result, all round shortage in coal supplies was seriously holding up the paces of production and progress. The proper kind of planning would, therefore, seem to be an essential in its future growth potential which should include the enunciation of the right kind of price policy, the latest trends in which have not been yielding universal satisfaction.

While on the subject, we feel it necesary to underline the need for research and the application of the results of researches to the process of industrial development so far as they affect coal. A great deal of very valuable work is, we are aware, being carried on by the Central Fuel Research Institute in Dhanbad. What is even more important, the Institute has been imparting intensive training in various departments of fuel technology to increasing numbers of qualified young men. Unfortunately, it seems, that the activities of the Institute, which should have been proving a valuable source of supply of trained technologists in the latest methods of fuel usage to industry, are not being appropriately co-ordinated with industry in either the public or the private sectors where the services of these trained personnel could be used for developmental purposes. The formulation of a correct policy in this behalf, possibly under Government aegis, and the opening up of necessary lines of communications between the Fuel Research Institute and the appropriate industries should prove an added stimulus both to the increasing areas of research being undertaken by the Institute and the coal industry alike.

* * *

The Problem of Prices

Beginning with the presentation to Parliament of the current Year's Budget by the Union Finance Minister, through to Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda's inauguration address to the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry at its Annual Meeting in Delhi and the Federation President Lala Bharat Ram's presidential address to the meeting, the question of the continuously rising price spiral has been attracting a great deal of public attention and discussion. The Finance Minister conceded that the incidence of rising prices has been causing increasing concern and he ascribed the cause of it primarily to shortages in the economy rather than to any other single factor. He held the shortages in agricultural production primarily responsible for the symptom and felt that the development of a climate of greater confidence and the provision of certain inducements for increasing savings and investments for development together with the formulation of such fiscal measures as would be calculated to attenuate the tendency to the progressive concentration of wealth and economic power and the consequent tendency to the growth of monopolies, rather than the imposition of physical controls, was the answer to the problem.

That his measures, as included in his current Budget proposals have not been wholly satisfying to the larger corporate sectors, would be evident from the tenor of Lala Bharat Ram's address which accused the Finance Minister of having contributed to the development of a climate of uncertainty and lack of confidence. He endorsed the Finance Minister's view that the shortages in agricultural production and the not too encouraging advance in industrial output have been jointly responsible for the current rise in prices. Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda, in course of his inauguration address to the Federation while conceding that declining agricultural production has been responsible for contributing to the rise in prices, however, underlined his view that temporary shortages are also, all too often exploited for raising prices to an inordinate extent and urged that some sort of voluntary regulation, as a result of co-operation between the private sector and the Government should be ushered in to induce a measure of stabilization in the price level.

In the meanwhile the traders in foodgrains have been, for all practical purposes, trying to hold the Government to ransom as a sort of their answer to the latter's threat to introduce State trading in food grains if

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the trade failed to behave in a responsible manner in regard to the supply and prices of food grains to the consumer. It may be recalled that the West Bengal Government clamped down a schedule of wholesale and retail prices of rice in the State following the last winter harvest and which, they declared, they were determined to enforce at any price. The negotiations that have been currently going on between the Central Government and the Foodgrains dealers has yielded the information that the Government are not prepared to resile from their present price policy in this regard which is regarded as the vital fact of being able to provide food to the people at a fixed price. The State is only prepared, in the circumstances, to negotiate an agreement with the trade on the basis of "fixed margins" and what the Food Minister describes as "fool proof" methods of enforcing the same. If the trade wishes to conform to this essential discipline, it will survive, or the Government will be obliged to enter the market and introduce State trading.

The Union Finance Minister would appear, to the dispassionate observor, to have travelled a long way, in formulating his current Budget proposals, to concede exceptional concessions and privileges to big business in the corporate sector allegedly for the purpose of encouraging savings and investment for development. The measures which, however, he has formulated for attenuating the present process of concentration of economic power appear to have put the backs up of the corporate sector and that an immediate effect thereof appears to have been a practically violent and fresh price spurt all along the line, but overwhelmingly more so in the essential edible sector and inordnately so on the retail price structure where it affects the actual consumer so vitally. Food grains, especially in the Eastern Indian markets, together with pulses, mustard oil and other essential edibles, appear to have felt the pressure more heavily than in other areas and despite the Government's threat to the contrary, there is nothing that seems to be on the cards to deal with this alarming situation.

One does not deny that inadequate development by way of production performances, especially in the agricultural sector may have something to do with this fresh spurt, but the possible shortages ensuing thereby would not, we are afraid, wholly explain the extent of the price rise that has already eventuated and which seems to evince every possible indication of further progressively higher incidences in the immediate future. One wonders in this connection as to the source of finance which has been enabling the present price situation to develop in the manner it is seemingly doing. There is, of course, that large and unorganized credit sector in the country the existence of which is conceded by the Finance Minister and others, and which is supposedly superior, in its operations, to the fiscal disciplines of the State which is popularly supposed to be primarily responsible for this exploitation of these comparatively scarce and essential commodities for forcing up prices. This has been underlined again and again by the Union Finance Minister during recent months, but one is unable to understand why it should not be possible for the State with its present emergency and comprehensive powers to devise and formulate necessary measures for forcing out this behind-the-curtains credit market out into the open. If this were done, two results would have followed as a natural consequence, first that the State would have been able to extract its legitimate dues which it has so long been deprived of; secondly, it should also be possible to discipline its operations so that it may not be employed for anti-social purposes. Such possible action would also have been able to release large and so far unutilized resources for purposes of development of the economy which would have been in the national interest.

Be that as it may, the fact that urgent and **effective** action has become all too clearly essential for clamping down an immediate price curb is a fact that would seem to brook neither any delay nor difference of opinion. The present policy of apparent drift,—and the Finance Minister's declared reliance on so-called fiscal measures alone

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to deal with the situation in the face of the present eventuality must also be regarded as part of this policy of drift,—would appear to be both too complacent and too aeneimic to serve any useful purpose in a situation fraught high potentials of danger to the community and the State.

To us it seems that the problem of prices is not just one of adjustment between demand and supply only. Of the numerous factors affecting the situation the one of the increasing costs of production, for which the policies of Government are primarily responsible, must be regarded as a very important one. Costs are stimulated by the progressive shortfalls in the ever-expanding public sector on the one hand and on the huge spate of indirect taxation on the other. Partial controls by the State of a variety of essential producer bases both in respect of their supply and prices are another contributing factor in the process. These have to be rationalized and a norm established which would conform to the over-all state of the economy as a whole. One of the essential requisites in this behalf is the closer adjustment between the progressively developing and mutually insular twin decks in the economy comprising the microscopic and high cost upper industrial deck which, by and large, rules the price factor, and the overwhelmingly wider low-income lower agricultural deck. It is both trite and pointless to claim that the "age of the common man" has dawned and all economic activity and development must be attuned to the requirements of social justice so long as the present separate decks in the economy is allowed to persist. The common man has long been living beyond his means, a situation which cannot continue for long without causing an eventual and utter breakdown in the dynamics of the economy. This is proved not merely by the figures of consumption expenditure compiled by the statistical bureau of the Planning Commission, presented to Parliament some time ago by Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda, which were clearly far beyond the level of the disposable income of these sections in the community, but also by the recent finding of the Planning Commission in respect of the extent of present rural indebtedness in the country which has been computed at the colossal figure of some Rs. 3,000 crores.

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The Monopolies Commission

In pursuance of the promise held out in course of his Budget Speech by Union Finance Minister, T. T. Krishnamachari, that adequate measures, fiscal and legislative, would be devised for arresting the current trends of increasing concentration of income, wealth and economic power in the country in the hands of a few affluent people, the Government of India, in the Ministry of Finance has announced, in Parliament on April 16 last, the appointment of a Commission under the Commissions of Inquiry Act, 1952, with Mr. Justice K. C. Das Gupta, Judge, Supreme Court as Chairman and Messrs G. R. Rajagopal, Officer on special duty in the Law Ministry, K. R. P. Aiyangar, Chairman Tariff Commission, R. C. Dutt, Chairman, Company Law Board and Dr. I. G. Patel, formerly Chief Adviser to Government, as members. Mr. V. Satyamurthi, Deputy Secretary in the Finance Ministry, shall be the Secretary of the Commission.

The terms of reference of the Commission call upon it to inquire into the extent and effect of concentration of economic power in private hands and the prevalence of monopolistic and restrictive practices in important sectors of economic activity other than agriculture, to consider the matter with particular reference to, firstly, the factors responsible for such concentration and monopolistic and restrictive practices and, secondly, their economic and social consequences and to evaluate the extent to which they may be considered to be detrimental to the public interest. The Commission has also been empowered to recommend legislative and other measures that might be considered necessary in the light of its findings, taking into account the need to protect essential public interests. It should also recommend the procedure

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and the agency for the enforcement of the new laws in this behalf. The Commission may also report on any other matter concerning any aspect of the economy or the functioning of the private sector and financial institutions that it may feel ought to be inquired into. The notification announcing the appointment of the Commission states its objective to be to ensure "that the development of the economy in the crucial years ahead is in keeping with the directive principles of State policy contained in Article 39 of the Constitution" under which the State is required to frame its policy in such a way that the ownership and control of the material resources of the community are so distributed as best to subserve the common good and that the operation of the economic system does not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production detrimental to the common interest.

The appointment is very welcome in view of the increasing public uneasiness on the question of concentration of economic power and the growth of monopolistic tendencies in the economy. The fiscal measures already propounded by the Finance Minister in his Budget are not likely, as far as one can visualize, to yield any very substantial or even immediate result in curbing these trends. If anything, the countervailing measures included in the provisions of the same Budget allegedly for the purpose of "stimulating investment and infusing confidence" would, on the contrary prove, it is feared, a direct and substantial incentive towards further concentration inspite of the approach of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry to the Budget. Additional administrative and legislative measures would, therefore, seem to be urgently called for to effectively deal with the situation. But before such measures can be appropriately conceived and formulated it would seem to be equally necessary that the actual extent and nature of this trend of increasing concentration should be known in concrete terms. The Mahalanobis Committee's report, recently presented to Government, yields the broad outlines of these trends obtained through sample statistical surveys carried out. But more concrete evaluations would seem to be necessary before operative measures can be conceived of and devised. It is in the fitness of things that the Commission has been charged not merely with the responsibility of carrying out factual inquires in this behalf, but also of recommendig measures to effectively deal with the symptoms as well as to formulate the procedures and devise the necessary agencies that should be charged with their application. The personnel of the Commission, headed as it is, by an experienced and balanced member of the highest judicial tribunal in the land with an unimpeachable reputation, as Mr. Justice K. C. Das Gupta, would also, we have not the least doubt, infuse a measure of public confidence which is very necessary for its effective functioning. The Commission, it is hoped, will be as objective as possible in its approach to the matter and when it reports by October next year, it will prove, it is hoped, to be a valuable document providing a reliable guide line for appropriate action in this behalf.

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Growth of Big Business

The long awaited report on the trends of income and wealth distribution by the Committee apointed by the Planning Commission in this behalf with Prof. P. C. Mahalanabis as the Chairman as early as October, 1960, has at long last submitted their report to the Government. The report is not yet available for public examination but from the rather inadequate summary that has, so far, appeared in the daily press, the following findings appear to have been yielded:

The Committee endorse the popular supposition that there has been considerable concentration of economic power in the country in terms of income, property and, especially, control over the non-governmental corporate sector, during the first two Plan periods. The Cmmittee arive at the rather revealing conclusion that "there can be no doubt that, in part at least, the working of our planned economy has encouraged this process of concentration by facilitating

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and aiding the growth of big business in India." In the process, the Committee, having taken into account the countervailing measures so far taken by the Government conclude that despite all these the "concentration of economic power in the private sector is **more than what can be justified** (emphasis our own) as necessary on functional grounds."

The Committee suggest the appointment of a full time agency for collecting more detailed information in this behalf including the ramifications of economic power in the private sector and for devising adequate corrective measures. The Committee have discussed in their report such relevant questions as (i) how far this concentration is an inevitable part of the process of economic development, (ii) how far it can be justified in terms of full utilization of scarce managerial and entreprenuerial resources, (iii) how far it is consistent or is in conflict with the **declared** objectives of our economy and (iv) how far the growth is unhealthy and anti-social in its consequences, but they do not seem to have found any suitable and dependable answer to these vital questions that they have posed.

The Committee have found that a considerable measure of inequality in the distribution of income and wealth exists also in several other developed and underdeveloped countries, but India's is a planned economy with the pledged objectives of lessening economic inequalities and promoting economic growth. The fact, the Committee aver, that there has been no appreciable reduction in the concentration of economic power during last ten years may be taken as some evidence of the inadequacy of our current strategy of conomic development in one of its important aspects."

Discussing the question of concentration in great length, the Committee devote a large part of their attention to the private corporate sector. Industrial production in the private sector, they asses, accounts for only 16 per cent of the net national product, a half of which is in corporate form. The number of companies is large, but only a very small section among them accounts for a large portion of their total paid up capitlal. In 1960-61 companies with a paid up capital of less than Rs. 5 lakhs each constituted 86 per cent of the total number of companies, but their share of the total paid up capital was only as low as 14.6 per cent. As against this companies with a paid up capital of Rs. 50 lakhs and more constituted only 1.6 per cent of the total number of companies in the private corporate sector, but claimed 53 per cent of the total paid up capital.

Loans advanced by public financial institutions like, for instance, the Industrial Finance Corporation, the National Industrial Development Corporation and the like, have helped the growth of the private sector and, especially those of the larger corporations. In some other ways also the Government's policies have helped the growth of the private sector and, particularly, those of the big companies. Besides affording a protected market and necessary overhead facilities and maintaining a Budget policy with a mildly inflationary situation, the Government have also helped private industry through extensive tax incentives. Analysing the extent to which capital formation in the private sector has been financed by funds other than those obtained from shareholders, the Committee seem to have been led to the conclusion that the dependence of private industry on bank credit is a confirmed fact, but the principal beneficiaries of this assistance are the big and medium enterprizes, assistance to small industries being only insignificantly infinitesimal. The Life Insurance Corporation also supports only big business "by its holdings of stock exchange securities."

In the Indian context it is, however, the concentration of control in the industrial sector as a whole rather than in any particular industry that, according to the Mahalanobis Committee, presents the **"more menacing aspects"** of the concentration of economic power. Thus, 10 groups had an interest of one kind or another in 876 companies in 1951 with a share capital of Rs. 205 crores while this interest was extended over 929 companies in 1958 with a capital of

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Rs. 297 crores. The top four of these, again, had control over companies with a total share capital of Rs. 147 crores in 1951 and Rs. 225 crores in 1958. "**Inter-corporate investment is the main instrument,** (emphasis our own, again) and an increasingly important one for the control of companies." There is a significant link, according to the Committee, in the form of common directors between leading banks and large-sized industrial undertakings.

According to the Committee, one of the additional reasons for the increase in economic power of the large corporations was the flow of foreign investment and technical know-how through joint ventures. There is also much inter-linking between newspapers and big business and, in addition, indirect control over newspapers is exercised through expenditure on advertisements which appears to have been growing to an enormous extent.

The Mahalanobis Committee, on the basis of their findings, seem to recommend that the remedy is "not the breaking up of large units, but the adoption of a policy of regulation, continuous scrunity and, possibly nationalization(?) which will help to prevent the emergence of anti-social consequences from the **otherwise economically justifiable** (emphasis ours) localized concentration in the form of big units in one industry or the other." The Committee underline that economic concentration is the result of inadequate development and low productivity of labour and the deficiencies in tax compliance or tax evasion rather than of an insufficiently progressive tax system.

As regards agricultural lands, the distribution by size of holdings has been found by the Committee to be extremely unequal. In 1953-54, for instance, the top one per cent of the households owned 17 per cent, the top 5 per cent 41 per cent and the top 10 per cent 58 per cent of all land. In 1959-60 their respective shares were 16 per cent, 40 per cent and 56 per cent. The bottom 20 per cent did not own any land at all. Government's countervailing measures to prevent the trends of concentration of economic power mainly consist of expansion of the public sector, encouragement to small entre preneurs, special facilities and aid for small industries, promotion of co-operatives in industry and marketing and what the Committee seem to regard as the enunciation of a progressive tax system. The contributions of the public sestor are estimated to have risen from less than 2 per cent in 1950-51 to only about 25 per cent by the end of the Third Plan in organized manufacturing industries and from less than 10 per cent to over 33 per cent in mineral production. Public sector investment in industry and minerals is estimated to be of the order of Rs. 500 crores more than in the priv5ate sector. This indicates that the relative importance of the private sector in the total national complex will continue to shrink, especially so in major key industries which, if left to the private sector, according to the Committee, would have led to far greater concentration.

The Committee conclude with the observation that the "necessary instrument has been pressed into service to lessen inequalities in income distribution through a progressive tax system. The main task in this sector remains that of effective enforcement of the tax system."

We would desist from offering any comments on the findings of the Mahalanobis Committee until such time as the full report is available and we have had time to study its detailed contents. The Committee, however, appear to confirm the popular suspicion of increased and increasing concentration of income, property and economic power, of which there can be no doubt whatsover and which is a complete repudiation of the pledged objectives of economic planning to which all the resources of the nation are being pressed into service at enormous public scrifice. The public sector, it may be noted in this connection, has already considerably expanded in the sphere of organized manufacturing industries and in the production and exploitation of minerals and, in relation the size of the private sector has become already somewhat correspondingly attenuated.

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ed. Nevertheless the admitted fact that there has still been progressively larger concentration of economic benefits and consequent concentration of power, would seem to be a virtual indictment of the manner in which the functional operations of development planning would seem to have been managed. One of the prime causes in this behalf may have been, as indirectly admitted by the Mahalanobis Committee, the inadequate performances, so far, of the public sector which have led to continuing scarcity in supplies and to insufficient over-all development in the process of industrialization which must follow as a natural and an inevitable consequence. Functional reorganization which must follow is a natural and an inevitable consequence. Functional reorganization of public sector undertakings would therefore, seem to be of the most important moment at the present juncture, to which, however, there does not seem to have been any importance attached by the Committee either in its report or in its recommendations.

One of the statements of the Committee, that the tax system in the country has already assumed a progressive character and its appropriate enforcement would enable the trends to concentration to be eventually corrected, cannot, however, be passed off without comment. A tax system which depends on indirect imposts for some 75 per cent of its total Central revenues,—we are not adding to it the impositions of the States, necessarily mostly in the shape of indirect levies,—a very large proportion of which are in the shape of excise and other imposts on a large variety of essential consumables, including quite a great deal in the basic edible sector, can be regarded as only anything but progressive. In fact, the continuously mounting inflationary pressures on the price structure—and it is significant that the margins between essential consumables and others so far as the price incidence is concerned, is very wide indeed as also that in the essential edible sectors the margins between the wholesale price index and the unregistered price levels in the retail market are even far wider—are inherent in the tax system itself which can be generally regarded as both unscientific and retrogressive in its basic structure. What is more, the progressively widening concessions that are being allowed to the private sector, especially in the big business department, which has assumed further substantial proportions in the current Budget of the Union Government, commented upon elsewhere in this issue, is a direct incentive to the further aggrandisement of the national economy by big business. If the role of the private sector has to be mantained substantially at the level and in the form in which it has so far been operating in the country, the conclusion that there would be even more progressively larger concentration of income and power in still fewer hands in the eventual future, would seem to be an inescapable one.

Fair Deal To Farm Growers

Addressing the Sixth All India Foodgrain Dealers' Convention in New Delhi on May 2 last, Sardar Swaran Singh, Union Food and Agriculture Minister is reported to have claimed that if the trade did not voluntarily cooperate with the Government to maintain stable prices of foodgrains, the Government would be obliged to apply such measures as would, within the next two to three years, make it impossible for foodgrain dealers to manipulate prices at will. If the trade did not cooperate for the attainment of this objective, "other methods would have to be found," but under no circumstance would the prices of foodgrains be allowed to fluctuate because of speculation or the "vagaries of market arrivals." The Government, he continued, would not allow a big difference between harvest prices and those prevailing during the lean seasons. The trade must also, at the same time, give a fair deal to the growers, who must be ensured a fair return for their produce regardless of the supply situation. If these two conditions were honoured, the trade had nothing to worry about. The Foodgrains Licensing Order, against which the trade were currently agitating and in respect of which they even went to the length of threatening "direct action," was merely meant to catch those black sheep among foodgrains dealers who would not submit to the legitimate disciplines of the State and would not conform to the requirements of national well being. The Minister was said to have reacted sharply to the threat of direct action and warned that such

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an agitational approach to the matter would only harm the trade. Government, he was reported to have reiterated, would not yield on essentials and if the trade did not cooperate, "other methods" would have to be found to compel it to conform.

The Minister did not specify what these other methods were likely to be, but from the trend of his statements it was easy to surmise that he intended to keep the threat of "State trading" in foodgrains perpetually hanging over the head of the foodgrains dealers in order to compel them to toe the official line. Apparently, he was confident enough in his Ministry's ability to ensure round-the-year uniformity in foodgrain prices within the next two to three years, this short time lag to be utilized, it can be surmized, for building up adequate alternative agencies for handling and marketing foodgrains in order to thwart the traders' efforts to pressure-boost price levels.

We have, however, found no cause for any particular elation at the Union Food and Agriculture Minister's statements in this behalf in the light of our past and current experiences. From past experience of controls on supply and prices of food, as well as the currently attempted efforts to hold foodgrains prices within specified limits, it seems to us that dspite what Sardar Swaran Singh may claim, the Government would not appear to have the necessary administrative resources, nor that necessary measure of rectitude and integrity in the administration that would enable thm to effectively enforce anti-profiteering measures by the trader. We are fortunately blessed with a short memory and are apt to forget most of our woes and worries after a lapse of time, but it would still be impossible for most people in the country to wholly forget for yet awhile the harrassment and the distress that the administration of controls on food by Government caused to them. Currently also there have been, especially over the last few months immediately proceding the winter harvest, the acute price situation that was allowed to develop in the Eastern Indian regions which the Government, apparently, was wholly hlpless to deal with either adequately or effectively. It was not really that until the public took a hand—and this, it must not be forgetten, had really eventuated a potential threat on the law and ordr situation with the highest possible explosive content because the Government would seem to have lost all initiative for the time being—that correctives could be developed and the market price could be brought down somewhat although not to the level at which it should normally have stabilized. Indeed, the Government moved in only at this late stage and acting as if they were attorneys for the trade, entered into a so-called "gentlemen't agreement" with the trade pitching the price of rice in the agreement at a much higher level than there was any legitimate justification for.

Even later, after the Government of the State promulgated a Rice Price Control Order, fixing a schedule of both wholesale and retail prices, the controls have never so far been effectively enforced and during the last few weeks since the presentation of the Union Budget to Parliament and especially concurrently with the development of the agritational approach by the All India Foodgrains Dealers' Association, rice prices in this region have been further substantially rising in the open market against which there does not, so far, seem to be any action either conceived or even contemplated. It is significant that simultaneously with this upward price movement, supplies to Fair Price Shops from Government godowns have sharply fallen and during the last few weeks, ration card-holders have not been getting even a 10 per cent of their quotas from these sources. The foundations for developing and building up alternative agencies to enable foodgrains to be marketed at legitimate prices, especially to the retail consumer to enable the machinations of the trade to be eliminated, is a picture which, therefore, appears to us to be too fanciful and unreal to cause any sense of real elation or confidence in the people.

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INDIA AND NUCLEAR WEAPONS

By Prof. D. N. BANERJEE

MARSHALL Chen Yi, Communist China's Deputy Premier, has been reported by *The Statesman* (Calcutta) of 29th October, 1963, to have affirmed on 28th October, 1963, "China's determination to carry out nuclear weapons' tests as soon as she was in a position to do so because China could not afford to be ranked with second or third-class Powers". Further, he has been reported to have told "a delegation of visiting Japanese reporters in an interview broadcast over a nation-wide radio hook-up in Japan; 'I cannot say exactly when we shall have nuclear weapons and mass production of such weapons will probably still be a long way off, but we shall carry out tests in a few years without fail". Moreover, he has been reported to have stressed that "the possession of nuclear weapons and missiles today is the mark of a first-class Power, so that the carrying out of nuclear tests is necessary for China's prestige as a first-class nation. Nuclear weapons are also needed, of course, for defence purposes".

In the course of a speech in Paris on 19th April, 1963, on the theme of "more guns before more butter", President De Gaulle had been reported by Reuter (*The Statesman* of 21st April, 1963) to have "vigorously defended his policy of having an independent nuclear deterrent", and also to have observed that "while France linked her defence with that of her allies, she intended to 'remain the master of her own defences'. He had further been reported to have "scorned the notion that a nuclear force was 'useless' or 'too expensive' for France".

President de Gaulle has also been reported (*The Statesman* of 1st January, 1964) to have declared in Paris on 31st December, 1963, in the course of an address to the nation that "France will press ahead with the development of a hydrogen bomb", and that "such armament for France would be the only way to meet 'the threat of aggression' and the only thing which will retain French independence".

Further, it appears from a report from Beirut, published in *The Statesman* of 27th March, 1963, of Mr. G. H. Jansen that no one doubts that "she (Israel) has been working for years on an atomic bomb at her secret reactor at Dimona in Southern Isreal", and that the "existence of this installation was revealed, to the great embarrassment of Israel, by U. S. intelligence from a photograph taken by a U.S. plane". (The information given by Mr. Jansen who is an authority on Middle Eastern affairs can certainly be relied upon.)

Finally, the Prime Minister of England, Sir Alec Douglas-Home, has been reported by *The Statesman* of 19th January, 1964, to have "told Parliament" on 16th January, 1964, "that his Government was determined to hold on to Britain's independent nuclear force because other countries, including France and Communist China, soon will have theirs"; and that "this was the safest course in the present state of the world when we do not have international disarmament within reasonable sight".

I may now refer to the position of India in regard to the question of nuclear weapons. This will be gathered from the utterances on the subject made by prime Minister Nehru from time to time during the last few months, as the spokesman of the defence policy of the Government of India. According to the Chief Political Correspondent of *The Washington Post* in New Delhi, Prime Minister Nehru was reported (*The Statesman* of 5th March, 1963) to have observed early in March last that "The first explosion of a nuclear device by Communist China 'might frighten some people and have some significance', but that it would not mean a change in the military situation"; and that "he had been informed by his experts that India had a stronger base than China for nuclear development in the military field, but (that) 'we have made it clear that we are not making (nuclear) weapons'."

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Later on in the same month he was reported (*The Statesman* of 17th March, 1963) to have re-affirmed at the meeting of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry at New Delhi "the Government's decision not to manufacture atomic weapous". "Manufacture of such weapons", he continued, "would not do any good to India. On the other hand it would add to the dangers of the world. Also it would not be good for India to utilise all her resources in producing the most modern weapons of war". He added that "weapons change everyday and modern weapons were practically the monopoly of a few Great Powers which produce them and were in a position to use them." He concluded : "we cannot do it at present and I would not like that to be done in future.

Thirdly, Prime Minister Nehru has been reported (*The Statesman* of 24th April, 1963) to have "reiterated (on 23rd April, 1963, at our Rajya Sabha) the Government's 'firm conclusion' not to direct atomic energy (produced by the Indian Atomic Energy Commission) towards (the) preparation of nuclear weapons". He is reported to have further observed (on the same day) that "India was probably far ahead of China in the development of atomic energy" ; that while he agreed that "nuclear explosion by Chaina would undoubtedly change the military situation in Asia, but that the development of atomic weapons by her was 'a very, very far cry' "and that it might take her 10 years to develop these weapons even if China succeeded in having an atomic test, 'and much may happen in 10 years' time' ".

Finally, Prime Minister Nehru has been reported (*The Statesman* of 3rd October, 1963) to have stated in the course of his speech at the Ram Lila Grounds in New Delhi on 2nd October, 1963, that "China was apparently trying to produce atom bombs and might succeed after a few years, but India, too, if she wanted, could manufacture such bombs, definitely much befere china could" ; but that "India did not believe in sinking millions of rupees on producing bombs" ; and that "instead, she wanted to progress economically and socially".

It appears from what Prime Minister Nehru has said on different occasions, as shown above, that India can, if she wants to, manufacture atomic bombs difinitely much before China can ; but that India does not believe in sinking millions of rupees on producing atomic bombs ; and that, instead, she wants to progress socially and economically. It may legitimately be asked in this connection, why this forbearance, please? Talking philosophy and indulging in idealism and public administration often go ill together so far as the defence of a country against foreign invasion, and particularly of a country situated as India is today, is concerned. We have had enough of this kind of philosophizing during the last sixteen years and we have heavily paid for our folly—I deliberately use the word folly—in national disgrace and humiliation in the hands of the Chinese. Does our Prime Minister fully realise the dreadful effect of the explosion of a nuclear bomb by Communist China on the morale of the people of India or, for that matter, of the peoples of South-East Asia as a whole ? I doubt it very much. If sooner or later, Communist China becomes a nuclear power and we continue to remain a non-nuclear power, we shall have to live in constant dread of the Chinese nuclear weapons, to the complete demoralisation of our national life. Moreover, we may be liable to be blackmiled, directly or indirectly, by Communist China in respect of many of our national affairs, and particularly in regard to our foreign policy. We must not forget that if there did not occur any nuclear war over the Cuba crisis between the Soviet Union and the United States, it was because of their nuclear balance. Mr. Gordon Walker, M.P., the Labour Party "Shadow" Foreign Secretary in England, is perfectly right when he says with reference to the Cuba crisis (*Encounter*, November 1963, p. 61):

"Khrushchev preferred a courageous but humiliating retreat to a war which, because of the nuclear balance, would have been mutually destructive".

As will appear from what follows, this is also, in essence, the view of Mr. Chester Bowles, the present American Ambassador

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to India, on the question. In the course of a lecture delivered in Bombay on 22nd January, 1964, under the auspices of the University there he has been reported (*The Statesman* of 24th January, 1964) to have "referred in particular to the grave danger of confrontation in Cuba when both the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. glared at each other, but the realization of the destructive power of nuclear weapons had in fact led to an improvement in their relations.

If we have the means—and we must certainly find out ways and means for this—and necessary scientific and technical knowledge—and our Prime Minister says that we possess it—, we must build up sufficient nuclear deterrents if we are to avoid in future a further and much greater national disgrace and humiliation in the hands of the Chinese Colossus. Only a nuclear balance between Communist China and India will prevent the former from taking any aggressive action against the latter as it happened, already noted, in the case of the Soviet Union and the United States over the Cuban crisis. An all-round preparedness with modern arms will be our best defence against any possible foreign invasion. When, unfortunately, we are living amongst devils, we must devise means to deal with them effectively, if necessary.

Does our Prime Minister want to see a repetition of Hiroshima and Nagasaki on the soil of India? He has stated that the manufacture of atomic weapons by India would add to the dangers of the world. I do not know. It may, however, be argued against this view that so far as any dangers of the world are concerned, there is, first, the United Nations to deal with them. Besides, if the United States, the Soviet Union, England, France, Isreal and China can build up nuclear weapons, there is no reason why India should not. The question of danger to the world is also their concern. Moreover, although it is a duty of the Government of a State to do everything possible to conquer hunger, disease and ignorance of its people, yet nobody can deny that the first and foremost duty of the Government is to take every step for ensuring the security and integrity of the State. We must not allow ourselves to be lulled into a false sense of security by any loose and platitudinous talk of world peace, world order or world disarmament, or by any assurance of precarious foreign help in the event of any danger. Unless we fend for ourselves, nobody will, in the long run, fend for us. Neither any appeal to the cause of justice or of righteousness, nor any prayer to Heaven will help us very much unless this is backed by an adequate force of modern armaments. This is the verdict of hisotry, and particularly of the two World Wars. If we ignore it, we do so at our peril. Public opinion in India as well as our Parliament should, therefore, make our Government change its policy in regard to the question of the manufacture of nuclear weapons. If they cannot and if the Government of India persists in its obduracy, then the country should seriously consider the question of a change of Government. (Strangely enough, there is a wonderful agreement on the question of manufacture of nuclear weapons by India between the leaders of the rulling party and the Communist Party of India!) We cannot allow the future of our country to be endangered by any persistance on the part of our leaders in what I consider to be a suicidal policy in the present circumstances. I need hardly emphasise that the future of our country is much more important than showing any deference to the pacific idealism of a few individuals, however, will-intentioned they may be. Such idealism in the present situation may create a mortal danger for our country in future, and we may not escape the censure of history if we forbear from necessary action now out of deference to the views of our misguided leaders obsessed by pecifism. Refusal to face unpleasant facts and indulgence in high-sounding platitudes may ultimately lead us to a dangerous situation. (We may note in this connection that the recent French recognition of the Government of Communist China may have far-reaching political, strategic and military implications. Who knows whether France would not help Communist China in an earlier manufacture of nuclear weapons?) Our leaders should bear in mind that realism is often much better than either doctrinairism

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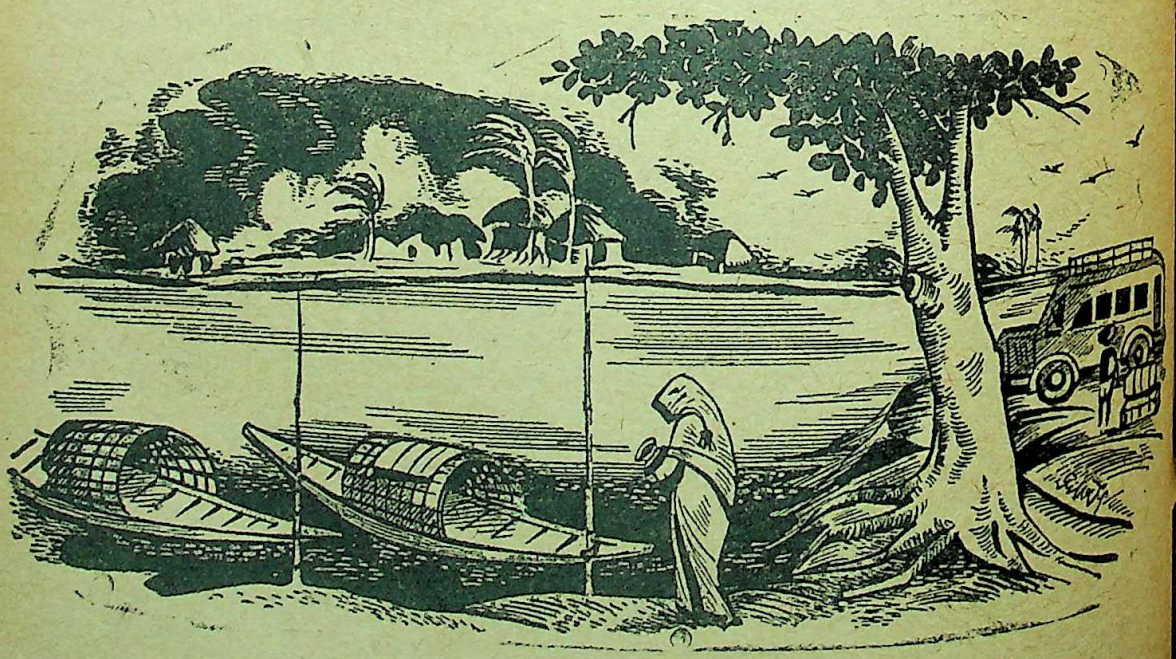
or sentimentalism. I shall not be surprised if leaders of Communist China think that our leaders are a set of senile and "decadent fools". It is worthy of note here—and the world knows it—how India has been befooled and deceived by Communist China in connection with what is known as the concept of Panchsheel as embodied in a solemn Agreement between them signed in Peking! I need not refer here to the slogan of Hindi-Chini Bhai Bhai. It may perhaps be interesting to note here that a socialist Prime Minister of Britain, Mr. Attlee, well-known for his pecific views, first ordered the manufacture of atom bombs there. Thus we find Mr. R.H.S. Crossman observing (*Encounter*, April, 1963, pp. 25-26) in the course of his article on *Walter Bagehot* (II) :—

".....Sir Winston (Churchill), shortly after he took office in 1951, announced that the first British A-Bomb had been succesfully tested. The Premier was careful to pay his tribute to his predecessor, for making the initial decision and sanctioning the huge expenditures that had never been revealed to Parliament. Very soon it was common knowledge that this decision had been taken by Mr. Attlee without any prior discussion in the Cabinet, and that he had never revealed it to any but a handful of trusted friends".

This happened in a democratic country like Great Britain. Our leaders would be committing a great blunder if they, in their pursuit of idealism, further persisted in their forbearance from the manufacture of nuclear weapons : They would simply be imperilling the independence of our country. In conclusion, I cannot do better than quote the following observation of Mr. Theodore Woolsey, "a very humane writer" :—

"To States, by the divine constitution of society, belong the obligations of protecting themselves and their people, as well as the right of redress, and even perhaps that of punishment. To resist injury, to obtain justice, to give wholesome lessons to wrong-doers for the future, are prerogatives deputed by the Divine King of the world to organised society——"—*Introduction to International Law*, Fifth Edition, p. 184. Quoted in F.E. Smith, *International Law*, pp. 12-13).



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THE COLD WAR AND ITS IMPACT ON AMERICAN OPINION

By JAMES CHANNING

The middle decades of the 20th century almost certainly will be known in history as a time of special strain and uncertainty for the intelligentsia of all countries.

Throughout the 1950's, and now in the 1960's, scholars and artists have shown themselves to be seriously disturbed by certain basic and seemingly insoluble problems, peculiar to the era, which have grown out of the cold war and the so-called nuclear dilemma.

Americans in particular, perhaps because they feel a kind of personal responsibility for "the bomb," are deeply concerned by a whole range of interrelated matters. They believe in the rights of the individual and are determined to preserve those rights against the destructive effects of the totalitarian concept. But, at the same time, they abhor war and have an overriding fear of the hazards involved in the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

The universality of this concern was somewhat strikingly illustrated some months ago by the American quarterly, *Partisan Review*, in the form of a symposium on "the cold war and the west." Participants, from England and the United States, included political scientist Hannah Arendt; philosopher Sidney Hook; poet Robert Lowell; novelist and critic Mary McCarthy, sociologist David Riesman; historian Arthur Schlesinger Jr.; and the English writer C. P. Snow.

Among such diverse contributors it would have been idle to seek an identity of views on such a topic as the cold war. There was, however, a consensus of concern among them all. The magazine itself is representative of the characteristics of an important segment of the American intellectual community: highly articulate criticism of American and Western society and foreign policy; awareness of the revolutionary ferments in the world; deep concern with the dilemma of free societies protected against aggressive totalitarianism by the nuclear arm they hope never to have to use; belief in the possibility of rational discourse among men of good will wherever they may be found, faith in the ultimate values of freedom: as Sydney Hook's contribution put it, "not free enterprise but human freedom . . , the right to believe or disbelieve in eccordance with one's conscience." How far these concerns carry over from the intellectual into the active political sphere in American life may be suggested by Prof. Schlesinger's position as a special advisor to the White House.

The strongest convergence of views on the "basic issues of the cold war" raised by *Partisan Review's* editors occurred in response to the question, "Do you think the issues at stake in the cold war so decisive as to be worth a nuclear war?" C. P. Snow simply answered "No." Robert Lowell took the view that "we should rather die than drop our own bombs." There was fairly general agreement that war *must* be avoided and some hope that since neither side wants it, because it would be suicidal, it has become obsolete and can be avoided. There was fear of accidental nuclear war, and some expectation that the evolution of Communism in the Soviet sphere might lead to a detente. There was even some interest in the idea that Communism itself is less of a menace than nuclear war, that, to use controversial phrase, it would be better to be "Red than dead."

Some interesting observations emerge on the "red or dead" shibboleth. Schlesinger rejected "the notion that this is our choice . . . until we have a reliable system of general and complete disarmament, continued military preparedness is an essential part of the policy to keep the choices from narrowing." This is perhaps the sort of statement one might expect from someone in his official position. But David Riesman, who is certainly not a Kennedy administration spokesman, believes that "the want of imagination and ingenuity among ourselves that makes slogans like 'red

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or dead' attractive will be replaced by a fresher, less menacing vision of the human enterprise." Irving Howe had "no patience or sympathy with those who cry 'better red than dead' or those who cry 'better dead than red.' It is conceivable that the extreme choice—nuclear war or surrender to Communism—may have to be made. But it is pointless now to make the choice as a speculative anticipation, when there still remain a good many courses of action that can help us avoid that terrible choice. We should try to use our wits and keep our nerve, and if we do, there is a chance to break past the intolerable dilemma this question poses."

According to Hannah Arendt: "Within the framework of realities we face, the slogan 'better red than dead' can mean only the signing of one's own death sentence even before this sentence has been passed."

Hannah Arendt, probably the most original and stimulating of the symposium contributors, has been described as a political philosopher rather than a political scientist and her recent book, *On Revolution*, an intricate and penetrating historical analysis of the present-day significance of the American and French revolutions, has been admired by some and attacked by others on historical grounds.

Her most frequently discussed viewpoint is expressed in such passages as the following:

"If there was a single event that shattered the bonds between the New World and tho countries of the old Continent, it was the French Revolution, which, in the view of its contemporaries, might never have come to pass without the glorious example on the other side of the Atlantic. It was not the fact of revolution but its disastrous course and the collapse of the French republic which eventually led to the servence of the strong spiritual and political ties between America and Europe that had prevailed all through the seventeenth and eighteenth ceuturies . . . Revolutionary political thought in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has proceeded as though there never had occured a revolution in the New World and as though there never had been any American notions and experiences in the realm of politics and government worth thinking about . . . Even revolutionists on the American continent speak and act as though they knew by heart the texts of revolutions in France, in Russia, and in China, but had never heard of such a thing as an American Revolution . . ."

Dr. Arendt's views on the current meaning of the two great Eighteenth Century revolutions were given succinct expression and greater immediacy in the brief scope of her statement for the symposium. At the risk of doing violence to the cogency and coherence of her thought, here are some excerpts: "Wars and revolutions have thus far determined the physiognomy of the twentieth century. . . . . war and revolution still constitute the two major political issues with which we are confronted. . . . Moreover, revolutions are very likely to stay with us into the foreseeable future whereas wars, if they should continue to threaten the existence of mankind and hence remain unjustifiable on rational grounds, might disappear, at least in their present form, even without a concomitant radical transformation of international relations. Hence . . . the present conflict between the two parts of the world may well be decided by the simple question of which side understands better what is involved and what is at stake in revolution. . . . The issue of revolution . . . can be clarified in the light of past and present experience. . . Its first prerequisite is to recognize . . . that the inherent aim of revolution has always been freedom and nothing else . . . Politically, the only issue at stake between West and East is freedom versus tyranny. . . .

". . . the whole record of revolutions . . . demonstrates . . . that every attempt to abolish poverty . . . with political means is doomed to failure and for this reason leads into terror; terror, on the other hand, sends revolutions to their doom. There has not been a single revolution that ever succeeded in the most important business of revolution, the establishment of a new government for the sake of freedom, except the American Revolution. . . .

"I would conclude that there would be no great hope that revolution and freedom could ever succeed in the world at large, if

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we were still living under conditions where scarcity and abundance were beyond the scope of human power. The American Revolution would remain....an exception from an iron rule But this is no longer the case. Even though the difficulties standing inthe way to solution of the predicament of mass poverty are still staggering, they are, in principle at least, no longer insurmountable....The position of the West in general and of the United States in particular will depend to a considerable extent upon a clear understanding of these two factors involved in revolution : freedom and the conquest of poverty.

"Let me point in conclusion to the last two major revolutions—the Hungarian Revolution, so quickly and so brutally crushed by Russia, and the Cuban Revolution which has fallen under Russian iuftuence. After the American Revolution, the Hungarian Revolution was the first—in which the question of bread, of poverty, of the order of society, played no role whatsoever ; it was entirely political in the sense that the people fought for nothing but freedom.....Obviously, the Cuban Revolution offers the opposite example."

Dr. Arendt's conclusion, that "revolution involves both liberation from necessity so that men may walk in dignity and constitution of a body politic that may permit them to act in freedom" was, in part, responsive to another of the editors' questions ; can and should the United States "identify with the movement and leaders of change—instead of supporting the opponents of radical social reform ?" This, of course, was a loaded question that practically demanded, and from some of the participants got, the complaint that American foreign policy has tended to support the reactionary right in the countries with which the United States is allied and otherwise associated. It ignored, however, such contrary examples as the American opposition, in the 40's, to Peron in Argentina (which in fact had the reverse effects of stimulating nationalist support for his dictatorship) and, on the other hand, American aid to the social revolution in Bolivia beginning in the 50's. Irving Howe pointed out that "if the United States were to become a nation supporting 'movements and leaders of change', then all the usual endorsements of non-intervention would have to be reconsidered"—an important consideration, if only in the realm of practical diplomacy.

In the field of foreign aid competition between the United States and the Communist bloc, Hans J. Morgenthau's perceptive essay brought out some of the political and psychological questions involved : "The United States, by dint of its pluralistic political philosophy and social system, cannot bring to the backward nations.....a simple message of salvation, supported first by dedicated and disciplined revolutioanry minorities and then by totalitarian control."

While the big American magazines such as *Time, Life, Saturday Evening Post* and *Reader's Digest* are well-known oveaseas few foreign readers are acquainted with the United States' small circulation magazines of critical intellectual opinion. This is a pity for, as Norman Podhoretz, another symposium participant and editor of the distinguished American intellectual journal *Commentary* put it, "the most hopeful development in years is the.....reappearance of.....social criticism based on a very clear vision of what a decent life on this planet might look like, and full of concrete ideas which, if they have little chance of being put into immediate effect at least serve to refresh and nourish our fading sense of what the liberal-radical tradition has always stood for and how far short we still are of achieving it.

In spite of its assumption of an extreme minority position, this seems a fair statement of a canstant in American thinking—the refusal to be satisfied with the status quo either at home or abroad.

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AN OPEN LETTER

By WILLIAM HOOKENS

The more I see of my country, India, the more I feel a stranger in it. I almost feel a Rip Van Winkle and wonder if there are many who will understand my language. I am not speaking Latin or Greek and am not wanting to add any problem to language, believing as I do that we have enough on our hands. But somehow I feel ancient in company of my friends and even relatives who feel that I have stopped growing and want me to change!

And the question is: Who should change? They or I? Taking my stand—and I hope I am not a Primitive in this respect—on Values, since they know no change, I feel I am on firm ground, or the *terra firma*, as my Latin-speaking friends would say; and *I* begin to gain in confidence as I talk of Values because I see myself growing in mental and moral stature. I see Literature, Arts, Religion—all based on values; The Eternal Something that makes of the most ancient writers the most modern. It is this sense of Values that makes Chaucer as much as Spenser or Milton or Arnold of eternal significance: each fought the enemies of life or light with the only weapon he had: Values!

As I look up my books on English literature—the only legacy I am left with in the absence of any other—I cannot help choosing Sir B. I for Evans's book ENGLISH LITERATURE: VALUES AND TRADITIONS; and I believe what keeps the British alive in a world of turmoils, even in their own country, is their sturdy common sense as a result of belief in values and traditions. And their sense of humour is something that is enviable and keeps British as much as foreign humorists alive in the United Kingdom. What are the Values and Traditions of Britain? That's a big question and I believe the book will give a clue—only a clue, but then we need an open mind. It's not enough ransacking libraries: we've got to meet people . . . and more people . . . and believe in the Good . . . and then we feel we are beginning to know things.

Another book—and I am glad there's an increase in the paper-cover books—which loved to read was the one by the veteran literateur J. B. Priestly. His book LITERATURE AND WESTERN MAN is worth reading not only because it gives an insight into literature but of western man as well; and after reading the initial chapters I began to wonder whether there was such a concept as western man or eastern man; and I believe there is. There's much difference between western man and eastern man and despite the books brought out by the American publishers (like Vera Micheles Dean's book THE NATURE OF THE NON-WESTERN WORLD—A mentor book) there is no doubting that Asia and Europe are different, and it is natural: there have been so many changes in Asia as a result of her great wealth and simplicity of heart that it is rather unnerving to see tradition go to the winds and other traditions take root. In fact, Asia has always represented the land of idealists, a world of philosophers; that the shocks of invasions have made things rather difficult to Asiatics who have become more cautious; more suspicious; more treacherous in fact. It is all a matter of being bitten once too often!

Christianity, a good thing in itself, was allied with Diplomacy and thus we have People who had begun to give away the Bible to those who knew nothing of it in exchange for land; and soon there was a cry from the Simple People: "Give us back our lands and take away your Bible!" And in one way or another there have been people who have taken advantage of eastern people and their simplicity and made short work of them. And today, I believe, the West as much as East the need to go into the question of living together: of co-existence rather than the struggle for power. One has only to read

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Tagore side by side with Iqbal or Rumi to know how different the Hindus are from the Muslims; and though there is much common with the Muslims and Christians (both are warlike and have warlike traditions) there is as Eliot, Isherwood and Spender feel much in common between the Christians and the Hindus. I am not at present thinking of the Hindus or Muslims who are so taken in with the Present as to feel themselves part of it and divorced from the Past . . . . going the way of Progress and the West. For, much as I believe in the fusion of cultures and traditions by intermixture of literatures and blood, I feel there will always be difference between the Eastern man and the Western: the Eastern being, by and large, philosophical, Otherminded, often times immature; the Western being practical, down-to earthiness, often times shrewd! And yet when it comes to the Greats in literature and Arts and science there is absolutely no difference: Keats is of all of us; and so is Shakespeare; but then gone is the age of poetry and sensitivity . . . and today we have to use personal values without hurting anybody. Call nobody bad but so use your mind and speech that you bring good out of evil! Be not a well or sink of iniquity but having risen above your petty self lift up others and go ye all together to the High Mountains and there enjoy the peace and glory that passeth understanding!

Men like Arthur Koestler whose novel DARKNESS AT NOON needs to be read for the dreadful things that can happen in broad daylight to people other than our own feel a strangeness, even loneliness and disillusion when they come to India or visit the East. They see hypocrisy writ large, corruption rampant . . . administration dreadfully slow . . . life despicably bad . . . and a form of subtle slavery existing between people and people of the same country . . . and when poverty and famines are man-made it irritates people who believe in human nature and want it to be good, useful rather than bad, predatory; and tired man often wants rest, peace; and he cannot see mischief going on in temples; innocents being seduced; the human personality trampled on by the juggernaut of Power! And Arthur Koustler, I believe, is a mature writer and man who is weary of the mad world of progress and wanted to see the India of the Past . . . alas! wanting to put the lock back! But then, do you blame Beverley Nichols who when he came to India began to look for the representative Indian and saw in the people a curious admixture of the east and the west, of good and bad . . . but then what are a People to do who have been invaded except suffer from an Inferiority Complex and prepare to put the enemy out? With the British gone the Frontier is all open and the Chinese have taken the opportunity of pouncing on us; and with the Kashmir Tangle unsolved the Muslims have not been slow to bolster up courage to put their viewpoint and show themselves wronged by the people of India. There have come to the surface many things and facts and the people of India suddenly see themselves in a dilemma! And the question should not be: "Were we, as a people, better off during the British regime?" But: "What are we going to do? How are we going to unite the people, differing in caste, creed, language and manners, and make them feel one and indivisible? How are we to marshal our best for the good of the country?"

Hindi writers, Muslim writers and Indo-Anglian writers are all doing a good piece of job; but the question is: Are they uniting people under one banner or are they dividing them or sectionally communally? We have Prem Chand as much as Mulk Raj Anand and R. K. Narayan and I believe we can galvanise our writers as much as our people if only we give them peace, security. It is not enough giving Akademy Awards to already well-known writers who have won laurels abroad but to budding writers who need help, even patronage in the best sense of the world. Our writers cannot help seeing and recording what they see; and much will depend on those we have in seats of power. If there is constant mouthing of high-sounding slogans and precious little of actual good; if there is a sectional split between Man and Man; if some are made to live for luxuries and others aredoomed to die slow, agonising deaths, then we will be giving rise to writers like T. S. Eliot who sees the Hollow man leading the world and making

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it come to ruin because he is a hollow . . . stuffed man . . . bereft of Reason. Common Sense or Values. India is a grand place, and its grandness will be evident to others who visit the place and observe the condition of the people and their thoughts and feelings. It's useless, therefore, to want the foreign tourists to only see the Ancient Relics of our land . . . We must also allow them to see our people . . . and talk to them . . . live with them . . . and practise that hospitality for which we as a people have been always known. Then only can we bring out the poetry and religion of India and make it representative of the East and make others, now our enemies, love us and trust us for the good and beautiful things that we treasure mentally as much as physically. The impact of Great and Noble Things can never be over-estimated; and this only means that we as a People must rise to our stature and bring out our best and those we meet by contact with the infinite. In the land of the Greats there is no boundary or barrier; and Goothe and Kalidasa and Shakespeare can walk hand-in-hand because they see the likeness between Man and Man and the joy of the home that all want . . . here and afterwards!

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND THE SEVENTH SCHEDULE OF THE CONSTITUTION OF INDIA

By Prof. Makhija

I

Community Development as a subject does not find a mention in any of the lists given in the 7th Schedule of the Constitution of India; yet there is a Ministry at the Union level to deal with this subject (in addition to Co-operation). According to one critic,[1] the creation of the Community Development Ministry indicates a unitary trend in a federal system on account of the following factors:

i) The Community Development Ministry has laid down for States norms whose effect is pervasive and effective. This has given rise to apprehensions that the programme has become too uniform and stereotyped to allow for regional variations and differences.

ii) In the training of the personnel, the Ministry has taken either direct responsibility or has decisively influenced the pattern of training institutions as well as the content of the training.

iii) Through conditional grants-in-aid, the ministry imposes a measure of uniformity (in programmes and policies) on the State Governments.

iv) The normative influence of the centre is also felt in the prescription of job charts of the various functionaries.

v) The decisions of various Conferences, Meetings, Seminars arranged by the Ministry and attended by the States direct the programme into centrally laid-out channels.

The object of this paper is to consider whether the Ministry of Community Development, on account of the above mentioned reasons, which may be summed up as gravitation towards centralisation through extra constitutional development, really indicates a Unitary trend in a federal system. For this purpose it will be necessary to discuss the nature of Community Development as a subject, as well as the nature of "federalism" and its evolution, with special reference to India.

II

If we look upon Community Development as one subject, it is quite constitutional for the Union Government to take over this subject under Article 248(1) according to which residuary powers of legislation are vasted in the Union Government.[2] However

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in that case, the subject should be exclusively in the Union field; but as matters stand, it is the State Governments that are responsible for the implementation of this programme. The fact of the matter is that even though Community Development sounds as one subject like say, economics, politics, education, health, etc.. etc., actually it is not so. In reality it embraces, not one subject, but a number of subject-matter programmes, with emphasis on the philosophy of self-help, extension, etc., etc., and with the ultimate aim of the total development of the community as a whole. According to the secretary-General of the United Nations; "Community Development can be recognised as a balanced programme for stimulating the local potential for growth in every direction." According to the 38th Report of the Estimates Committee (1956-57), the Planning Commission laid down the following as the main lines of activity to be unhertaken in a Community Project—agriculture and related matters; irrigation; communications; education; health; supplementary employment; housing; training; and social welfare.[3] Some others look upon Community Development as a "process of social action in which the people of a community organise themselves for planning and action."[4] The all embracing nature of Community Development is brought out clearly by tha U.N. Evaluation Mission (1959) at page 47 of their report in these words: "The over all aim of the Community Development programme in India is to assist in the building of a modern nation, bringing *all its potential resources* into line with modern political, economic and social standards as established in the majority of democratic countries." Thus Community Development cannot be looked upon as a subject in the sense in which other subjects have been listed in the Seventh Schedule.

In its narrower sense, Community Development may be looked upon as an integrated *programme* of activities in certain specified fields such as agriculture, animal husbandry, irrigation, cottage industries, health, housing, education, etc. etc. These various subjects, which form the components of the Community Development Programme, can be traced to List II of the Seventh Schedule.[5] Now, the essence of a federal system is that in these spheres the States should be free to frame their own policy, and their policies cannot be expected to be the same. But, from the very start the C.P.A. (now Ministry of Community Development and Co-operation) appears to have proceeded on the basis that there would be complete uniformity of policy in regard to Community Development Programmes in all the States, and that it would exercise detailed control over the programmes in the States not only in matters of policy but also in execution. According to one testimony,[6] "Authority was centralised to a large extent. Even the selection of the B.D.O. had to be approved by the C.P,A."[7] That was, however, at a time when the Community Projects were taking shape out of almost nothing. There was hardly any precedent to provide guidance and the whole programme was charged with a burning urgency. Gradually and steadily, a broad pattern of development began to take shape and the Ministry relaxed its control over the execution of the programme by the States. Nevertheless, the Union Government did not relax it completely, and towards the end of 1957, the Mehta Committee recommended that the "Centre should lay down the policy and prescribe the broad outlines of a scheme, and leave it to the State Governments to work it out in accordance with their own practices and in consonance with their local circumstances.[8] "However, we have it on the evidence of the U.N. Evalution Mission that, in spite of this rigidity", in one or two of the larger States, such as Bombay, there was adaptation of the programme to the needs of the State."[9] This would support the contention of those who hold the view that the States, not only constitutionally but also in practice, are not bound by the decisions of the Central Ministry; and that the Ministry has served to provide to the States a genuine partnership, a dynamic leadership and guidance based on its intimate contact with the field operations of the programme all over the country—a process facilitated by the universal appeal of the Community Development Programme as well as the dominance of a single political party at the Centre and in the States. A genuine partnership between the Centre and the States to achieve a common aim,

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that is, rapid rural development, cannot be said to mark a unitary trend in a federal system, especially, and if only, it is remembered that "when two men ride horseback, one rides behind."

III

Federalism has become one of the most enigmatic words of the twentieth century; it means different things to different people. There is a classical version, and there are other versions. The main features of the classical form of federalism are well-known: the federal structure is the outcome of the merger of a number of separate states into a single sovereign state, with legislative and executive powers divided co-ordinately between federal and unit governments; a written constitution which cannot be changed unilateraily; and judicial review. After examining the constitutions of the U.S.A., Australia and Canada—the three Anglo-American federations—Corry defines classical federalism as follows: "General and regional governments of co-ordinate authority, each independent of the other in its appropriate sphere, ruling over the same person and the same territory, under the benign surveillance of a court."[10] But even in classical federations there has developed a notable gap between the original theory as defined in the constitution, and current practices. These federations have become more and more centralised and the change has been "effected without striking amendments in the formal constitutions of these countries",[11] with the result that the practical reality today is different from the Constitutional reality. Various factors have contributed towards this evolution during the past two centuries:

First, technical inventions and scientific discoveries have changed economic conditions completely. Rappard tells us how the telegraph, the telephone, the rail-roads, the industrial patents, the progress of hydro-electricity, etc., etc., proved to be an ally of the tendency towards centralization in Switzerland.[12] This is not less true of other federal countries.

Second, industrial progress, through scientific and technological advancement, gave rise to slums, unemployment exploitation, and other evils of the factory system. These evils called for state intervention, inasmuch as people looked to the government to provide them with social security and protect them from exploitation. The depression of 1930's also had a similar effect.

Third, with the development of the atom and the hydrozen bombs, the ICBMSs; space ships, etc., etc., the whole complexion of war has changed. Modern war has become total war, and experience of the federal countries in World War II shows that extensive powers had to be vested in the federal government for successful prosecution of the war.[13]

Fourth, in international relations, the United Nations Organisation and its specialised agencies throw upon the Federal Governments a number of obligations. These obligations, along with the obligations of implementing international treaties, gives them (Federal Governments) a lot of opportunity to interfere in the jurisdiction allotted to states.

Fifth, the financially weak units in the federation could not, and did not, reconcile themselves to being left alone in their weakness; as members of the federal family they scrambled for financial help, so as to approximate to the average, on the plea that the richer states extracted much wealth from every section of the population and from all parts of the country and this wealth should be returned whence it came. Out of this scramble, and through a long and complicated process of trial and error, there emerged a financial pattern in which more and more powers gravitated to the central government for raising of resources and for returning these resources to the State Governments through loans and grants.

Sixth, though by no means the last, the concept of the welfare state caught the imagination of the people everywhere. To them that government was the best government which guaranteed to them social security and freedom from all kinds of undeserved want right from the womb to the tomb.

Thus through compulsion of political, technological, economic, social and financial forces there has been taking place a gradual extension of Federal Government activities

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and of Federal Government intervention into fields which were formerly considered to be outside the bounds of its legitimate domain. This led to the evolution of federalism in the countries where it was considered to exist in its classical form. To quote Prof. Wheare once again : "In all the four countries (the U. S. A., Canada, Australia and Switzerland), the central governments have become incomparably the most powerful financial authorities in their federal systems and the regional governments have been reduced to a restricted, if not subordinate, position...they have accepted, in varying degrees, some measure of financial subordination to the central government"14. This evolution has taken place over a period of one hundred years or more through constitutional amendments, or judicial interpretations or merely through conventions and usage.

IV

The Indian Constitution was born in the middle of the 20th Century. The fathers of the Indian Constitution were aware of the evolution which classical federalism had undergone in other countries. They were also conscious of the fact that if classical fereralism could not adequately answer the modern conditions in its own home lands, it could be excpeted much less to do so in conditions obtaining in post-independence India, or to be a fit instrument for meeting the aspirations of the people in the social, economic and political spheres. In an effort to draw upon the merits of both the federal and unitary systems in a balanced way, they designed a Constitution which was at once federal and unitary. It is federal in the sense that (1) it is a Union of States (2) there is a division of powers between the federal government and governments of the federating units, and this division cannot be amended without mutual agreement, and (3) there is an independent judiciary to interpret the constitution. On the other hand, it is unitary in the sense that the Union Parliament can, under certain conditions, legislate on the subjects in the State list, there are the common All-India services, and there are the emergency provisions—to name a few unitary features. It is because of this combination of the federal and unitary features that some political thinkers have described the Indian Constitution as quasi-federal.[15] Some others have suggested that there can be no such thing as quasi-federalism : a constitution is either federal or is not federal. Because of this difficulty some authorities have tried to describe the Indian Constitution to provide for a "decentralised Unitary State", for a "Centralised Federalism", for a "paramount federalism", or for a "Co-operative federalism."

The Term "Co-operative federalism" owes it origin to the need and desire of the underdeveloped countries for rapid economic advancement as represented in India by "the common determination of the Central Government and the governments of all the states of the Union of India to carry out the Plan."[16] This determination, as distinct from mere "desire" or "intention", to bnild a new nation implies acceptance of a former economic policy and maximisation of a steady rate of economic growth for the nation as a whole. Such a determination cannot obviously be compatible with the existence of a loose federation wherein the powers of the Union Gevernment are strictly limited.

The Constitution of India is also said to establish federation "in reverse."[17] The federalism in India, it is stated, evolved by way of political devolution from a former colonial unitary structure. Thus, instead of the states ceding some of their powers to the Central Government as a result of their agreeing to join a federation, the States received certain powers from the former Unitery Government. It is because of this that the residual powers in India are vested in the Union Government and not in the State Governments, as is the case in the U.S.A., Australia and Switzerland. The division of powers in the Indian Constitution thus appears to have been motivated more by the need for decentralisation, so as to fecilitate the process of public administration, especially in view of the large size of the country, rather than by the compulsion of federal prinicples.

The Indian Constitution is thus conditioned by the history and geography of India as well as by the economic, social and political aspiration of its people. Its federalism conforms to the demands of modern times, the

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emphasis being rightly placed on the practical reality of the day rather than on theoretical forms of federalism. In shis context one can hardly disagree with Frankfurt that "Federal Governments are not the off-spring of political science ; they are the product of economic and social pressures."[11]

V

Community Development is a part of planning in India. Though the actual implementation of the community development programme is the responsibility of the State Governments, The Community Development Ministry has, for its terms of reference, the responsibility for "planning, directing and co-ordinating" the Community Projects throughout the country under the general supervision of the Central Committee and in consultation with the appropriate authorities in the various States.[19] The objectives of the Community Development programme have been defined as under[20] :—

i) Leading rural population from chronic under-employment to full employment,

ii) Leading rural population from chronic agricultural under-production to full production, by application of scietinfic knowledge ;

iii) The largest possible extension of the principle of co-operation by making the rural families credit-worthy ; and

iv) Increased community effort for work of benefit to the community as a whole, such as village roads, tanks, wells, schools, community centres, children's parks, etc., etc.

In short the function of the Community Development programme is to bring about the transformatian of the erstwhile "police state" into a "Welfare State". But there can be no doubt that federal states and welfare states do not go well together."[21] Having enshrined in the Indian Constitution the Directive Principles of State Policy, the Constitutional fathers were disposed to give the Union Government adequate powers, within the democratic frame-work, to act effectively for securing and protecting a social order "in which justice, social, economic and political, shall inform all the institutions of the national life.[22]

National Planning demands centralisation, which is incompatible with federalism. Planning in India was foreseen by the Constitutional fathers as the logical outcome of the march of history and there could be no escape from it, even if it impinged upon the principles of federalism. Therefore, the principles of federalism were subordinated to Planning to the extent that they were in conflict with it. The position has been summed up in these words by a distinguished authority : "The master-plan of economic development must be country-wide . . . all federating units must accept over-all direction imposed by the master-plan. Tho federal Government must have adequate powers to evolve the general plan of economic development for the whole country and must have power to carry out its essential features and to supervise and enforce its implementation by the federating units. This is only inherent in economic planning."[23] Evidently a large number of sectors of economic development, e.g., husbanding the hydro-electric resources, setting up of steel and Atomic Plants, Planning of Crop Production, exploitation of mineral resources—do not admit of fractional treatment. It is, therefore, not surprising that those who regard the Indian Constitution as federal, see a unitary trend in its working during the past ten years. According to Shri Santhanam, "Planning for the purposes of economic development practically superseded the federal constitution so far as states were cencerned."[24] But, as has been pointed out already, the Indian Constitution itself does not claim to be federal, especially in its narrow and rigid theoetical sense.

VI

The question of Community Development vis-a-vis the Divisional Powers in the 7th Schedule of the Indian Constitution has to be looked in the perspective mentioned in the foregoing sections.

The criticism of Community Development mentioned earlier in this article would appear to be withont substance when it is remembered that—

"First, the Community Development is more a concept or method or a programme, which transcends the artificial boundaries set up between the centre and the states by the

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so-called federal constitution. No wonder, therefore, that it does not find a place as a subject in any of the three lists of the 7th Schedule.

Second, Federalism, in the modern world, has for different people different shades of meaning varying between classical federalism and a decentralised unitary system.

Third, the Indian Constitution does not claim to be a federal one.

Fourth, Constitution provides for a strong centre, as the fathers of the constitution realized that federalism was not compatible with economic planning, and

Fifth, the Community Development has almost a universal appeal as being the best instrument for the rapid regeneration of rural India.

The criticism becomes still more diluted when the Union-State participation in this programme is looked upon as a partnership, rather than as a superiorsubordinate relationship. According to the U. N. Evalution Mission[25] "The Policy for Community Development in India is formulated at the central and state levels, but country-wide consultations are carried out in all-India conferences or seminars on particular snbjects or problems." In the light of this evidence, the charge of one way influence by the central Ministry of Community Development does not appear to hold much water. As Shri Santhanam points out in another context: "If a State argues that the Planning Commission has no statutory authority and that it is not bound by its decision, constitutionally it would be quite right and the (Central) government would be powerless to compel the state to fall in line."[26] These remarks apply no less to the Ministry of Community Development. If the States have accepted the normal pattern of Community Development, if they send their personnel to the Trading Institutions set up by the Ministry, if they take part in the conferences and seminars arranged by the Ministry, they do so as equal partners in the full knowledge that thereby they contribute to, and derive benefit from, the pooled experience of all the States which the Ministry alone is in the best position to provide. Also, the Ministry of Community Development can justly claim that it has kept with itself less control over the details of the programme, having passed on much of it to the State Governments, than what most other Ministries of the Central Government have done in respect of schemes sponsored and financed by them wholly or partly, though executed by the State Governments."[27] And finally, there is no evidence that the partnership of the Centre and the States in this "mighty adventure" of building up a new rural India restricts in any way the freedom of the State to modify the programme so as to suit the conditions prevailing in a particular area. In this sense Community Development does not mark any "unitary trend in a federal system." Community Development seeks to provide an answer to the call of the day : it is completely in tune with the federalism evolving under the stress of present-day conditions.

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1. Dubhashi P. R., Unitary Trends in a Federal System. I. J. P. A., Vol. VI, No. 3. pp 243 – 256.

2. Article 248 (1) reads: Parliament has exclusive power to make any law with respect to any matter not enumerated in the concurrent list or the State List.

3. Estimates Committee (1959-57), 38 Report on Ministry of Commudity Development Part I, p. 10.

4. Community Development Review (International Co-operation Administration, Washington, D. C.) December, 1956, quoted by Rajeshwar Daya', Commuunity Development Programme in India, 1960, p.5.

5. For greater details see P. R. Dubhashi, op. cit. pp. 246—47.

6. Mukerji, B.—Community Development in India, 1962, P167.

7. The name give to the central organisation before the formatioe of Ministry of Community Development in 1956.

8. Report of the Team for the Study of Community Projects & NES under the Chairmanship of Shri Balwant Raj Mehta, Vol. I 1957, p 30

8. Report of a Community Development Evaluation Mission in India (1951-59), P. 13, Para 64.

10. Corry J A.—Chapter on Constitutional Trends and Federalism in Evolving Canadian Federalism (1958 Ed.), by A.R.M. Lower, F. R. Scott. et al, p 95

11. Corry, ibid., p 96

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12. For a graphic account, see William E. Rappard—Govt, of Switzerland.

13. Wheare, K.C. in his "Federal Gouernment" (p. 197) says : While it is the essence of federation to be pluralistic, it is the essence of war powers ta be unitary."

14. Wheare, K. C., Federal Govarnments, op. cit. p, 185

15. Wheare, K. C., Federal Government op. cit. 'The Indian Constitution does dot indeed claim to establish a federal Union, but the federal principle has been introduced into its terms to such an extent that is is justifiable to describe it as a quasi-federal constitution". (P. 28).

16. Government of India, Planning Commission, Second Five Year Plan. p. 11.

17. Federalism and Ecodomic Growth in Under Developed Countries—A Symposium—George Allen and Unwin Ltd.

19. Livingston S.—Federalism and Constitutional Change, Oxford 1956—quoted on the page facing the "Preface '.

19. Estimates Committee, op. cit. p. 7.

20. Estimates Committee, op. cit. p. 15.

21. Federalism and Economic Growth in Under Developed Countries op. cit p. 55.

22. The Constitution of India, Article. 38.

23. Gadgil, D. R., Federating India, Poona Gakhale Institute of Politics and Economics, 1945 p. 44. quoted by Dubhashi op. cit. pp. 943-44.

24. Santhanam, K., Union State Relations, issued by the Indian Institute of Public Administration, 1960, p 47.

25 U. N. Evaluation Mission Report, op. cit. p. 10.

26. Santhanam, K., Union-State Relations, op. cit. p. 44.

97. Mukherji, B., Community Development in India, op. cit p. 168.

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THE CASE FOR A PERMANENT TRIBUNAL OF INQUIRY

By R. K. SWAMY

I

Charges of corruption against Ministers have become very common in this country, and allegations are frequently made in the Legislative Assemblies, Press and public meetings. Most of them go unchallenged. Equally strange is the fact that those who make allegations rarely take steps to establish their charges. Generally, the charges are too vague to warrant any specific action. Moreover, the overwhelming majority of the party in power has encouraged the government, especially in the States where charges of corruption are many, to overlook these allegations on the ground that such allegations are nothing but political propaganda. Due to the acceptance of the concept of a Welfare State and the consequent emphasis on rapid industrial and economic development, Ministers and civil servants now wield enormous powers over vast resources, a task that requires great experience of men and materials which most of our ministers do not have. There is every likelihood that bona fide mistakes and error of judgement might lead to waste of public funds; lack of experience may also contribute to unconventional use of authority which might be misinterpreted by the public to mean many things, other than what was meant by the minister himself. Bound by intricate personal ties, the ministers find it difficult to keep off the relatives aspiring to make capital out of the ministers' newly acquired powers. Most of the ministers themselves find it difficult how not to subordinate public welfare to personal gains. Consequently, some of them may, by chance or by design, deviate from the normal behaviour expected of them. In this respect the public is no better than the minister. The opportunity to freely criticize those in power is a novel experience to many of them. Due to the multiplicity of political parties and their propaganda, the political awareness of the people has increased considerably. This, perhaps, is the reason for the people becoming over-critical of the ministers. Nevertheless, the charges of corruption, however baseless and vague they may be, have adverse effects on the administration. In a democracy, they tend to demoralise and discourage ministers who tend to be enterprising. Baseless charges hamper initiative and it is only natural that many of the ministers are inclined to play safe. Bona fide mistakes and errors of judgement may be twisted to mean favouritism and abuse of power; and many allegations are made merely to discredit the ministers. Added to this, the indifference of the Ministers to criticisms and charges has encouraged baseless and irresponsible charges of corruption and favouritism.

Criticisms cannot be discouraged as the people have a right to see that the government should function efficiently and with a minimum of waste. The confidence reposed in the ministers by the people must be on solid foundation; otherwise, it may mean the very collapse of democratic administration since repeated and unchallenged charges of corruption against ministers may lead to absence of trust in democracy. So, it is essential that in a democratic set-up, ministers are not only honest but above suspicion.

Corrnption, of course, takes various forms. It need not necessarily be in the form of money nor need not be a personal gain to a minister. Money may be given to the Minister or his relative or friend for personal use; or it may be for the political party to which the Minister belongs. In return for the benefactions thus received, the minister may use his position to get some work done to the benefactor. It may be a quick disposal of a file, issue of a license, permit, contract or withdrawal of any action proposed to be taken against somebody. Another form of corruption is abuse of power, for example use of public funds to help private individuals as alleged in the L.I.C. investment in Mundhra concerns. Or as it may be, the minister

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may use his position to get his relatives employed in public services or in big private companies that may have dealings with the Government. In return for all these, the minister may show some concessions or favours which in the normal course of events, he should not do. This misconduct, abuse of power, favouritism are merely off-shoots or ramifications of corruption and have to be tackled objectively.

II

Even in countries like England and U.S.A., where public morality is said to be of a higher standard, the problem of improper use of authority and corruption exists. How far these countries have been successful in dealing with this will be a profitable study to us. Speaking on this issue in the Rajya Sabha on February 12, 1960 the Prime Minister condemned all loose talk about corruption, and observed that charges should not be flung about to create confusion and lack of faith in the minds of the people and thereby do injury to the nation's cause. The Prime Minister added that those who made allegations should go to the ordinary courts of law instead of demanding special tribunals. No doubt, the courts in this country are the custodians of law, both public and private, but whether they could uphold public morality is a controversial question. Even if the courts are inclined to consider questions concerning public morality, it is impossible to bring them under the group of cognizable offences. The people are protected against arbitrary executive action, but there is no remedy for the improper use of authority and misconduct in the ordinary courts unless the executive violates the established law enforced by the courts. Very often abuse of power and improper use of authority are outside the jurisdiction of the law courts; so are nepotism, favouritism, etc. Apart from this, the citizen making the allegation is in a disadvantageous position, because he has no access to official files and documents. There is no provision for the citizen to get the official papers and search out incriminating facts in this country. Such a thing is possible only in Sweden. This is very important because unless the allegations are backed by evidence, the courts will not recognize the charges. The Prime Minister himself admitted in the Rajya Sabha on February 12, 1960 that there was great difficulty in establishing the cases started by the Special Police Establishment before the courts and the latter were not satisfied unless there was cent per cent evidence. He said, "it is a frustrating and exasperating experience to see years pass by before anything could be done to a person known to be guilty of heinous offences." The Special Police Establishment conducts preliminary investigations into corruption cases involving the public servants but has to prove the charges before a court of law. Whether the SPE could proceed with equal independence into cases involving ministers is yet to be seen. A very recent episode in this connection did not throw much light. Thus to deal with cases concerning public morality and political influence, somewhat different institutions are required which will investigate charges without being bound by onerous rules of evidence.

III

Public Inquary Commissions, as an institution to deal with corruption charges, have been used in England, U.S.A. and India. For our purpose, public inquiry will mean "inquiries conducted by permanent or ad hoc bodies; empowered by some definite statute, resolution or order, to investigate some particular problem of public interest".[1] In U.S.A., such committees are appointed by the Congress by special statute and their powers are defined in the statute itself. In England and in India, public inquary commissions may be constituted under the Tribunals of Inquary (Evidence) Act, 1921 and the Commissions of Inquary Act, 1952, respectively. The tribunal and the Commission have been used to investigate charges of corruption against ministers. The tribunal and the commission have identical powers. The tribunal could be appointed when a resolution is passed in both the Houses of Parliament (Commons and Lords) for inquiring into a definite matter of urgent public importance.[2]

On the other hand in India, a Commission could be constituted for similar reasons (but not necessarly urgent) by a resolution in the

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Lok Sabha only.[3] Before a Tribunal could be appointed, three conditions must be fulfilled: The matter to be investigated must be:

1. Definite.
2. Urgent.
and 3. of public importance.

But in India, a Commission of Inquiry could be constituted even when the matter concerned is not urgent.

The powers of the tribunal and the Commission are very similar. S.1. of the Tribunals of Inquiry Act states that the tribunal shall have all the powers and privileges of a High Court in respect of the following matters.

(a) The enforcing attendance of witnesses and examining them on oath, affirmation or otherwise,

and (c) subject to the rules of the court, the issuing of a commission to examine witnesses abroad.

Section 4 of the Commission of Inquiry Act is on the same lines, and declares that the Commission shall have powers of a Civil court while trying a suit under the Code of Civil Procedure in respect of the following matters.

(i) Summoning and enforcing the attendance of any person and examining him on oath.
(ii) Requiring the discovery and production of any document.
(iii) Receiving evidence on affidavits.
(iv) Requisitioning any public record or copy thereof from any court or office;
(v) Issuing commissions for the examination of witnesses or documents;
and (vi) any other matter which may be prescribed.

By Section 5(2), the Government may authorise the Commission to require any person subject to any privilege which may be claimed by the person under any law for the time being in force, to furnish information on such points or matters as, in the opinion of the Commission, may be useful for or relevant to the subject-matter of the inquiry. The Government may also empower the Commission or a gazetted officer specially authorised by the Commission for this porpose, to enter any building or place where the Commission has reason to believe that any books or documents relating to the subject matter of inquiry may be found and may seize any such documents or books or take extracts or copies of them subject to Ss. 102, 103 of the Code of Criminal Procedure in so far as they may be applicable—(Ss. 102, 103 of the Cr. P. Code (India) refer to the method of search and presence of witnesses during the search). The Commissions of Inquiry Act also states that a Commission shall he deemed to be a civil court, and when any offence as is described in the Indian Penal Code in S.175 (Omission to produce documents by the person legally bound to produce it ;) S. 178 (refusing oath or affirmation when duly required by a public servant to make it); S. 179 (refusing to answer a public servant authorised to question); S.180 (refusing to sign statements) and S. 228 (intentional insult or interruption to public servant sitting on injudicial proceedings) is committed before the Commission, it may forward the case to a magistrate having the jurisdiction to try the same under S. 482 of the Code of Criminal procedure which relates to proceedings in cases of offences against, and affecting the administration of justice. By S (5) of the Act, any proceeding before a Commission shall be deemed to be a judicial proceeding.

Both the English and the Indian Acts give immunity for statements made before this court of inquiry, if they are relevant and not false. The Tribunal and the Commission are given powers to regulate the procedure to be followed by them. The Commission has power to decide whether to sit in public or otherwise, but the Indian Act does not state in what circumstances the public may be excluded from the proceedings. It is understood that the discretion is to be exercised like other courts in the country. S. 2 (a) of the English Act expressly states that a tribunal shall not refuse to allow the public to be present at any part of the preceeding unless, in the opinion of the tribunal, it is in the public interest to do so. A tribunal may or may not permit legal representation to any person appearing before it, it is stated in the Act. Although no such provision is included in the Indian Act, a Commission has got discreation to permit or not to permit legal representation.

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The Commissions of Inquiry Act enables the Government to confer more power on a Commission. Re-examination of new witnesses and recall of witnesses who have already tendered evidence even after the recording of all the evidence by a Commission has been made possible by the Central Commissions of Inquiry (Procedure) Rules, 1960. The rules have been made in exercise of powers conferred by the Act and will apply to all commissions appointed by the Central Government. A Commission shall issue a notice to every person who, in its opinion, should be given an opportunity of being heard, to furnish a statement relating to such matters as may be specified in the notice, and to issue a notification inviting all persons acquainted with the subject matter of the inquiry to give statements relating to the inquiry. Every such statement has to be accompanied by an affidavit. It has also been made obligatory for a Commission to give a reasonable opportunity to any person whose reputation is likely to be prejudicially affected by the inquiry, to be heard and to produce evidence in his defence. Moreover, after all the evidence has been recorded, if the Central Government applies to the Commission to recall any witness or to examine any new witness, a Commission can, if satisfied that it is necessary for the proper determination of any relevant fact, recall a witness or examine new witnesses. According to the Commissions of Inquiry Act, a Commission shall continue to exist unless Governmennt declares that it shall cease to exist from such date as may be notified in the official gazette.

After narrating powers of the tribunal and the Commission, the task now is to find out how far public inquiry bodies will be able to function successfully as anti-graft institutions.

IV

Belcher Case 1948-49 : England—The Police in their normal course of investigation into some allegations, found out that money obtained from a foot-ball promoters' firm had been used to influence the Board of Trade. The name of Belcher, Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade, was involved. As the Government was anxious that the fullest possible public inquiry should be made into the allegation which reflected on the purity of the administration, a Tribunal of Inquiry was then appointed under the Chairmanship of Mr. Justice Lynsky, a High Court Judge. The Lynsky Tribunal reported adversely on Belcher and Gibson, Director of the Bank of England and Chairman of the N. W. Electricity Board. The report was published on January 25, 1949. The report stated that there was no evidence to show that large sums of money were involved. But Belcher was found to have accepted some presents, including a gold cigarette case, etc., knowing well that they were made for securing expeditious and favourable considerations by the Board of Trade. Belcher assisted some parties and withdrew one prosecution. On the publication of the report, Belcher announced his resignation.[4] Some important statements that Belcher made may be noted here. He deplored the fact that there was no appeal against the tribunal's findings except "to the hearts and minds of those listening to him. There can be no appeal on the tribunal's finding as the tribunal is only a fact-finding body, and not a law-court. It would be reasonadle to expect a tribunal to inform all the persons who are likely to be affected by the report so that they could produce evidence in their defence. The findings must be notified before the report is finalised so that the aggrieved persons are not deprived of the opportunity to explain their case with reference to the findings of the Tribunal. This is made possible, in India, by the new Commissions of Inquiry (Procedure) Rules, 1960.

Crechel Down Case : England 1953-54—Another important public inquiry was conducted by Andrew Clark, Q. C. into what is known as "Crechel Down Case." In the year 1937, 725 acres of land at Crechel Down were compulsorily acquired by the Air Ministry. In 1950, the land was transferred to the Agriculture Ministry when the land ceased to be a bombing area. Crechel area was a part of the 725 acres previously held by Lieut. Com. Marten's father-in-law. The Agriculture Ministry handed over the land to the Lands Commission for management. When it came to be known that Crechel Down

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was to be offered for rent, applications were received by the Lands Service, a technical wing of the Ministry of Agriculture. The applicants were informed that tenancy would be advertised for tender in the press as soon as the property was ready. Com. Marten offered to buy the Crichel area, or the whole of Crichel Down since the former area was compulsorily acquired from his father-in-law. By now Crechel Down was handed over to the Commissioners of Crown Lands and they decided to ascertain the possible rent for the area and then deal with the property. The Crown Lands Commissioner, Thomson contacted Mr. Tozer who agreed to pay £3 per acre as rent for the equipped land. Com. Marten wrote to 'Crown Lands' that he would-rent the land without additional equipment, but was informed that the land was not for re-sale. Com. Marten's offer war ignored. After two months Crechel Down was given to Mr. Tozer on an annual tenancy basis. In September, 1953, a petition was sent to the minister by farmers and landowners (who were original applicants) asking for a public inquiry ; the minister was told that he was ill-advised and not apprised of true facts.

The Tribunal, under the Chairmanship of Andrew Clark; Q. C., in its report stated that the failure to notify the Commissioners of Crown-lands of the applications for tenancy was due to the transfer of the officer then in charge of Lands Service. The Successor, came to know of the applications only in March, 1953 and that the selection of a tenant by Mr. Thomson in Februray, 1953 was perfectly bonafide although it would have been in accord with the normal practice if it had been put up for public tender. The Tribunal observed that no better rent would have been obtained through public tender than that agreed to by Mr. Tozer. The Tribunal maintained that there was no trace of corruption, bribery or personal dishonesty, but the procedure adopted was such as to give rise to misgivings among local farmers and land owners so as to justify the clamour for a public inquiry.

Bank Rate Leakage Inquiry (England 1957) :—Another important public inquiry in England was the Parker Tribunal, which investigated the allegations regarding the Bank rate leakage. An increase in the Bank rate from 5% to 7% was announced on September 19, 1957. The day before this announcement, the Londod Stock Market registered heavy sales of government securities. Newspapers reported selling of guilt-edged securities on the earlier day. Mr. Harold Wilson, the Shadow Chancellor, inferred that there must have been a leakage of the proposal to increase the Bank rate and wrote to the Financial Secretary to the Treasury asking for an inquiry into the matter. On September 26, Mr. Wilson offered to submit evidence and allegated that he had information suggesting that the leakage emanated from a political source. The Lord Chancellor conducted the preliminary inquiry and concluded that there was no ground for a public-inquiry. (Sep. 22, 57). Mr. Gaitskell disagreed with the Lord Chancellor and said that the inquiry should have been conducted by an independent, judicial person with powers to send for records and take evidence on oath. Due to repeated demands of the opposition for an inquiry, the Prime Minister announced the decision to hold an inquiry, on November 13, 1957. Lord Justice Parkers was appointed Chairman with two Queen's counsels as members of the Tribunal which reported on January 21, 1958. The Tribunal observed that there was no justification for the allegations that information about the raising of Bank rate was improperly disclosed to any person. The Chancellor of Exchequer did explain in advance to press men, representatives of industry and the Conservative Central Office about the intended financial measures but this was done with the approval of his cabinet colleagues. The propriety of such disclosures was for the Parliament to decide, the Tribunal added. It observed that it was not concerned with the question of a director of the Bank of England having other business responsibiities which was also a policy matter to be decided by the Parliament.

L.I.C. Investment Inquiry India 1958-59 :—After dealing with some of the important cases where public inquiry was conducted in England, we will take up an Indian case in this field. The Chagla Inquiry

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Commission was appointed by the Central Government on January 7, 1953 when charges of collusion and conspiracy were made in the Lok Sabha in connection with investment of the Life Insurance Corporation funds in Mundhra group of concerns Astatement of purchases of shares by the L.I.C. was placed on the table of the Lok Sabha on December 11, 1957. On December 16, 1957, Mr F. Gandhi raised a plea for enquiry into the "conspiracy in which", he said, "public funds of L.I.C. amounting to, over Rs. 1.56 crores were wrongfully employed to finance the interests of an individual (Mr. Haridas Mundhra) at the cost of the insured." He charged LIC with 'collusion with Mundhra'. He said that prices of shares purchased by LIC in the Mundhra group of concerns were artificially manipulated in the Calcutta Stock Exchange and were bought directly from Mundhra instead of from the open market. He said there were forged series of Mundhra shares in the market, add the LIC failed to take proper precautions. The Finance Minister denied all charges of conspiracy and collusion, and disclaimed direct responsibility for the transaction. The general trend of the debate in the Lok Sabha was that the funds of LIC were wrongfully used to finance an individual at the cost of the insured. Mr. Dange said that the deal was arranged to help 'some' old friends of 'some' ministers. As a consequence of the intense demand for a probe, the Central Government appointed Mr. Justice Chagla as a one man Commission of Inquiry on January 7, 1958. The Commission was asked to inquire into and report on the transactions of LIC relating to the purchase ofs hares in the Mundhra group of concerns. Although the Finance Minister, Shri T.T. Krishnamachari denied having authorised or acquiesced with the purchase of shares, the Commission in its report fixed the responsibility squarely on the Finance Minister, both constitutionally and in terms of acquiescence.

Technically, the Commission fixed the responsibility on the two executive officers of the Corporation, Shri Kamath and Shri Vaidhyanathan. The Commission refused to believe the statement of Shri H.M. Patel, Principal Finance Secretary, that the purchase was made to relieve the crisis in Calcutta Stock Ehchange and concluded that the shares were bought purely to help Shri Haridas Mundhra out of his difficulties, and that Shri H. M. Patel took the leading part in bringing about the transaction and that his actions were not repudiated by the Finance Minister. The procedure followed in fixing up the price was strongly criticized as unbusinesslike. The Commission pointed out that the Investment Committee of the Life Insurance Corporation was superseded. When the findings of the Commission came to be known, Shri T. T. K. resigned and further inquiry under Public Servants (Enquiries) Act, 1850 was ordered to investigate into the findings on the conduct of the three public servants above named.

V

Now let us examine how far these inquiries were successful as anti-graft investigation bodies In his reply dated 12-1-1951 to Shri T. T. Krishnamachari's resignation letter, Shri Nehru observed that his manner of approach to a complicated problem was hardly satisfactory. This was not the fault of any person but was rather due to the nature and method of such enquiry, he added. He further said that it (the enquiry) was neither judicial nor capable of eliciting all the facts. He condemned the interest shown by the public over the enquiry and remarked that he personally felt Shri T. T. K. had little to do with the transactions. These remarks of the Prime Minister caused widespread criticism. Mr. A. D. Gorwala, a distinguished retired civil servant, wrote in a letter to the Statesman, dated 16-2-1958, that Nehru's attitude had shocked many people. He added: "Let us have at least some regard for democratic decency in our political life."

Acharya Kripalani said in the Lok Sabha on February 19, 1958 that there was no doubt that the enquiry was of a judicial character and the conclusions were based on the evidence placed before the Commission. The Hindu, in the Editorial dated February 2, 1958 observed; "The Chagla report was generally welcomed in the Lok Sabha as enhancing the dignity and majesty of Parliament, and demonstrating to the world 'the democratic

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way' in which the country functioned." According to Chagla, C. J., the enquiry had been an education for the public.' "It should also act as a corrective to administrators all over the country because in future they would act with the consciousness that their actions may be subjected to public scrutiny", he said.

Both Chagla, C. J. and Mr. Setalved who assisted him were of the opinion that all the facts relating to the case had not been placed before the Commission.

The comments on the Tribunals in England are equally interesting. Commenting on the Bank Rate Tribunal, Times (London)[5] observed that in the process (of enquiry) many innocent people were put to great expense of time and money; some who were not more than bystanders had to make public many intimate deiails of their lives and conversations; men of high standing were treated like prisoners in the dock. "Granted that any genuine suspicion of dishonesty in public life must be probed, is this provided for in a way which is not open to abuse?"—the editorial challenged. While discussing who should commission a public enquiry, it said, the decision to hold a public enquiry must rest squarely with Parliament and thereby with the Government which commands a parliamentary majority. It further remarked, "there is no escaping the fact that inquiries of this kind, once started, are found to be costly and unpleasant and all too likely to do at least temporary harm to innocent people, whatever the procedure. The first need is that they (inquiries) should not be instituted without sufficient cause. Parliament should exercise careful restraint in demanding them and be still more careful in bandying names about."

When the Parker report was discussed in the Commons on February 3, 1958, Mr. Butler expressed similar sentiments. He said, "It is impossible to tell beforehand how many people will be affected by such an enquiry. Technically no one is accused. Too many people have had many details of their private lives laid bare, not only politicians but bankers, brokers, jobbers, government officials and a variety of others. Accordingly a heavy burden lies on those who pursue a campaign regardless of the means employed, as bitterly as the opposition have done in this case (in asking for a public inquiry)."

While admitting that public inquiries have their own merits, as an anti-graft body, it has got to be very sparingly used. The procedure for constituting a commission itself is very cumbersome and the motives may have even a political bias. It is probable that the party in power will, as far as possible, try to avoid public scrutiny of its ministers' conduct and instead may arrange for internal probes. This will not, however, restore the confidence of the people. Further every time a specific charge is to be made, the people in the "know of things" may not come forward with the evidence for fear of drawing adverse action on themselves. A Commission once constituted may be made to continue its existence for a long duration but whether "corruption" as such can be a specific charge for a probe is doubtful since only specific cases can be referred to and not vague generalisations. The consensus of opinion is that a public enquiry commission is not a suitable institution. The ad hoc nature of the Commission, constituted after much hue and cry, automatically arouses psychological tensions. The individuals concerned come in the limelight, and much protective displays become unavoidable. Moreover, the reports of findings are submitted by the Commissions to the Government which reserves the right to publish or withhold them. The Government may accept the report or disagree with it, and may initiate a separate departmental enquiry. This process even though genuine, does not help to consolidate public confidence in the right direction. Commissions that were constituted after clamour in press and parliament on specific cases draws lot of undesirable public attention, and defeats the very purpose of their existence. What is needed therefore is a more stable and quiet means for inquiring into affairs which deserve censure. If public inquiry is not the appropriate body to probe into corruption, the task is to find out what else is better suited for the purpose.

VI

In his Srinivas Sastri Lectures, 1959, at the Madras University, Shri C. D. Deshmukh observed: "An uneasy public hears of nepo-

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tism (still very common), highhandedness, jerry-mandering, feathering of nests through progeny and a dozen other sins of commission, and omission, and yet is helpless for lack of data, facts and figures, evidence and proof. The informants are in nearly every case timid and fearful lest they should come into trouble by testifying to the alleged facts. It is in order to deal with such a situation that a high level, impartial, standing judicial tribunal is called for, to investigate and report on complaints or laying of information. If such a commission is established, I shall be happy to make a beginning by lodging half a dozen information myself."[6] On analysis, Shri Deshmukh's suggestion has the following important features :

1. The tribunal will be a high level body ;
2. It will be judicial ;
3. It will be impartial ;
4. It will be permanent ; and
5. It will only investigate and report on complaints.

While speaking in the Rajya Sabha on February 12, 1960 the prime Minister rejected the proposal for a permanent tribunal to enquire into the cases of corruption at high levels of administration as contrary to conventions, but he expressed his willingness to have specific charges of corruption against any highly placed person considered by a man in whose judgement all could have trust. He asserted that a permanent tribunal would not fit in with the courtry's Constitution, and lead to the creation of an atmosphere of gossiping about charges aud counter-charges. He said that any specific charge made would be inquired into with whomsoever it may be concerned and however highly placed he might be, provided there was 'prima facie' substance in the charge. The prime Minister said that Shri Deshmukh was not willing to disclose some of the cases to him, so that he (Shri Nehru) could form an idea whether to institute further enquiry. Shri Deshmukh told the prime Minister that he could not disclose the cases in an 'informal way' but only if some specific formal steps were taken ; he also expressed his fear that his informants might get him into trouble.

Speaking on the same day in the Rajya Sabha, Sardar K.M. Panikkar said that the appointment of a permanent tribunal was something which touched the very roots of democracy. He argued that a permanent tribunal would override the rights of parliament and oust the jurisdiction of courts and once a step like overriding the normal machinery of parliament and democracy was taken, it would only end in dictatorship, either a military one or one of bureaucrats. In a statement to the press Shri K.M. Munshi endorsed the view of the Prime Minister that a standing tribunal to investigate allegations of ministerial corruption cannot be set up under the Constitution. But he commended the practice prevailing in Sweden, that of Ombudsman, of appointing a high officer like the Attorney General to look into the allegations of ministerial corruption and misconduct if the officer, he said, was satisfied that there was a case worth enqniring into, an enquiry should be ordered.

It is said that "the establishment of a permanent tribunal to enquire into charges of corruption and misuse of power would create a supra-national body immune from the jurisdiction and influence of the judiciary, the legislaturee and the executive. In effect it would establish a state within a State".[7]

Scrutinising the arguments against the idea of a permanent tribunal suggested by Shri Deshmukh, it must be said that Shri Deshmukh's suggestion has been largely misunderstood. The permanent trbiunal would not be a supra-constitutional body ; nor would it oust the jurisdiction of the courts. The tribunal, as suggested by Shri Deshmukh, will only investigate and report on complaints and act as a preliminary investigation commission, but permanent in tenure. It will be impartial and judicial in its approach. The argument that it will combine the powers of prosecution and judge is without foundation. The tribunal's report will be obviously to parliament and all fit cases will be referred to the ordinary courts for final enquiry and disposal.

A suggestion was made in the Congress parliamentary party Meeting on March 1, 1960 to appoint a 'vigilance committee' to scrutinise complaints of corruption made against the Prime Minister against ministers and others in high places. Although the prime Minister

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did not commit himself the suggestion came under heavy fire and was rejected.

Departmental enquiry is out of question since as an instrument of investigation into ministerial corruption, it is not at all appropriate. A new experiment was made in Punjab; A committee was set us by the Punjub Government to deal with allegations of corruption against Ministers, Deputy Ministers, Parliamentary Secretaries, M.L.A.'s and M.L.C.'s, and members of local bodies, panchayats and office holders of political parties down to the district level, in addition to other non-officials of some social status. The Committee had its first meeting on May 30, 1960 under the Chairmanship of Pandit Sriram Sharma, M.L.C. and former leader of the Opposition. The Committee issued an appeal to the public to come forward with specific complaints supported by documentary evidence to help the committee to tackle charges of corruption among non-officials. While giving the assurance that the names of the signitaries to complaints which have to be submitted in writing would be treated as confidential, the committee said anonymous or vague complaints would not be entertained. The Chairman, Pandit Sharma resigned as he did not find the committee an useful instrument for checking corruption. It would have been better if the Punjab Committee comprised of men of high judicial standing. Retired judges and men of integrity could have been included in the committee, instead of political personalities. The experience in England is not very different. In 1912, a Select Committee of Parliament was apointed to enquire into what is known as 'the Marcony affair'. The members of the Select Committee divided strictly on party lines, and the system has been abandoned since then.

VII

Shri Deshmukh's permanent tribunal closely resembles the system of Ombudsman found in Sweden, Denmark and Finland. The Scandinavian countries have a peculiar institution which is of great interest to us in the present context. There wee Parliamentary controllers over the administration, called "Justitie Ombudsman" and "Militieombudsman." Taking the example of Sweden, we well see what are the powers of the Ombudsman and his functions."[8] The Swedish Coustitution of 1809, which is still in force, recognised the office of "Justitiekansler" who supervised administration as the King's Attorney-General, and gave him certain independence within the structure of crown officials. It also created the posts of "Justicieombudsman" and the "Militieombudsman".[9] They are elected by the Rikstag (the Swidish Parliament) for a period of four years to control the activities of public officials and to prevent the Crown from exercising undue influence over the judiciary. The Militieombudsman's jurisdiction is confined to the military field and that of Justitieombudsman to civil field. These two persons should be of known ability and outstanding integrity and are given instructions for their duties by the Rikstag. The Justitie ombudsman in whom we are interested now, shall, according to statutes laid down by the Rikstag, supervise the observance of laws and regulations as applied in all except military matters by the courts and by all public officials. The Justitieombudsman shall institute proceedings before the competent courts against those who in the execution of their official duties, have, through partiality, favouritism or other cause committed any unlawful act, or neglected to perform their official duties properly. Every year the Ombudsman is required to go on inspection tours throughout the country to enable him to extend his control to all parts of the administrative sphere. He must submit an annual report to the Rikstag giving an account of his activities and the administration of his office making suggestions for the improvement of laws and regulations. The Ombudsman is elected by the Rikstag and if he no longer enjoys the confidence of the Rikstag, the Rikstag may (on request by the Committee examining his conduct) discharge him before the end of his normal term.

The Justitieombudsman, loosely translated in English as Procurator for civil affairs, has considerable discretion as to how far he can take a case against an official. He has not ultimate powers except to prosecute the

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official concerned before the ordinary courts, and he normally does not do this unless the offence is serious or he is left with no alternative. Complaints are entertained by the Ombudsman on request or by himself, and ordinary investigation takes place. The officials involved are usually informed of the Ombudman's findings with a suggestion that the matters be set right. The complainants are informed of this with necessary instructions for any future course of action, if necessary.

The Justitieombudsman has great responsibilities as he is the tribune of the people and their principal protector against the abuse of power by the administration or the judiciary. The only field he cannot touch is the city goverment which is under the supervision of the county Governor but the Governor himself and his staff are subject to him. He is responsible only to the Rikstag and therefore is able to play an independent role in relation to the ordinary administrative set-up. He does not have a separate machinery for his investigations but all officials in general are bound to afford him lawful assistance and all public prosecutors should aid him in the bringing of actions when requested to do so. He is entitled to attend any court session held by any authority as well as look into documents issued by or in the hands any of authority. The Ombudsman, as an institution for supervision over the administration, is worth experimenting in this country. The outstanding features that commend the institution is that the Ombudsman is appointed by the Parliament and it liable to be removed by it if he does not enjoy its confidence. He only investigates and prosecutes but does not act as a judge. According to press reports, the Scandinavian idea of Ombudsman as an agency to investigate complaints of corruption, nepotism and favouritism and other malpractices is rapidly catching the imagination of the people in Britain.[10] It was reported that both the Conservatives and Labourites were studying the working of this unique institution in Sweden, Denmark and Norway to satisfy themselves about its usefulness before the the establishment of some such institution in England. According to a press report, there is hardly any corruption or nepotism as such in Government departments but there are cases where highly placed men use their influence to get their work done. the individual has in most cases no way of getting speedy redress, when he is badly aggrived by a government action. The press report continued that the Conservative Central Office and the Labour Party's Political Secretariat have been discussing in their own spheres how best Parliament could set up a Standing Commission consistent with the country's parliamentary and administrative traditions, which could investigate all 'prima facie' cases of governmental malpractices and bureaucratic excesses brought to its notice by the public. British Members of Parliament are also reported to be considering the idea of an Ombudsman scheme at least as an instrument to reassure the common man that justice is not very expensive.

VIII

There is no denial that the Ombudsman is alien to our Parliamentary traditions which lean heavily on the British, but the Ombudsman idea is worth giving a trial in India. In this country, a high-power preliminary investigating body may be constituted by the the Parliament after making necessary changes in the Constitution, if need be. The Parliament may appoint a person of high integrity and' of sound judicial mind' capable of being appointed a Judge of the Supreme Court for a period of five years. Civil servents who have been retired after holding senior-most civil appointments in regular government service may also be preferred to fill this post. He may be designated as the Chief of Administrative Inspection. He shall be assisted by two or three persons of equal ability. The Parliament may engage the services of retired judges of High Courts and the Supreme Court. Members of the Bar, who have attained eminence in the field of various laws, may also be engaged. Retired civil servants might also be engaged to serve on the tribunal. The inclusion of jurists, judges and retired civil servants is necessary so that the Tribunal on which they serve will be fully aware of the limitations of the Governmental officials and ministers, and the complexities involved in decision making process at the executive level. The tribunal's tenure shall be five years

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commensurate with the duration of the Lok Sabha. The terms of appointment—say salary, leave etc.—will be those applicable to the judges of the Supreme Court, to give the tribunal a maximum of independence from the executive influence.

The tribunal or any individual member of the tribunal may be impeached by the Parliament in the manner provided for the impeachment of a judge of Supreme Court for valid reasons like misconduct, abuse of power etc. The tribunal shall be assisted by adequate staff, appointed by itself in consultation with the Union Public Service Commission. The tribunal thus constituted shall have nation-wide jurisdiction.

All complaints of corruption, favouritism, improper use of authority and abuse of power shall be sent direct to the tribunal in writing. All such complaints shall be treated as confidential. The tribunal itself may initiate investigations if it is satisfied that there is need for such investigation in any prticular case. The tribunal will have only powers of investigation with no powers of awarding punishments. Alternately, the maximum punishment by the Lok Sabha in which case appellate powers must be vested in a high court of regular judiciary.

The tribunal shall make periodical reports on the functioning of its office, which may be an year or less than a year. If necessary the tribunal may initiate prosecution in regular law courts in deserving cases, but normally it shall contact the person or department concerned with a request to set things right. Failure to comply with the tribunal's request shall automatically place the matter into the tribunal's absolute discretion. The tribunal may prosecute the party concerned. In all cases, Lok Sabha must be informed.

The tribunal shall have, in addition to the above all the powers now given to a Central Commission of Inquiry appointed under the Commissions of Inquiry Act, 1952. The tribunal shall work in close collaboration with the Central Intelligence Bureau and the Special Police Establishment. Due to the vastness of the country the tribunal may not be able to look into all complaints and therefore it may delegate some of its powers to another body subordinate to it. Regional tribunals may be created by the State Assemblies which shall have jurisdiction only within that State. But all cases of major importance and involving political heads and higher civil servants belonging to All India Cadre shall be directly handled by the Central tribunal. Whether to exclude higher Judicial officers, President and Vice-President of the Republic from its jurisdiction shall be decided by the Parliament.

It is unreasonable to say that this sort of a tribunal will lead to unnecessary harassment and victimise ministers and public servants. On the other hand, there is every reason to believe that the tribunal will act with the dignity and tradition of the present Auditor General's office. The very presence of a tribunal will reduce baseless allegations and charges ; the ministers and officials will be able to work without fear as they can always approach the tribunal, an impartial body, to get themselves vindicated. If, after a few years, say ten or fifteen, the Parliament finds no reason to prepetuate the tribunal it may abolish the institution subject only to the condition that the tribunal shall have a minimum of five years' term of office.

The new institution suggested here will not be a supra-constitutional body. It will be an agent of parliament and subordinate to it, but independent of the executive. It cannot be said that this violates the established principles of democratic administration, and ministerial responsibility to parliament for clean administration. There is no doubt that the dignity of the ministerial office has to be respected but it cannot be treated like Ceaser's wife. If people continue to discuss the integrity of the ministers and raise accusing fingers against their honesty, the future of democracy cannot be very bright in this country. The point is that the ministers must not only be honest but must be known to be honest.

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PARENTS' ROLE IN THE EDUCATION OF CHILDREN

By Miss USHA BISWAS, M.A., B.T.

"The hand that rocks the cradle rules the world." There is a good deal of truth in the saying. There is no renying the fact that the parents—specially the mothers play an important role in the education of their children. It has been rightly said that the child's mother is his first teacher, in as much as it is she who lays the foundation of his character and education. Indeed, the early influence of his home, in which that of his mother predominates, are hard to overcome. The impressions gathered in the home in the early years of childhood, therefore, constitute the most permanent and lasting impressions of his life. The idea finds beautiful expression in the following lines of Wordsworth—

> ". . . . . those first affections,
> Those shadowy recollections,
> Which, be they what they may,
> Are yet the fountainlight of all our day,
> Are yet a masterlight of all our seeing."

It is in the home that a child acquires his first experiences. When he learns to speak, he only tries to reproduce what he hears the grown-ups say. He thus picks up the language and accents of his people by listening to what they speak and how they speak. He is apt to copy their mannerisms even. Gradually he adjusts himself to the environment of his home by adopting its customs and usages. He unconsciously assimilates the attitudes and prejudices of the intimate group of people, making up the family, as also the value and standards set by them. He absorbs the religious traditions of the family he is born into, and as he grows up, he tends to become pious or otherwise, just as he is impressed with the example set by his parents and elders. So the influence of the home or the family cannot but leave an indelible mark on his mind and character. A child is by nature very imitative, and his character reflects the very atmosphere prevailing in his home.

The most important function of the home or the family consists in providing the affectionate background, which helps promote the emotional development of children and adolescents. Love is an essential food needed for the normal growth and development of a young budding mind. A child's mind, starved of this essential nourishment, can hardly thrive and develop on normal lines. A good school can seldom be a substitute for what a loveless home lacks. However loving and affectionate the teachers may be, they can never be expected to compensate adequately for what a child misses in such a home. So the home is considered to be the chief training-ground of his emotions and consequently of his character. The advantages of a good home with wise and loving parents cannot, therefore, be overemphasized. This renders it absolutely necessary for the parents to be fully alive to the tremendous responsibility that the proper up-bringing of their children entails. Theirs is the responsibility of bringing about the right atmosphere of the home as well as of providing a suitably affectionate background for the proper emotional development of their children. It is such a pro-

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that even at the present moment very few parents prove equal to the task. Very many of them are inclined to think that the education of their children is solely the responsibility of the school.

It is, however, needless to add that the parents should be patient, tactful, discreet and cautious in all their dealings with the children. A good many of the former are apt to be over-anxious, over-indulgent, and over-protective. They should bear in mind that too much concern and solicitude for their children are no indications of genuine affection and sympathy. Although children do need occasional demonstrations of parental love and affection, still that is no reason why their parents should spoil them through over-indulgence, which does more harm than good. This is likely to add to their self-importance, and thus make them fussy. Children should be encouraged to be as self-reliant as possible from their very childhood. Over-protectiveness on the part of their parents is sure to undermine their powers of self-reliance. Not that the parents should, therefore, fail to keep an ever-vigilant watch over the interests and activities of their children. Some parents, on the other hand, are prone to be overstrict and harsh to their children. They are in the habit of bullying and scaring their children like anything. these sticklers for discipline believe that to spare the rod is to spoil the child. Too lax and too rigid a discipline being equally bad, this sort of treatment cannot but result in producing problem children. To ensure the the best results, the via media should be adopted in all matters, relating to discipline. The wise parents ought to try to be friendly with their children without being too lax or too strict. The children should learn to be free and frank with their parents, from whom they should have no secrets, whatever. It is desirable that all their actions should be straightforward and aboveboard. The parents should also try to command the love and respect of their children. In that case the latter would seldom like to incur the displeasure of the former by doing or saying anything wrong. In a word, there should be perfect confidence and understanding on both sides. It should always be borne in mind by the parents that if they want their children to be well-behaved and discipline their living example, rather than preaching or sermonising, is expected to be far more effective and forceful. The consensus of opinion is that the causes of a great majority of the cases of juvenile delinquency are to be traced to disturbed or unsatisfactory conditions prevailing in the children's homes.

Now what are the respective positions of the father and mother in a family? The father usually stands for "Masculinity and protection." In a society, where patriarchy is mainly in vogue, the father naturally holds a position superior to that of the mother. In the average Indian home, the father usually being the more educated of the two parents, he is considered to be much wiser than the mother, who is more or less relegated to the background in the family. It is the father who has to act as the breadwinner of his family and, as such, he is naturally looked upon as the main prop—"the head and protector of the household", run by the mother. He is a source of strength, security, and wisdom to his children, who need his help, guidance and protection. The financial security of the family mainly rests with the father, whose death very often spells disaster and utter ruin to it. As long as he lives, he lets his children feel that their position is quite secure and that they have got somebody to help them out of their difficulties. The children do need this sense of security as well as protection from dangers and apprehensions. They know that, in case of need, their father will be there to allay their fears, and reassure them of help and protection. They dare not set at naught or flout the authority of their father, even if he happens to be friendly and sympathetic. More often than not, the father turns out to be a more dominant personality in the average Indian family than the mother. On the other hand, the mother is regarded as 'the ministering angel of the home', who exerts a much more pervasive influence over it, and has a greater hold upon her children than the father, who has to be very often away from the home for the sake of his outside employment. She is the constant, inseparable friend and companion of the child, who can hardly do without her

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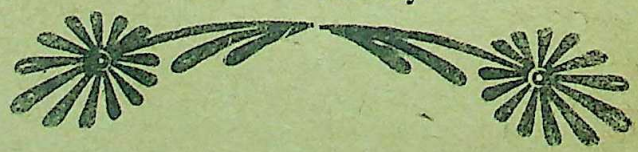
loving care. It is she who nurses him, feeds and clothes him, puts him to bed, tends him lovingly and carefully on his sick bed, ministers to all his needs and comforts, comforts and solaces him in pain or grief, fondless and caresses him. In a word, the mother is feminine love and sympathy incarnate. It is the mother that the child turns to for love, sympathy and comfort.

It is the duty of the mothers to see that their children develop certain good habits from early childhood. The latter should be trained in the habits of neatness, cleanliness, regularity, and punctuality as also in those of self-reliance in the early years of childhood. The necessity and importance of order and discipline should also be impressed upon them in and through their day-to-day activities. Certain moral and spiritual values, too, need to be inculcated in them. Truthfulness, honesty, justice and fairplay, dutifulness, obedience, co-operation, sympathy and kindness should be fostered among them from their very childhood. It is incumbent upon the parents to teach their children these virtues by example rather than by precept. The little ones learn courtesy and good manners, too, mainly through the examples set by their parents. Children are not by nature either superstitious or prejudiced against persons and things. They unconsciously imbibe the superstitions and prejudices of their parents or elders. So, attempts should be made to develop in them a good critical judgment and a sense of justice in early childhood. In all such matters they are inclined to regard the behaviour and attitude of their parents as a pattern to be copied. So the latter should be as cautious—and self-restrained as possible, so as not to give themselves away in front of their children.

Today many of the educated parents are generally awakening to the fact that the education of the children is the joint responsibility of the home and the school. As the idea is gaining ground day by day, the educated parents are taking a much keener interest in the education of their children. The teachers can achieve very little without parental co-operation. There is talk of primary education being made compulsory for the children of the age group 6 to 11. Mere legislation will perhaps touch only the very fringe of the problem unless the help and co-operation of the parents can be enlisted. But unfortunately the bulk of the Indian parents, specially the mothers, are still uneducated or semi-educated. So provision should be made for the education of the parents too, mainly through group discussions, the radio, cinema, lectures, illustrated with slides, interesting talks by eminent child psychologists and specialists in children's diseases, etc. The teachers of the nursery kindergarten schools, however kind, affectionate, competent, well versed in child-study they may be, are hard put to it to solve the behaviour problems of the children without the help and co-operation of the mothers. To avoid unnecessary waste in education, consequent upon the present indiscriminate rush for admission to schools and colleges, some vocational guidance for the students should be arranged for at the end of each stage of education. So it is all the more imperative that the education to be given to each child after the primary stage should be determined accroding to his age, ability, and aptitude. In this matter too, the teachers find it impossible to do without the help and co-operation of the parents. Today it is the duty and responsibility of the modern parent to see that his child receives an "appropriate" education. Parental co-operation is essential in the matter of medical examination also. The wise parents should help the teachers and the medical authorities concerned, if necessary, by supplying all the useful data and information, pertaining to their children's health as well as to family history. Hence the need of parents-teachers' associations, which are still few and far between in our country.



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THE TENTH NATIONAL EXHIBITION OF ART

By USAB

This year Shri M. C. Chagla, Minister of Education and Culture inaugurated the Tenth National Exhibition of Art. Usually the inauguration ceremony of this exhibition is done by the Vice-President. It was in 1953 that the first All-India Art Exhibition of the Akademi was arranged in the rooms of Jaipur House. Now for the last few years this annual show is held in the grand three-storeyed hall of the Akademi.

Before Shri M. C. Chagla inaugurated the exhibition, robes of honour (Mahabastra) and copper plates (tamra-patra) were presented by Shri Mehdi Nawaz Jung to Sarvashri Rai Krishna Dasa for his long service to the fine arts and to S. N. Haldankar and V. P. Karmarkar (Fellows of the Akademi) for their valuable contributions to the realm of fine arts.

Shri M. C. Chagla then stated that contemporary art was making tremendous progress in a world bridged by exchange of cultural ideas. It might have been parochial a century or two back when we could see art pieces and decipher them as French or Indian, while to-day it is impossible to say whether a painting has been done by a French, Indian or American artists. He felt that artists needed proper help. Their services could be used in emblishment of houses and for architecture. Although he doubted if in the past all such attempts were at all good. But it was unkind to think that while a painting of Cezanne was sold for the fabulous sum of about £70,000, the artist died a pauper. He, however, thought that because London and New York and other cities were flourishing markets for art wares, some of our artists fix their gaze to these art markets. This was rather unhealthy. It was the duty of the Lalit Kala Akademi to help them.

He further said that it was for the first time that the Government under the Fourth Five Year Plan asked all Akademies to open emporia in capital cities under the auspices of Lalit Kala Akademi, thereby make the masses art-conscious and contribute to the concept of national integration.

This Tenth National exhibition of Art comprised 211 exhibits (159 paintings, 28 sculptures and 24 graphics) representing the works of 165 artists selected from among 1323 submitted by 590 artists. The Selection and Judging Committee was composed of Dr. Mulk Raj Anand, Sarvashri R. P. Kamat, Mahadav Satwalkar, S. G. Thakur Singh and K. S. Kulkarni.

The most glaring feature of this exhibition is that during the Akademi's ten year existence it has hardly played its part to resuscitate or even to encourage traditional art styles. In its first exhibition were seen a few dozen good paintings in Indian style. To-day we see such paintings in much smaller number and varieties. And most of these are weak, faulty and uninspired attempts. The argument may be that many artists are neither inclined to do the labour that our traditional art calls for nor encouragement awaits them. But a large number of artists are heard to say that to imprint the emotional trends of our time expressionistic, surrealistic or even dadaistic techniques are the royal roads to success. To add insult to injury a few art-critics usually deprecate the traditional style,but would acclaim any third rate modern art attempt as the work of a gifted artist. As if ancients or the painters of Ajanta cave, the sculptors who embellished temples and the like had no knowledge of emotive expression or were unable to add emotive meaning to realistic objects. Distortions, disharmony and incongruigity due to the use of odd material, weak drawing, infirm purpose and imagination have rendered at least twenty paintings futile and below the mark.

Sculpturesa re always restricted in number, for firstly there are fewer sculptors than painters and secondly, to transport sculptures is rather an onerous task. However, FRENZY though done with an acceut on distortion, is

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sure enough to express the mood vividly. This seven foot high human figure is composed of a rough superstructure of iron rods over which lead has been dripped to create two outstretched hands, a saucer-like eye and a hollow eye socket with the pupil set in the corner. Here and there it is not filled in, but where it is, we see a rough pebbly finish. Mrs. Pilloo R. Pochkhanawala has, thus, successfully conveyed her emotion vigorously. Raghav Kaneria adopts his last year's technique of soldering a few odd shaped iron plates to create ANGRY FISH, but has failed to give the total impression. FLIGHT is a six foot round white log chiselled into the shape of a horse with its legs stretched out to the fullest to emphasise swiftness. Khandubhai Raman Patel has brought out small and regular dimple marks of the chisel in this figure. A CAT seated on its hind legs (4 ft. high) is a soft looking realistic creation by Narayan H. Kulkarni from a marble piece which has fine natural black shades round about the neck and back. We see a rhythmic brown polished timber figure STANDING WOMAN with the head slightly bent on one side. In it Phulchand Pyne has shaped a pleasant realistic statuette. B. C. Sanyal's crimson plaster head study PORTRAIT HEAD brings out a simple housewife in appropriate features and incised details. In VULTURE Sadashiv Sathe has shown the hopping posture of a vulture with its wings partly opened in white cement. The colour, however, does not lend support to the weight of the figure.

Yungo adopts Picasso's cubist style to show anger, dismay, curiosity and laughter by creating a five-foot human form in angular planes, goggle or peering eyes in UNBALANCED MOOD. Balkrishnan Guru's three large Sculptures are there. Two of them—VILLAGE GIRL and GRAM KI OR (Towards village) are cement creations yielding wavy limbs like silhouettes of women with head covered. Both, though the former has iron oxide treatment and latter is in dull grey colour, have texture. His prize winning sculpture is A FORM ; It is a six-foot high tectonic shape made out of cement and iron fillings having iron oxide colour and aims at describing a mother with her baby at her bossom. It has squarish, projected and hollowed parts made into a structure. P. V. Jankiraman has also obtained one of the ten prizes for his TWO FIGURES. This has been fashioned out of one copper plate by chasing and twisting here and there. It has soft round shapes describing a man and a woman moving forward with a load held by the man on his head and the woman holding a small bundle on her left waist.

Graphic art section shows better work than before, in so far as whether the attempts are in wood cut or other media, fineness and textural effects are evident in quite a few. Of course in exposition modernistic tendency prevails. TATTOOING by Y. K. Sukla is a sympatheic rendering of an Indian scene where sutbdued cubes in realistic approach show in graded light and shade a woman is being tattooed by anorther. His graphic are always of high standard. Pradumna Tana in ITALIAN LANDSCAPE (Mono-print) uses sepia tone to show houses or a church with statues fixed on balconies. Below, on the road, are a few men, a horse drawn wagon in deep black incised details. Samenath Hore in NIGHT has used grey to black, and to keep balance and maintain spatial quality spread brown and buff around a few creepers and flowers. Though abstract in approach, Jagmohan Chopra has, by means of symbolic circles and floral designs and delicate etchings in crimson, indigo and black, executed COMPOSITION-2. Bimal Banerjee in COMPOSITION-III shows sensitive incision. By spreading lemon, chocolate, dull brown specks of crimson or green and radiating fine wavy lines from the centre, he creates the feeling of gentle movement. Manhar Makwana's prize winning wood-cut UNDER THE MOON is the description of a castle with spires of churches in linear approach on low brown ground. It shows slanting roofs, square doors and windows and to break the monotony he has described two semicircular arches at the base and around the moon with criss-cross texture and black sun-flower like petals. The total effect is charming.

Portraits are very limited in number and the general standard is below the mark. PORTRAIT OF SADHU is a water colour study by S. K. Thosar wherein he has brought

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out the skin colour of a sagacious looking face. The use of soft toned white for beard and moustouche and shades of mixed colour with an accent on crimson around, have all helped to bring out the personality. The only blemish that is discernible is that the turban is crisp and weighty. D. G. Sangwai has been awarded a prize for REMA (Oil), a bright display of red, green and yellow in the dress of the lady who looks well built but her head and face have been painted in disproportionately elongated fashion. THE PORTRAITURE (Oil) by Vidya Bhusan is slightly bad in perspective while in tone he paints a European female figure in dramatic pastel colour effect. Jatin Das has done a good oil colour portrait of a young European lady —PORTRAIT—to show that she is reading a book. Free use of shades of sienna with blue and greenish patches in the background has made it powerful in expressing the feeling, but too much of highlight on the body without adequate balance, has added a bit of commercial touch to it. A few others are either photographic or are sub-standard in execution. The quality of portraits seen a couple of years back in a portrait exhibition was certainly high ; but what we see in the exbibitions of the Akademi is rather dismal. Anyhow, though the award has gone to a faulty portrait, it is good that encouragement is being given to this type of work.

Let us see the few examples of Indian art. Kalyan Prasad Sharma has composed VIVAH SNAN in tempera. Here a pale yellow bride in white dress with enough of decorative designs and few ornaments is sitting on a grey stool. Around her are maid servants dressed in red, grey, yellow and pink hues standing with water jug, ceremonial articles in plates and the background has banana leaf, mango leaf tied to string and other decorations to give an air of a ceremonial occasion. VHAISHNAVITES by K. Srinivasalu is mural in character. Here are three large faces in orange, green and lemon water colour and crayon with large folk art type eyes and semicircular marks on foreheads. Temple decorations lend support to the figures. Kumari Purnima Biswas has done MOTHER AND CHILD in wash technique by trying to produce the glaze in slight blue or brown and pink, but the glaze of wash style has not its bright display. MUGDHA NAYIKA too is a wash painting with over-all luminous blue and indigo, The features of the woman are after Moghul mannerism in faulty anatomy and the background has marble fret-work. Miss Lata Mathur paints JHANSI KI RANI showing the moody queen in battle dress atop a galloping steed with a small boy clutching her from behind amidst pinkish background and greenish bushes.

Realistic paintings are quite high in standard. Bikash Bhattacharyya has done two praisworthy oil paintings viz. 25TH DECEMBER 1963 and 22ND NOVEMBER 1963. In the former he has described the broken door, the corrugated sheets and other details in fine natural oil colour shades and appropriate texture. Even the scribbling on the wall by a small boy is there. The other is a complicated view of a lane from the roof of a house showing green shutters, black doors, white or grey walls of houses, shady courtyards or lane and a section of the roof in the front. Everywhere in the use of pigments as well as in drawing, he has been meticulous and faultless. C. V. Dharmaratnam's rendering of a townscape is commendable. Here in HOUSES we see in dull white planes the walls of houses, black doors and windows with the sense of distance. The sky is dull white mixed with yellowish tinge and a few greyish tree trunks add balance in the foreground. Basudev B. Samart's 'BAZAR' is a water colour painting with enough of local touch of Saurashtra. It has yellow tents fixed on bamboos in regular rectangular design. To balance the bright yellow, men and women in bright red, green, orange dress and merchandise of different hues have been shown. Brown flag-stones and grey paths in slightly divisionist touch decorate the painting. This has been adjudged as one of the ten best exhibits. On a wet paper M. S. Joshi has painted a sensitive scene—GREY MORNING. He shows in mere diffused greys and white, the waves of sea over which several boats are wafting and the sky is grey through which bright light pours in. Joshi does this type of water colour paintings with great delicacy. He wins an

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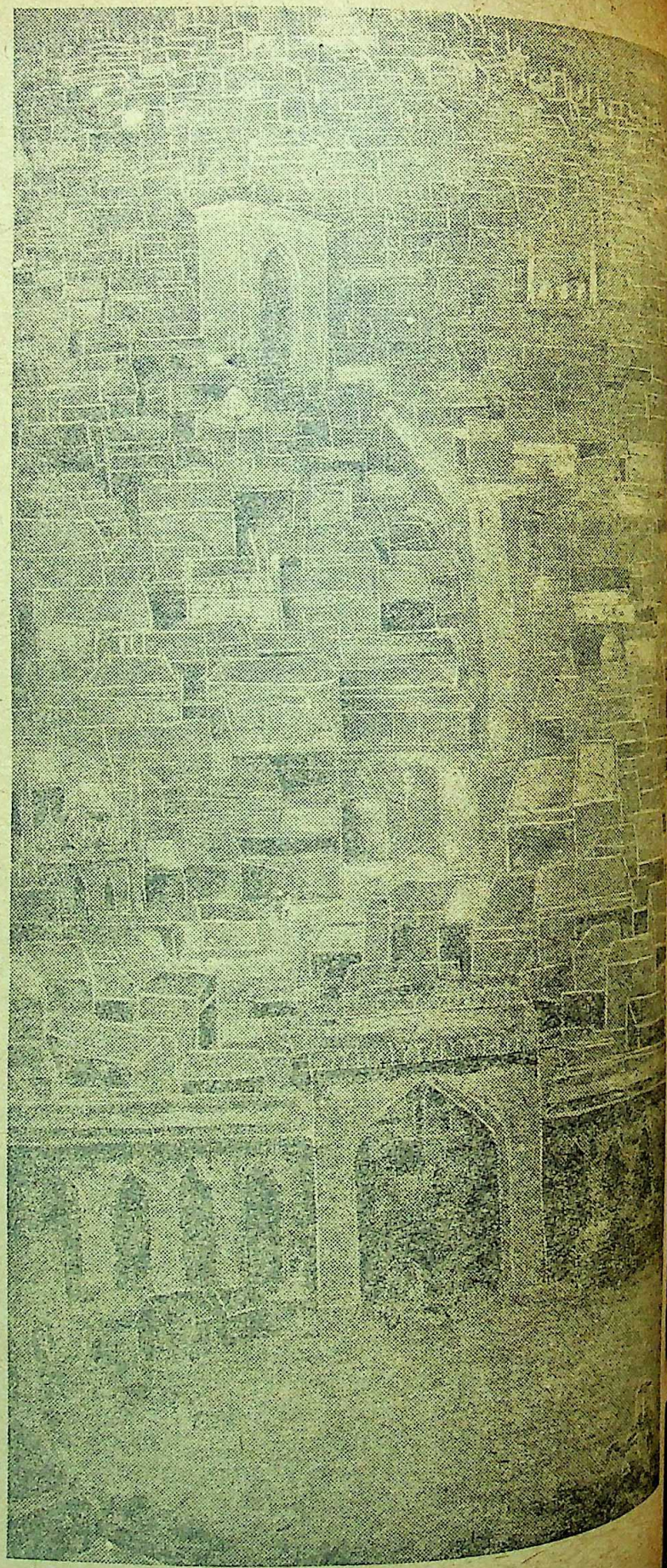
award for it. In SIGNAL POST Tushar Kumar Sanyal has described in bright toned grey, indigo, green and black oils the powerful mechanical effect of traffic light post with the top red lamp burning. The brown road has cracks and few tools at the base, have all made it an well arranged realistic painting.

There are a number of still-life attempts, but because realistic creations with correct drawing and perspective have generally fallen into disuse, still-life exhibits are indifferent. However, Pradyumna Hiralal Dave has skilfully arranged COMQOSITION—II by depicting a buff and yellow bowl with ripe multi-coloured fruits, behind which is a violet vase with a brilliant yellow bunch of flower with reflections. He has made it a lovely painting by applying mauve, indigo, grey and brown divisionist patches to disperse high tones in the centre. In spacing too he has added weight on the bottom right. His arrangement reveals a commendable creation.

Expressionism, due to its inherent power, continues to appeal to the artists. Several shades of red and orange have been used by Vinod Shah to show a distorted archaic woman having a red cage with birds. A black and a white with bird on her hand in realis-



An Old City (in oil)
Artist : Madan Lal Nagar

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the pattern are seen in HER BIRDS (Oil). A few scratches in grey indicate houses. TO THE TEMPLE by Arun Kumar Saxena is in contrasting lemon and chocolate grey water colour describing several round shaped, excessively tall female figures going to a temple. It is in neo-Gujarati manner, a style having the touch of negro art. In mere fine jet black woolly clusters of pell-mell lines on white ground Nikhil Biswas has brought out the subjective feeling of ANIMAL (pen and ink) i.e. the ferocity of a white bull by the use of a single contrasting tint. Miss Fatima Ahmed deploys grey, brown and ochre to bring out a round shaped tall moody woman in the middle of the canvas—PAINTING—I (Oil). Manab Kumar Banerjee, in a bit of impressionistic green oil, has painted five animated persons straining themselves in CHESS PLAYERS. By using patches of brown and buff and a red flickering flame on the ash-tray in the foreground and by arranging almost whirl spacing, he has done a balanced canvas. SCARECROW (Oil) is a bold approach to fantasy. Here Sultan Ali has shown a bright blue figure made out of a dress fitted on bamboos in a dim brownish field and a dull yellow man at the back. The nocturnal atmosphere and the image guarding the field have the right tonal effect. Heavy texture is observed in DESERTED (Oil). Patches of black, blue, indigo and white have been distributed in the background as also on the dress of the woman who has a fearsome pink face. Beside her is a pale yellow looking agitated girl. In it Mrinal Bardhan has given vent to his feeling after his favourite subject. Madhukar Powle adopts the elegant attitude of our cave paintings in PROBLEM (Oil). It is distinct for its harmonised brown and grey pigments with texture to describe four graceful Bheel womens' frontal thoughtful expressions.

Impressionistic attempts are now on the wane, although several are to be seen. APPLE SELLER (Oil) is a large canvas by Kanaiyalal R. Yadav which has brownish grey overall stippling. A few white rectangular outlines describe houses and in the front are two indigo men with baskets of red apples in their hands. It is well composed, but the figures are static. Dhiraj Choudhury's PAINTING—I (Oil) is mural in character. It speaks of a group of musicians playing flute and drum in overall light green. A townscape with gothic arches and a green and grey church of Germany has been composed by Bimal Das Gupta in GREEN CHURCH. The dull atmosphere has the contrasting effect of light falling and breaking in sensitive green and grey shades which remind us of Bimal's delicate handling of water colour that was his speciality. MOONLIGHT LANDSCAPE (Oil) by D.A. Pawar is monochromic in describing sensitive shades of luminous blue contour of an uneven land. Bhabesh Chandra Sanyal has painted a dark green lawn with several bare trees in greyish white on which are shown a number of crows perched in NOCTURNE DIALOGUE (Oil). It reminds us of Cezanne's style.

Decorative folk art style too has been adopted by a few artists. Laxman Pai's WINTER AND SPRING are portrayals in resonant oils after the description of Ritusamhara. Both have his long tried style of displaying herring-bone type eyebrows, floral or leafy decorations of faces and eyes after the folk art style of Goa. The former has a bright blue background superscribed with white circular forms having heavy texture. Green and light blue are also there and a blue moon is atop. In the latter are four girls in grey to blue after folk art pattern above whom is a blazing whitish yellow sun with deep greyish texture. Around are indigo, yellow, green and orange plants and flowers. Hard wooden doll like figures of three girls had been displayed in low blues and white over broken indigo-grey background by P. T. Reddy in A PLAY.

Now we come to Modern art with its ever multiplying schools of expression :-

Abstract art has a very considerable number of adherents, for it has become the hall-mark of success even for those who falter in realistic paintings.

Ghulam R. Santosh wins an award by his painting NEARER TO THEE MY LORD (Oil). He has woven an emotional feeling in black rhythmic swirling strokes over which white texture and a few faint lemon circles or a bit of sky is observed. Here he is impressed by the other-worldly sense before

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the snow capped hills near Amarnath cave. Itwari Lal has painted in oils the total effect of a STEAMER IN SEA in patchy brown, sienna, grey, over which clusters of smoke are coming out from a funnel and above it is the light grey sky. In the foreground are wavy pale green water and a white churned line. It is understood that the artist is an orderly in the Akademi and has no formal education in art. But what he has done justifies as an art piece with such qualities as rhythmic movement, balance, arrangement of objects, spacing and colour harmony. One wonders why J. Swaminathan needed a huge canvas (11 ft. x 5 ft.)—HEED THE PORTENT (Oil)—to smear black and fix a square in red in the bottom centre with zodiacal symbols after the style of tracery or a red line here or there to express his notion of evil omen! It could be done within a third of its size, thereby reserving space. Biren De and his wife S. Kammie De have contributed to oil works —DYING OGRE and PANORAMA respectively. Biren De has done an illustrious work indeed and has obtained one of the ten awards for his painting. It has a red setting sun, a black trident shape and a large vibrant black splotch having a bit of dripping treatment. A few brown and yellow rectangular shapes with texture at the bottom not only dilute the intensity of powerful black and red, but add the touch of calligraphy also. Whether in form or space or in emotive content, it directly conveys the idea of the sad end of a brute force. Mrs. Kammie De does still better work, but in the present painting too she has maintained the magic effect of diffusing low greys at the bottom and rhythmic movement of black, yellow, red and brown with texture on the top. FEAR (Oil) is a fantasy expressed in terms of cubes by Suraj Ghai. Here we see in black and grey a form having gaping mouth, composed by means of cubes and another circle which is divided into four sectors of black and white and two eyes and in the top corner the moon in dim grey. All these fantastic shapes are connected by means of white and grey wavy lines. Suraj did much better abstract paintings in the past. SILENCE IN MIRAGE has coaggulated shades of light brown, white and specks of crimson oil colour to produce texture. Ambadas produces intense tension of pigments in this painting. Ramnik Bhavsar's THE WORLD OF COSMONAUT—I (Oil) has on black background, to large oval shapes. The one on the left is in luminous orange and yellow, partly bedimmed with grey web-like texture and the right one is in bright yellow with black texture. The attempt to coordinate the two heavenly bodies by means of a reddish black patch at the bottom is jarring.

Dinkar Kowshik has, by expressing BHISHMA on a bed of arrows in repetitive green, blue and indigo cubes revitalise an Indian subject. Near his head is another figure of a man in darker tones of cubes. Har Krishan Lall has painted VILLAGE IN GHARWAL (Oil) in large yellow ochre and black depressions with bluish-white as snow capped hills. It is much too compact with a slight dull sky treatment. Black cubes and squares resembling army tents are shown amidst deep white snow on rising hills in indigo to give a fine total view of WINTER AFFAIR of Kashmir. Triloke Kaul has thus, added swift and sure flicks of oil colours to express the scene with power. Ramkindar's PALM GROVE (Oil) has powerful and realistic palm trees in bluish grey against clear blue sky, but the ground is sculpturesque hard yellowish sienna cubes.

Dipak Banerjee in his oil painting STILL LIFE WITH MONEY PLANT AND BOOK has arranged advancing and receding rectangular planes with space in between in shades of brown and yellow, a magenta pot with green creeping money-plant. A VILLAGE FROM DELHI (Oil) has been painted by Singh Bhogal in his usual manner to display a wide multi-angular yellow expanse which has dark or light green structures around. The treatment yields a cordinated spatial quality in realistic approach. One of the soft toned oil paintings, AN OLD CITY, painted in mellowed crimson, green, grey and indigo has small white divisions to show houses, roads and other structures of a city. In this oil painting Madan Lal Nagar has described red sand stone walls and mosques after Moghul architecture or a temple and gates to give a bird's eye view of the city in divisionist style. This wins one of the ten awards.

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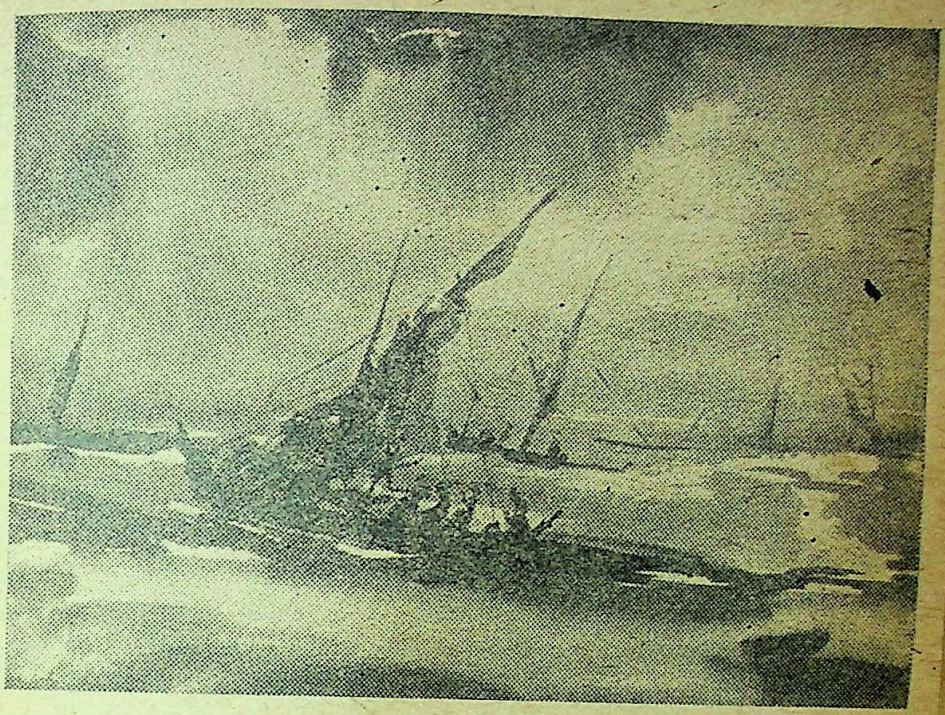
Gautam Vaghela has adopted gouache process in BLUE NIGHT. Here against a broken blue ane grey background is a skeleton of buffalo in whitish black beside which red-throated vultures flap their wings. It has enough of distortion. Cubist in design and mechanical in appeal are the twisted figures of a mother in greyish sienna and the disc-like head of her child in MOTHER DEPARTING by K. S. Kulkarni. In OBSESSED BY DREAM R. K. Dhawan has deployed violet and green which lack plastic expression. None of these has the audacity of feeling or rigour of expression to expose a surrealistic pattern.



Grey Morning (Water)
Artist : M. S. Joshi

Lastly, let us see some of the dadaistic art works. K. C. Aryan has composed PORTRAIT OF GOD by assembling bits of fine to heavy wire meshes. Here and there he has used aluminium or bronze or blue tints. In it we see pieces of wire meshes with an oval blank circle and insides it are overlapping mesh bits and specks of colour to reveal eyes, nose, and month. The idea is from darkness to light and then to God. This too wins an award. Whether it is too pretentious or not, it is ultra-modern. SHE STANDS BEFORE HER BROKEN MIRROR has been done by S. Krishan by putting black, green and yellow earth and fixing round or bits of mica over the coloured parts. A red speck on this pell-mell arrangement perhaps associates our mind with the women mentioned in the title. Kishore Parekh has fixed a large plank scorched by a blow lamp on a plywood. This is his COMPOSITION. Suhas Roy's COMPOSITION contains a rectangular plywood with large patches of black paint. On the top of it is a round piece of hessian in indigo and at the bottom there is another irregular hessian piece which is connected with a patch of black paint by means of three red and yellow catguts. Let us imagine it is the dadaistic portrayal of a bridge under the moon light. Piraji Sagara contrives to make WAY TO INFINITY and HOMAGE TO KAFKA by using strips of iron plates, copper plate, nails, a bit of black paint all fitted on large wooden frames. The former shows the Sun in copper brown, the Moon in white iron plate and small bits are stars. In 'Homage to Kafka', he has nailed long iron strips in a row in upright fashion keeping two small openings at the bottom and on the top left is a large copper disc which has long iron nail bent and arranged all around it like radiating shafts of light. On the other side of the top portion, against black background, is a white iron piece resembling the moon. Perhaps the artist wants to express the effulgent genius which helped Kafka to write grotosque details and believe that man is in a hostile world. Anyhow, colour too can bring out the same feeling in a less baffling manner.

Thus artists are leading us to a branch of the fine arts which verges on crude craftsmanship. We might recall the idea of Epstein that when a mechanic can shape a metal piece elegantly or artistically he becomes an artist.

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EDUCATION IN MOGHUL INDIA

By Professor ATULANANDA SEN

During the Turco-Afghan period, specially from the time of Iltutmish to the reign of Sikandar Lodi, the curriculum of the Madrasahs, where higher education was imparted, followed a set pattern. Greater emphasis was laid on theological education. The main subjects taught at the Madrasa-i-Firozshahi at Delhi were Jafsir (exegesis), Hadis (traditons), and Fiqh (jurisprudence). Besides these subjects, grammar, literature, logic, mysticism (tasawwuf), and scholasticism (Kalam) were also taught.

After the Moghul conquest of India all kinds of cultural activities, including education, received great encouragement. Both Babar and Humayun were men of refined taste. Humayun was a great bibliophile, and scholar. In the Madrasah which he founded in Delhi special provision was made for the teaching of Mathematics, Astronomy, and Geography, the subjects in which he was personally interested.

The Moghuls like the Turco-Afghan rulers had no separate department of Education either in the Central or the Provincial Government. But the emperors, and the Nobility were invariably great patrons of learning.

Educational Policy of Akbar and his successors

Akbar took a keen interest in the education and the carriculum of the Primary schools then in vogue. At his suggestion Logic, Arithmatic, Mensuration, Geometry, Astronomy, Accountancy, Public Administration, and Agriculture were included in the course of studies of the Madrashas. Thus, the teaching of these subjects gave a secular bias to the entire Educational System of the country.

Though almost an illiterate himself, Akbar evinced great interest in the early education and training of children. The Ain-i-Akbari has given us an account of the organisation of elementary education for children. Ain 25 of the Ain-i-Akbari says "In every country, but specially in Hindustan, boys are kept in school for years, where they learn the consonants and vowels. A great portion of the life of the students is wasted by making them read many books. His Majesty orders that every school boy should first learn to write the letters of the alphabet, and also learn to trace their several forms. He ought to learn the shape and name of each letter, which may be done in two days, then the boy should proceed to write the joined letters. They may be practised for a week, after which the boy should learn some prose and poetry by heart, and then commit to memory some verses in praise of God or moral sentences each written separately.

Care should be taken that he learns to understand everything himself, but the teacher may assist him a little. He then ought, for sometime, to be daily practised in writing a hemistich or a verse, and will soon acquire a current hand. The teacher ought specially to look after five things: knowledge of the letters; meanings of words; the hemistich; the verse; the former lesson. If this method of teaching be adopted a boy will learn in a month, or even in a day, what it took others years to understand." As regards the subjects of study for higher education we have the following in the Ain-i-Akbari "Every boy ought to read books on Morals, Arithmetic, the notation peculiar to Arithmetic, Agriculture, Mensuration, Geometry, Astronomy, Physiognomy, Household matters, the Rules of Government, Medicine, Logic, the Tabiyi (Natural Sciences), Riazi (Higher Mathematics), and Ilahi (Metaphysics and Theology), Sciences, and History; all of which may be gradually acquired."

"In studying Sanskrit, students ought to learn the Byakaran, Nyai, Vedanta, and Patanjal. No one should be allowed to neglect those things which the present time requires." Thus, Akbar's Educational System was revolutionary in character, and marked a complete departure from the Educational System of the Turco-Afghan Sultans of Delhi.

These educational reforms of Akbar shed a new light on Maktabs, and cast a bright lustre

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over Madrasahs, the main agencies for imparting primary and higher education respectively.

Making a reasonable allowance for exaggeration in the statements of Abul Fazl regarding Akbar's reforms in primary and higher education it can be said that this novel method of teaching, specially in Maktabs (primary schools), enabled a student to save his time and energy to a considerable extent.

The man who, more than anybody else, influenced the educational policy of Akbar was Mir Fathullah Shiraji, one of the greatest intellectuals of his age. He had many inventions to his credit. He constructed a Millstone, which was placed on a cart, and turned itself and ground corn. He invented a looking glass which, whether near or at a distance, showed all sorts of curious figures. He invented a wheel which cleaned at a time twelve barrels. He invented matchlocks. He also invented a gun which on marches could be taken to pieces, and then put together again when required. He could find time not only for his scientific and mechanical inventions, but also for teaching his advanced students. His chief hobby was to teach small boys of seven or eight. Abul Fazl's son was one of his pupils.

Akbar also made provision for technical and vocational training. Many karkhanas or workshops were established, which formed a regular department under Government. There were departments in these karkhanas, which specialised in particular lines.

For instance one department specialised in brocade, while another specialised in the manufacture of matchlocks, and guns. According to Father Monserrate, the jesuit missionary, who was at the court of Akbar in 1580-82, Akbar had built a workshop near the palace, in which there were also studios and workshops for the finer and more reputable arts like painting, goldsmith's work, tapestry making, carpet and curtain making, and manufacture of arms. Akbar took a personal interest in mechanical experiments. Thus, the Karkhanas were not only manufacturing agencies, but were also centres for technical and vocational training to young men by the system of apprenticeship. They were placed under a master-craftsman (USTAD) to learn the trade, and in course of time became experts themselves. The Karkhanas trained and turned out numerous artisans and craftsmen in different branches, who later set up their own independent workshops.

Akbar not only patronised inventors in his realm, but also sent envoys to foreign countries to bring the curiosities from them.

Thus, the bias of education in the time of Akbar was more secular than religious.

The result of the new educational policy of Akbar was that many Hindus took to the study of Persian.

In the Madrasahs and Maktabs there was no invidious discrimination between the Hindus and Muslims. Within a few decades of the new Educational policy there flourished many Hindu poets, Historians. and Lexicographers. Some of the Hindu Scholars became very proficient in rational sciences (maqulat), and were appointed as teachers in the Madrasahs. Some of them were, Narayan, Madho Bhat, Sri Bhat, Bishan Nath, Ram Kishnan, Balabhadra Misra etc. There were many Hindu scholars of Medicine. and Hindu physicians of eminence and repute were attached to the Court. Some of the Hindu physicians wrote books in Persian on the science of Medicine.

Akbar built a magnificent Madrasah near his palace at Fatepur Sikri. Abul Fazal also founded a Madrasah at Fatepur Sikri, which exists even today. Akbar also built a Madrasah at Agra for the convenience of the scholars of that place. Chalpi Beg, the reputed Savant of Shiraz, was appointed its Principal. In 1561 Akbar's foster mother, Maham Augah, established a Madrasah at Delhi, with a mosque attached to it. It was known as "Khairul Manazil".

During the reigns of Akbar's great successors the progress of education in the Empire was maintained. Jahangir ordered that on the death of a noble the proceeds of his property instead of being utilised by the State (according to the law of escheat) should be spent on the building and the upkeep of the Madrasahs. He encouraged men of learning. Agra became a celebrated seat of learning in his time, where Professors of every religion and creed took up their abode, and students from far and near came for acquiring knowledge. During the reigns of Jahangir and Shah Jahan arts and crafts throve as never before. Sir Thomas Roe has greatly admired the workmanship displayed by the Indian craftsmen. He mentions the craftsmanship of the Kashmiris in glowing terms.

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Though architecture was Shah Jahan's hobby, other cultural activities also were encouraged by him. He founded a Madrash near the GAMI MUSJID of Delhi, and endowed it with sufficient estates for its maintenance. During his reign Mulla Farid, a great Mathematician, prepared a new astronomical Table. Shah Jahan patronised the arts and eminence in one or other branch of knowledge flourished. Jahanara Begum (Begum Sahib), Shah Jahan's daughter, founded a Madrasah at Agra attached to the JAMI MUSJID, which acquired great renown, and continued to function and prosper even in later times.

Aurangzeb established numerous Madrasahs all over the country, and fixed stipends for teachers and students. A considerable amount of money used to be spent annually on these subsidies. The result of this policy was that the number of students in the Madrasahs increased to an unprecedented degree, and poor and deserving students could pursue their studies without financial worries. The assistance given to students was in proportion to their proficiency.

Aurangzeb had issued orders to the Provincial Diwans that all students from the lowest to the highest form, should be given financial help from the Provincial treasury with the sanction of the Provincial SADR.

But Aurangzeb's approach, even in the intellectual and cultural sphere, was orthodox. He could not tolerate the inclusion of any book in the curriculum of the Madrasahs, which in any way violated the orthodox point of view.

A great achievement of Aurangzeb's time was the compilation of the "Fatawa-i-Alamgiri," the most comprehensive digest of Muslim Jurisprudence ever compiled. For this work, he engaged the services of the most famous "ULAMA" of his time, under the supervision of Sheikh Nizam of Burhanpur. Napoleon in later times, like Aurangzeb, earned great fame by making his Code Napoleon, which was one of his brillant and lasting achievements.

During the later Mughal period most of the new Madrasahs owed their existence to private effort and munificence. Most of them were founded by the nobles, who were of a pious bent of mind, and were interested in the advancement of learning.

During this Period the courses of study with the bias towards "Maqulat" (rational sciences) continued to be the order of the day, with slight modifications from time to time. In the middle of the eighteenth century Mulla Nizamuddin drew up a syllabus known as "Dars-e-Nizami," which was in keeping with the previous syllabuses in vogue. For the Primary and Secondary stages of education great emphasis was laid on the Persian language, and sometimes it was made the medium of instruction. Being the official language of the country even the non-Muslims eagerly learnt it.

Generally speaking, it may be said that each seat of higher learning specialised in one particular branch. This accounts for the fact that the Scholars constantly migrated from one place to anoher in search of a suitable teacher. There was constant and intimate touch between the teacher and the taught, which should be considered the chief feature of the Educational System of the Mughal Age.

Centres of Muslim Learning

The important centres of Muslim learning in Northern India during the period were Kashmir, Jaunpur, Lahore, Ahmedabad, Burhanpur; Sirhind, Jhameshwar, Ambala, Fatepur Sikri etc. There were also many far-famed centres of Muslim learning and scholarship in Bihar, e.g., Patna, Bihar Sharif, Maner, Barh, Bhagalpur, Hajipur, Rajgir etc. Patna possessed one of the most famous Madrasahs of those days, known as "Madrasah Saif Khan," where reputed scholars in large numbers flocked from distant places, and imparted instruction to numerous students.

Education of Muslim Students

Muslim children began their education at the age of four years, four months, and four days—in the nearest Maktab. The sons of nobles, and other well-to-do people were generally placed under the charge of private tutors or "Ustads" for their elementary education.

In almost all the cities and towns of medieval India there were Madrasahs attached to mosques and mausolems. Every where there were Maktabs in which reading, writing, and arithmatic were taught to the children of all classes without any distinction of caste and creed. The Maktabs functioned in the morning and in the afternoon, with an interval for the midday meal. The students were not charged any fees.

The teachers were supported by the rich of

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the locality, and were respected by all. Such sports as Kabaddi were common all over the country. Good handwriting was valued, and calligraphy was practised, and encouraged.

Higher education was generally imparted in the Madrasahs or colleges situated in important towns and cities. The advanced students joined them, some of which had developed into famous seats of learning.

Students were promoted from a lower class to a higher class according to the opinion of the teachers concerned, who took into account the total academic career of the students, whom they knew very intimately. There was no regular system of annual examinations. Academic distinctions were awarded in accordance with the aptitude of the candidate in a particular branch of knowledge. For instance, one who had excelled in Logic and Philosophy was awarded the degree of "Fazil". One who specialised in Theology was awarded the degree of "ALIM". The expert in literature was awarded the degree of "QABIL". A regular ceremony, like the convocation of today, was held when these degrees were conferred upon eligible students.

The educational institutions were either subsidized and patronised by the State, or by some munificent nobles, or other enlightened public men. Students enjoyed free education. There was no system of paying fees to the teachers in cash, but that of presenting gifts, mostly in kind, to the teachers was in vogue. Stipends were fixed for teachers, and poor students. In any case, expenses of education were not at all burdensome.

Education of Hindu Students

Hindu education was mainly imparted by the private tutors, pathsalas or elementary schools, and Tols or colleges. Besides, the academic debates and discussions among learned scholars also greatly helped the cause of popular education and refinement. Normally there were only two kinds of educational institutons, primary and higher. The teaching profession had practically become the monopoly of the Brahmans.

Elementary or primary instruction was given in a large number of pathsalas scattered over the different parts of the country. The curriculum of these pathsalas was generally uniform and simple. The courses consisted of instruction in the alphabet, vowels and consonants, combination of words, spellings, vyakaran, lessons in reading, and elementary arithmatic. A pathsala would either have a separate building of its own, or would sit in some building attached to a rich man's house, or under a shady tree. These schools had no chairs and benchs. The students had to bring their own mats, and had to sit on the floor.

The teacher sat on a stool. There were various kinds of peculiar punishments (according to modern standard) meant for guilty students. The students were fond of celebrating certain important festivals like Saraswati puja etc. They generally enjoyed eight day's holiday in every month. These institutions were patronised and endowed by the rich or munificent people. Students generally enjoyed free education. Sometimes fees were also paid to the teachers, mostly in kind in the shape of presents, or personal services. We have had instances of occasional payments of fees in cash also.

In the tols or colleges, which were the seats of higher learning, sanskrit language and literature formed a very important subject of study. The curriculum included kavya, vyakaran, jyotish, chhanda, nyaya, darshan, administration, art of warfare, law, tantra, mantra etc.

Famous Centres of Higher Hindu Learning

Among the most famous centres of higher Hindu learning in North India the most well-famed and reputed was Banaras. According to Abul Fazl, Banaras had been the chief seat of learning in Hindustan from time immemorial. Bernier calls it the "Athens of India". Navadwipa in Bengal, the birthplace of Chaitanya, was another very important centre of learning. It specialised in navya-nyaya (a new school of Nyaya Philosophy). Mithila, Mathura, Ujjain, Kashmir, Prayag, Hardwar, and Ayodhya were other very important centres of higher Hindu learning and scholarship. The tols were geneally helped by the State, but mostly by the Hindu Rajas or chieftains. Stipends were fixed for the students and the teachers. Broadly speaking, each seat of higher learning specialised in one particular branch. This accounts for the constant migration of scholars from one place to another in search of a suitable teacher. In the South, Madura and Tanjore had high reputation for erudition of their Acharyas (Professors).

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Education of Women

The Mughal Emperors and the Muslim Aristocracy did not neglect the education of their womenfolk. Akbar had made arrangements for giving suitable education to the inmates of the royal harem. He also established a girls' school in his palace-fort at Fatepur Sikri. Moghul princesses and the daughters of the nobles were educated in their harems under the guidance of either old learned tutors, or educated mistresses, or accomplished eunuchs. Aurangzeb also arranged for the education of the females of his harem. Numerous instances in the Mughal period, are available of highly educated and accomplished ladies belonging to the royal families as well as to the well-to-do classes of society.

Babar's daughter, Gulbadan Begum, was a highly educated lady. She wrote the Humayun Namah, which has great historical value. Humayaun's niece, Salima Sultana, was a highly educated and accomplished Princess. She was well-versed in Persian literature, and was a reputed poetess. Maham Anagah, Akbar's foster mother, was an accomplished lady, and a great patron of learning. Nur Jahan was a woman of profound learning with unique talent and mental endowments. Mumtaz Mahal was well-known for her literary tastes, and highly developed poetical faculties. Jahanara (Begum Sahib) was reputed for her vast knowledge, and high cultural accomplishments. She was also a poetess.

Almost all the daughters of Aurangzeb were well-read, and they had been educated in accordance with the Emperor's own principles of education. Zebun-Nisa Begum was the most cultured and talented of them all. She was a poetess of great repute, and had a rich library of her own. She was also a patroness of learning. She established a literary academy, and a rich library for the use of scholars.

Thus, we find that the Muslim ladies belonging to the higher classes of society were generally educated, and accomplished. But on account of some difficulties of the age, specially the Purdah system, education of the girls among the rich and well-well-to-do classes was not universal, or on a mass scale.

Education of the girls of the middle classes was quite common. According to JAFAR SHARIF there was a number of educational institutions for women in the different parts of the country, mostly attached to the private houses. Muslim widows generally deemed it their duty to teach young girls in their own houses. "The Holy Quran" formed their chief text-book. Besides getting lessons on morals and religion, they received a practical education for managing house-hold affairs.

The Hindu women of the upper and well-to-do classes also had a liberal education. They did not lag behind their Muslim sisters in the field of education and cultural accomplishments. On account of the seclusion of the Hindu women, like their Muslim compeers, their opportunities for receiving education were meagre, and most of the accomplished ladies of the well-to-do classes received their education in their houses under private tutors.

Training in fine Arts like Music, dancing, painting etc., was not neglected. Literature, philosophy, logic, religion etc., also formed subjects of study. We have numerous instances in contemporary literary works to show the extent of literacy among the Hindu women of different sections of society. Some sort of co-education existed. Sometimes boys and girls read in the same school at least at the Primary and the lower secondary stages of education. Not only the mental, but also the physical side of women was developed in this Period. In the Bengali literature we find instances of women going to war to fight against the enemies.

No regular separate schools seem to have existed for imparting education to girls, who had their early lessons usually from their parents. Girls in their childhood attended schools along with boys, and learnt the Quran (if they were Muhammadans), and one or two other lessons by rote. The rich appointed tutors to teach their daughters at home. There is no doubt about the literacy of high born and well-to-do women. The daughters of Rajput chiefs, and some Bengali Zamindars were usually able to read and write. Special stress was laid on the education of widows, some of whom even became teachers.

Thus, the education of women, Hindu and Muslim, was mostly confined to the rich, and the well-to-do sections of the society. The growing curtailment of their freedom caused by the Purdah system, child marriage, and other social evils and practices was chiefly responsible for the prevailing mass illiteracy among them during the Moghul Age.

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Women belonging to the poorer sections of Society had very little time or opportunities for receiving education, as they were too much pre-occupied with domestic and other duties to find leisure for intellectual pursuits or even recreation. The miserable condition of the poorer section of women of this period, specially in the field of education, was due to the fact that there was no systematic and conscious move on the part of the State or Society to ameliorate their lot, and to impart education to them.

The chief failing of the medieval system of education was that it was not found adequate to enable its adherents to form habits of accurate observation, and practical judgment. It was much too rigid, sterile, and bookish. Thus the system of education in vogue lacked resilience or purposiveness, and had become much too rigid, and non-creative.

The medieval system of education, specially in the later Moghul Period, failed to impart the qualities of leadership, and thus ensure the supply of outstanding personalities in the different walks of life, which the later Moghuls needed so badly.

KRISHNAMACHARI'S SECOND BUDGET
A Critical Evaluation

By KARUNA K. NANDI

The popular reaction to the Union Budget for the year 1964-65, presented to Parliament last month by Union Finance Minister T. T. Krishnamachari, his second Budget so far and the first since his inclusion in the Union Cabinet last year, is that it indicates a basic departure from the fiscal policies and techniques of his predecessor, Shri Morarji Desai. We shall not concern ourselves with the trends of subsequent debates in Parliament on the Budget but shall confine ourselves to the Budget as it was originally presnted by T. T. K. and the Budget speech he delivered on the occasion to evaluate the extent and the directions, if any, to which the present Budget indicates a departure from immediately preceding policeis of the Government and the extent to which the present budget is likely to meet the requirements of development which, as the Finance Minister himself claimed, was the very first consideration in formulating the Budget in the manner he has.

Incidentally, we would also try to evaluate the extent and the manner in which the present Budget has been designed to meet the demands of an evolving "democratic socialism" in the country as enunciated at the last annual plenary session of the Indian National Congress held at Bhubaneshwar.

The Price Factor

It is generally admitted and the Finance Minister himself seems to endorse the view in course of the first part of his Budget speech, that the price factor has a vital bearing not merely on the trends of growth and investments, but its inevitable reaction upon the trends of increasing concentration of income, wealth and economic power in selected and necessarily microscopic areas of the private sector. While the general index of wholesale prices is stated to have moved upwards by the comparatively nominal extent of approximately 8 per cent over the first three years of the current Plan which, according to the Finance Minister, "cannot be considered large by any standards, and particularly against the background of the sizeable step-up in outlays under defence and development," the general price index moving up by a further 7.2 per cent over the next nine months between March, 1963 and January, 1964 is now admitted to be a cause "for great concern." The Finance Minister ascribes these price trends mainly to the inadequate rate of growth in agriculture which, after evincing a growth rate "by 1.2 per cent in 191-62," again "declined by 3.3 per cent in 1962-63." Correspondingly industrial pro-

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duction registered a far better trend, being 10 per cent over the first nine months of the current year compared to 8.5 per cent during the corresponding period of the preceding year. The Finance Minister goes on to state that "treating the problem of growth as an isolated factor and promoting growth by stepping up invesement from the sources available within and without the country, without a corresponding policy for the incomes generated in the process, would only generate inflation. Similarly, a price policy which disregards the dynamics of growth or the impact on investment decisions cannot but be self-defeating in the same way as a price policy which is not coordinated with a corresponding policy in regard to wages . . . . Nor can one succeed in raising resources for defence or development by taxation if all such effort leads to price increaseses which are passed on all along the line . . . . By imposing satutory controls on the prices of certain basic products, we often succeed in discouraging investment in the very industries which produce those items . . . Often controls of this type do not result in the commodities in question being available to the consumer at lower prices. What happens is that the higher prices that the consumers continue to pay do not benefit the producer . . . . And, because these prices are not legally recognized, the Exchequer is also deprived of its dues. In curbing prices fiscal devices can be used much more effectively than controls which lead to abuses."

A Shift in Attitude ?

On the question of prices, the Finance Minister who, immediately before he was re-drafted into the Union Cabinet, pleaded in a number of public addresses for the imposition of physicaal controls, began to resile from his earlier stand immediately after he rejoined the Government and now his entire reliance in this behalf would seem to be based upon fiscal devices only rather than on the imposition of controls which, he frankly admits, he has neither the administrative nor other resources to effectively apply.

Indeed, to the orthodox student of economics and finance physical controls as the means of checking the rising trends in prices would appear to be only a half and a not too intelligent and effective measure and had better be avoided except as a measure of extreme emergency over very short periods only. Fiscal measures are what would be calculated to deal with the problem both more effectively and over long-term periods. But in devising these fiscal measures it is necessary to evaluate the basic causes for the rising price trends. There is no doubt that agricultural production, especially of edible items, have been in short supply correspondingly with the periods of development in the economy and there does not seem to be any early prospects of the situation improving materially in this regard unless the entire Plan of development has been revised to impose added emphasis upon agricultural production with appropriate first priorities to those producer bases like irrigation, flood control, fertilizer production etc. calculated to service a fast-growing agriculture. But that would not seem to explain present trends in the price situation in its entirety. One factor which has been admittedly causing a great deal of pressure on the price structure especially in the essential consumer sectors,—a fact which has also been again and again underlined by the Finance Minister himself,—is that large and unorganized credit market in the country which is generally regarded to be the principal culprit in hoarding commidities in short supply and generally creating speculative pressures upon the price structure. The Finance Minister has, since reassuming the present portfolio in the Union Government, again and eagain reiterated the need to curb the activities of this menacing factor in the national economy but, so far, no effective measures would appear to have been evolved which would be calculated to deal with this matter. There can be no two opinions about the urgent need for devising such measures as would be likely to effectively circumscribe if not quite eliminate the influence of this admitteddly large sector of the credit market. The Budget, inspite of the penal masures introduced therein for dealing with cases of tax evasions dos not seem to include any operative provisions in this regard. So far as the meaures proposed to deal with cases of tax evasion are concerned, since it is well known that there are as many ways, to the resourceful, of getting round the laws as there are laws themselves, it is yet too early to visualize to what extent they might be effective in dealing with bonafide cases of large tax evasion and the apprehension has been generally voiced that their ... to subject a lot of people to

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a great deal of unnecessary harrassment while the real tax-dodger would comfortably manage to continue to snap his fingers at the tax collectors.

The Taxation Structure

Another factor which must be admitted to have contributed in very large measure to substantial inflationary pressures on the price structure, to which reference has already been made, is the present taxation structure in the country. The Finance Minister himself admits by implication that although his predecessor in office was obliged to resort, during his four year regime, to increasing measures of indirect taxation for urgent purposes of defence and development, it cannot be regarded as a very healthy trend in public taxation. In fact Shri Moraji Desai has been so prodigally resorting to indirect taxation measures for pruposes of revenue that in his last 1963-64 Budget, the proportion of indirect taxation to the gross taxation burden on the country had already risen to as high a figure as 74.6 per cent of the total. It is significant that Mr. C. D. Deshmukh, in course of his 1950-51 Budget on the eve of the of the launching of the First Plan had calculated the burden of indirect taxaeion on the country in that year at only about 7 per cent of total tax burdens. The incidence of indirect taxation has steadily mounted with the increasing burdens of taxation on the country as a whole, a very large proportion of which covers excise imposts on a variety of essential consumables. It would, however, be unfair to blame Mr. Morarji Desai for having set the fashion in this regard for one of the very first steps in this direction of easy revenue in complete disregard of the basic canons of sound public taxation was really taken by Mr. Krishnamachari himself during his earlier regime as Finance Minister when he placed an excise duty on mustard oil.

Excise On Consumables

It is a universally admitted canon of sound public taxation that excise imposts on consumables, especially those of an esseneial nature, should be wholly avoided for purposes of revenue except in such cases where it would be calculated to be a measure of sound public policy to restrict materially the consumption of certain kinds of consumables. Alchoholic edibles and other intoxicants come within this category naturally for it is universally recognized that restrictions placed on their unlimited consumption are regarded as a principle of sound public policy. Similarly sale or purchase taxes on certain kinds of consumables, especially those of the non-essential and luxury categories are regarded as an equally sound principle of taxation, especially during war time emergencies as a stimulant to public savings. It is also agreed that where such purchase or sale taxes are imposed, they should be listed in an identifiable manner in the bill of sale so that the consumers should be able to specifically realise the extent of the actual burden that their purchases of such nonessential or luxury goods have been imposing upon them as a direct measure of abstinence from unnecessary and avoidable consumption. In all other cases excise imposts on consumables, especially of an essential nature should be wholly avoided, for they are generally found to contribute materially to inflationary pressures on the price structure. It should be noted in this connection that Mr. Morarji Desai in the course of his increasing incidence of indirect taxation from one Budget-year to another, invariably sought to justify his measures on the plea that they were devised essentially as measures for restricting conspicuous consumption. But the operation of these tax measures in actual effect had rather the contrary result of putting increasingly additional pressures on the price structure.

Gross Price Rise

When Mr. Krishnamachari, in course of his current Budget speech states that the fact that the wholesale general price index rose, during the first three years of the current Plan, by an aggregate 8 per cent, it could not be considered "large by any standards," he evaded an evaluation, perhaps with deliberate intent, of the actual measure of price increase over the entire period of Planning since 1950-51. For it is only when the incidence of the rise in the price level has been assessed on the background of the corresponding rise in the income level throughout the eneire period of Planning that a somewhat correct measure of the real impact of rising prices on the progress of the economy as a whole and, especially, on those of the living levels of the people, would be avail-

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able In this country it would also be regarded as crucial in any attempt to measure the impact of rising prices by assessing in relation to the rise in the general wholesale index the actual rise in retail price indices, especially in the essential edible and other consumables' sectors. For it is really at this level that the living of the people is closely affected by prices and a mere consideration of the general wholesale price indices, which seldom are found to circumscribe rises in retail prices in the essential consumable sector to only a corresponding extent, that the impact of rising prices on the peoples' living levels is really to be discovered. In the Finance Minister's Budget speech this aspect of the problem of prices has been completely by-passed.

Shortfalls in Production

In any consideration of the price problem one has also to take into account the shortfalls in production in relation to the laid down capacity in terms of investments in both the private and the public sectors for it is at this level that additional pressures on the price levels are also inevitably eventuated. The Finance Minister, while taking note of this factor, has especially emphasised the need to enunciate a correct wage-price policy as a possible corrective against inflationary pressures as a resut of isolated growth and additional incomes that are generated in the process as a result thereof. In a factual assessment of the problem it would, however, be bound to be discovered that it is not so much the additional incomes generated as a result of economic growth but rather the inadequacy of the incomes so generated in relation to the investments undertaken and the expanded production capacities laid down, that are the real culprits in this matter of price pressures. The comparatively low productivity derived from investments in many of the large private and public sector undertakings, which have been a significant feature of our development ever since development planning has been launched and which have been assuming increasing proportions over the years, have inevitably contributed to high production costs and correspondingly higher price levels. This also has to be corrected if a regime of stable price levels has to be ushered in.

Priority to Agriculture?

It should be considered relevant in this context to enter into a discussion of the total picture of development planning in the country as it has been and is being essayed over the years. An inescapable historical lesson of industrial development in almost all developed countries is that rapid industrial development has invariably followed, not preceded, the growth of an agricultural surplus. In this country, while in the First Plan this historical lesson would seem to have guided the counsels of the architects of planning there has been an obvious *volte face* since even as early as the Second Plan and the entire emphasis has been shifted from agriculture to industry. That may, in part, explain the present rather langusishing state of agricultural development and the country's continuing dependence on large imports of food grains and some commercial crops like cotton to feed the people and keep the wheels of the most important single consumer industry in the country turning. Indeed, as Mr. Krishnamachari himself admits, the present stage of growth in agricultural production which, after programming for a 40 per cent growth over the entire Third Plan period, has so far yielded only a 1.2 per cent growth rate over the first two years of the Plan and a set back by 3.3 per cent during the third year, has been causing the gravest anxiety. The former Food and Agriculture Minister, Mr. S. K. Patil, before he relinquished the burdens of office, was quite forthright enough to have been reported to have said that self-sufficiency in food production in the country would be quite impossible of achievement during the Current Plan and possibly not even in the Fourth; it may be possible to achieve this goal in course of the next ten years or so. In this connection we have heard a great deal about the need to provide necessary incentives to farm producers to stimulte the agriculturl growth rate. Cash incentives or even the prospects of larger profits than hitherto are, however, not likely to contribute materially to agricultural growth unless the necessary conditions-precedent encouraging farm productivity can be established. One of these is inevitably more adequate supplies of basic farming incentives, like irrigation water and fertilizer availability, none of which have so far been generated in anywhere like an adequate measure and agriculture, by and large, still con-

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tures in this country, to remain materially dependent upon the mercy of the seasons. Again, although land tenure reforms have been essayed in many States calculated to prevent further fragmentation of holdings, they have so far not been adequately and effectively applied, and the vision of a more wholesome agricultural lay-out in the shape of large and integrated holdings by way of cooperative farming or otherwise have continued to remain as distant as ever. Price incentives alone to farm producers are not, therefore, likely to contribute materially to the growth of agricultural production until these essential conditions have been fulfilled. But neither in the Plan, nor in the Government' administration, —nor at the Centre, there seem to be any visible signs so far of any fresh and wholesome approach to the problem in this regard. A deficit agriculture with a rapidly growing industrial lay-out, especially in a country like India where the economy as a whole is bound to remain, for as long as one can visualize, principally agriculture-oriented, would be not merely bound to widen existing disparities, such a condition in the economy would be bound, as it has been visibly doing, to generate increasing inflationary pressures on the price structure, especially on the essential edible sectors. Unless, therefore, far greater emphasis is laid upon agricultural development than has been the case so far, the growth of the economy would be bound to remain both eccentric and unwholesome. Not sufficient attention would seen to have been bestowed by the Finance Minister on this very crucial aspect of growth.

Muttiple Pressures on Prices

Various causes, none of which is capable of singly attenuating the continuously increasing pressures on the price structure have thus been listed. Thus, for instance, the pressures created by speculative hoarding of commodities in short supply, especially those in the essential edible sectors and which is generally known to being financed by that subterranean capital market whose operations are unregulated and the effect of whose operations are known to materially neutralize the effect of the policy of selective credit enunciated by the Reserve Bank at the instance of the Finance Ministry for some time. Then, there are the shortfalls in industrial production norms, which have inevitably been materially contributing to high costs and corresponding price pressures. Further, the effects of a languishing agriculture, especially in the background of fast expanding industrial capacity, is another recognized cause for inflationary pressures on the essential sectors. Finally, there is the taxation structure which, constructed as it is today and from which the present Finance Miniter has not been able to make any substantial departure although he seems to admit its *irrationale* in so many words, has inherent within itself inflationary potentials from which there would seem to be no escape in any direction. By and large the effect of the operation of these varied factors upon the incidence of prices over the years since planning has been launched was bound to have the most inimical results on the purchasing power at the bottom levels of the economy in real terms, inspite of a visible expansion in the gross national product. The Finance Minister speaks of Fiscal disciplines and other like measures to deal with the price problem rather than the introduction of physical controls which are not the best method of dealing with a situation like this and if, fiscal and other disciplines would yield the desired result in curbing the continually ascending price spiral, it would, inded, be a very welcome eventuality. Apart from the fact that physical controls, which would really mean rationing of some sort or other, are bad on basic principles, the Government would not seem to have either the administrative rectitude, imagination and efficiency to apply such controls effectively and wholesomely. Fiscal disciplines would, therefore, be a very desirable masure to deal with the situation, but in the various measures proposed in the Budget under review, there does not seem to be anything which would be likely to have any spontaneous effect on the dynamics of prices. As it is, during the very few weeks since the Finance Minister has presentted his current year's Budget to the Lok Sabha, a fresh and quite an overt price spurt has been in evidence in the Eastern Indian markets and which appears to have been assuming the shape of a virulent outbreak especially in all the edible sectors and particularly so in the retail markets. For instance, as we write, inspite of the control imposed on rice prices by the West Bengal Government at the beginning of the last winter harvests, the retail price of rice has

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gone up by very nearly 10 per cent on an average; pulses and grammes have registered an increase of as much as 20 per cent, mustard oil has gone up very nearly 30 per cent and the pressure has passed on also to the green-grocery market, potatoes having registered a rise of as much as 40 per cent over the last one and a half weeks, with other common vegetables lagging only a very short way behind. The Govrnment and the people alike seem to be completely helpless in dealing with the situation and forces are becoming increasingly evident which might even contribute to almost a famine condition again, inspite of apparently ample supply positions. Even wheat appears to have been causing a great deal of concern and anxiety and inspite of the Government's earlier assurances that as much wheat would be supplied to the Eastern Indian consumers as may be required by them, it is already in somewhat short supply. Possible fiscal disciplines against price pressures that may be claimed by the Finance Minister to be inherent in his current Budget proposals, would thus seem to have been completely set at naught.

Economic Growth

Incidentally, it should not be considered entirely irrelevant in this context if note were to be taken here of the basic concepts of economic growth which would seem to have been informing both the Planning Commission and Government alike. The overwhelming emphasis in industrial growth to the comparative neglect of agricultural growth has already been commented upon in foregoing paragraphs. The results of the inquiry on income distribution by the Mahalanobis Committee which has been released late last week would seem to underline the fact that the income of the agricultural worker in the country is approximately only one-half of that of the industrial worker and while the income of the latter has increased correspondingly with the average rise in the income of the employed person over the first two Plans, the income of the agricultural workers has remained comparatively static. An obvious offshoot of such a situation would be bound to deck out the total national economy between two distinctive tiers, a still comparateively microscopic upper industrial deck and an overwhelmingly wide lower agricultural deck with such enormous disparities between the two as to make the two completely insular in relation to each other. The effect of such a condition of affairs can be easily visualized, especially when regard is had to the fact that it is the upper deck that determines the price levels. The disparities between agricultural and industrial incomes have aways been a problem even to the more highly developed countries and various measures of relief to the agricultural worker have been conceived and applied for maintaining incentives and the structure of effective demand. The recent experiments being more or less successfully carried out by the countries in Western Europe comprising the European Economic Community in respect of farm price policies, would seem to be a further improvement, if their stability can be maintained, on the methods of other developed countries of Europe and the U.S.A. Viewed in this context the continual widening of the already existing gulf between farm and industrial dividends to the workers in the respective sectors of the economy would seem to be fraught with the extreme danger of a possible eventual breakdown in the structure of effective dmand which, in the ultimate analysis, is the real determinant of economic progress and strength. All these the Finance Minister should have included in his consideration in framing the national Budget but of which very little indication, if any at all, would seem to be avaiable in his current Budget proposals.

People Better Off?

In this connection one is reminded of the constantly reiterated claims by the Government that people at large in the country today are, on the whole, better fed, better clothed and better housed than they were before development planning was undertaken under Government aegis. One is reminded of the controversy raised on this issue by Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia and the justification offered in reply by the then Minister of Planning and Labour, Mr. Gulzari Lal Nanda. Mr. Nanda we then commented, virtually by-passed Dr. Lohia's indictment by producing statistical data regarding the consumption expenditure of the people at the bottom levels of the economy and thereby sought to disprove the latter's accusation that inspite of ten years of development planning at enormous outlay of capital

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both indigenous and foreign, very nearly 60 per cent of the country's population had to subsist on a daily income of something like 3 annas or roughly 19 nP. Facts and figures produced at the instance of the Planning Commission and the Government, we then pointed out in these columns, would go to demonstrate that if the data then produced by Mr. Nanda were correct, the only thing they proved was that the people have been living partly on capital or by hypothecation of their future labour, for clearly the disposable income of the people concerned was materially less than the figures of consumption expenditure as produced by Mr. Nanda. Information recently released by the Planning Commission regarding the volume of existing rural indebtedness would seem to conclusively prove such a contention. Mr. Nanda then also reiterated the claim that the people on the whole were better fed, better clothed, better housed and even better educated than they were a decade ago. There was not much logic in what Mr. Nanda had to say then on the subject, but the Mahalanobic Committee's report now available states that it had failed to discover any proof substantiating this claim.

Concentration of Economic Power

On the contrary, there is clear admission in the Finance Minister's speech of the earlier indictment of the Congress Party at its Bhubaneshwar session, that the period of development planning has led to an increasing concentration of income, wealth and economic power and the tendency towards the growth of monopolies in the private sector. The Bhubaneshwar resolution on democracy and socialism emphatically underlines the fact and demands effective curbs to be put in the way of their increasing operations. The Finance Minister also admits the fact of increasing concentration of wealth and economic power and what he says in this connection by implication also underlines the admission that this concentration has occured more overwhlmingly in the corporate sectors than in other areas of the private sector. He goes to great pains, however, to prove that it is not so much the contents of ownerhip in the private corporate sector but what he describes as control,—and he makes quite a distinction between the two,—that is the real culprit in the matter. But whether it is merely ownership or control in the private corporate sector that is accountable for the increasing concentration of economic power, the effect so far as the people at large and the total national economy is concerned, is the same. If the Mahalanobis Committee's recently released findings have to be believed, the concentration of wealth and consequent economic power in the hands of a few and the inevitable trends towards the growth of monopolies which must follow as a result, has been going on unabated. The Finance Minister claims that some recent measures by way of the amendments of the Companies' Act and the Banking Companies' Act have already "paved the ground for the State to have strategic control over the private sector in order to ensure . . . . that *anti-social* activities are curbed and controlled." It is yet too early to visualize to what extent these measures may be effective in attenuating already acquired concentration of economic power or to prevent its further inroads upon the economy, but the reliefs proposed in the Budget to the corporate private sector for the so-called purpose of eneabling larger savings to be generated and stimulating investments for development, would be bound, in very large measure, to attenuate the effects of the restrictions on increasing concentration, if any, inherent in the amendments of the Banking and Companies' laws.

Incentives for Confidence

The Finance Minister makes much of the so-called need to "infuse some confidence" in the private sector and has therefore proposed various measures for providing incentives for existing companies and, at the same time, for removing or, at least diminishing, "the disincentives for inter-corporate investments." He also makes a distinction between "capital-intensive" industries and others on the plea that the need for the growth of basic industries is much too urgent. One does not repudiate this need, although having regard to the especial circumstances of the country, the need for the development of a wide-based structure of labour-intensive industries also with its higher and more rapidly effective employment potential at the same time, would seem to be of equally urgent momnt. If the ultimate content of development is admitted to be indexed by a process of steadily widening areas and depths of

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effective demand of which a correspondingly steady progress towards *full employment* is the only reliable yardstick, it would not do merely to stimulate the growth of capital-intensive basic industries with its necessarily low employment potential, but it must also and simultaneously be complemented by an orderly growth of more labour-intensive medium and intermediate industries. It is only then that the process of development can assume a progressive, balanced and wholesome tenor.

Large Corporations

So far as incentives to the large corporate private sector with a view to infusing confidence, of which so much is made by the Finance Minister, is concerned, the Mahalanobis Committee's findings seem to indicate that such inducements are wholly superfluous. As it is "it is the concentration of control in the industrial sector as a whole . . . that presents the more menacing aspects of the concentration of economic power . . . 10 groups had an interest of one kind or another in 876 companies with a share capital of Rs. 205 crores in 1951 and 929 companies with a share capital of 297 crores in 1958. The top four of these 10 groups had control over companies with a share capital of Rs. 147 crores in 1951 and Rs. 225 crores in 1958. *Inter-corporate investment is the main instrument and an increasingly important one* (emphasis our own) for the control of companies. There is a significant link between leading banks and large-sized industrial undrtakings." One of the reasons, according to the Mahalanobis Committee, for the increase in economic power of the large groups is the flow of foreign investment and technical know-how through joint ventures. Also, "there is much inter-linking between newspapers and big business." The Committee also states that one of the causes of economic concentration is inadequate development. We have already endeavoured to demonstrate in the foregoing analysis that the admittedly inadequate levels of development derives from a variety of causes,—the comparative lack of emphasis and the failure, so far, to lay-down the necessary producer-bases for rapid agricultural growth for one, which has been leading to the growth of a high-cost and numerically infintesimal industrial super-deck in the economy, the comparatively inadequate production-yields of a now fairly wide-based industrial capacity created at the expense of enormous but all too scarce capital, the operations of an unregulated and generally unidentifiable but admittedly large credit market which is not amenable to the ordinary fiscal disciplines of the State and which is known to have been creating constant and progressively widening speculative pressures on the price structure especially in the essential sectors. All these have contributed their respective quotas to big business in its process of concentration of economic power. So-called additional incentives to this already very powerful sector in the economy for the alleged purpose of "infusing confidence" as has been sought to be done by the Finance Minister in his Budget proposals, would be bound, we are afraid, to further and materially accentuate the process of concentration of power in the large corporate sectors and the fiscal, legislative and administrative measures that the Minister claims would begin to effect a steady process of "dispersal" would hardly be likely to prove effective even in a microscopic degree.

Corporation Taxes

Even a cursory examination of the inducements and incentives thus offered to the large corporate sector in private enterprise in concrete terms should be quite revealing. For one thing the Super Profits Tax imposed by the preceding Finance Minister has now been removed from the Statute Book and it has been replaced by a Surtax which, the Finance Minister claims would have the effect of curbing too much profiteering while at the same time maintaining incentives for widening enterprise and development. The Super Profits Tax, as conceived by Mr. Morarji Desai, it must be admitted, was somewhat inequitable in its operative shape. It must, however, be admitted that there is nothing repugnant or evil in the conception of a tax which seeks to appropriate for public purposes anything above and beyond an accepted norm of legitimate profits that any business or industrial enterprise would make. There may be difference of opinion as regards, first, the structure of the capital base upon which such a norm of legitimate and permissible level of profits should be enunciated, as there was in the case of last year's legislation in this behalf. There can also be difference of opinion as regards

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the first charges on profits which would be accepted as admissible before working out the net profits on which the super-profits tax should be assessed. Further it might also have been legitimately claimed that the rate of tax imposed might have been more moderate and that its incidence should have been determined on the basis of net profits after tax and not the gross profits before the basic income and super-taxes have been assessed. But for these controversial points, which might have been settled on a more rational basis than Mr. Desai had agreed to do in his last year's imposition, there should not have been any basic objection to a structure of super-profits tax as such. Apparently, however, the present Finance Minister felt that the nature and incidence of such a tax would prove a deterrant against private enterprise, destructive of confidence in the private corporate sector and that its continuance on the Statute Book would prove a deterrant against development investments. He has now replaced this by a new Sur-tax which, will include in the capital base for the assessment of the new tax all equity and preference capital, debenture stocks, reserves, loans from approved institutions and banks for 10 years and more, or from foreign sources for the purpose of creating additional capital assets, and a 10 per cent additional deduction on the gross capital base after tax. Only the residual profits will then be taxed to the extent of 40 per cent. The manner of computing this tax, whether it provides incentives for savings and new investments or not, will certainly have the effect of enabling most large corporations to avoid paying any tax at all of this category and, to that extent, stimulate further concentration of economic power. As already commented upon by the Mahalanobis Committee that concentration of economic power has, largely, been the result of inadequate development in the economy, the converse may also prove to be only too painfully true, that encouragements to further concentration, as this particular tax in lieu of the old super profits tax will be calculated to offer to the larger corporations, may correspondingly halt the process and dynamics of development.

In the process Mr. Krishnamachari has also proposed a very important additional inducement to certain categories of what he describes as high priority industries who would be allowed a 10 per cent rebate of the existing super tax of 25 per cent each, as well as an additional 20 per cent rebate on the new sur tax assessed on these enterprises.

Intercorporate Operations

But, perhaps, the most important concession to the private sector offered by the Finance Minister has been in the field of inter-corporate operations. Whatever may be the view of the Finance Minister in this regard, there can be no repudiation of the incontrovertible fact that the increasing concentration of economic power has been more largely stimulated by inter-corporate operations, especially those between large Banks and other corporations under common control than any other single factor. As a deterrant against concenration, therefore, it would seem that the most legitimate measure should have been to circumscribe inter-corporate operations within severely defined limits and not certainly to offer inducements to their further widening. It is, however, just this latter measure which Mr. Krishnamachari has included in his current Budget by offering the very substantial inducement towards increasing concentration of economic power by altogether absolving all inter-corporate dividends from the present super tax on such dividends. This would seem to be a direct and a deliberately overt repudiation of the principles enunciated in the celebrated Bhubaneshwar resolution on democracy and socialism.

Ceiling on Personal Income

Mr. Morarji Desai imposed in his last year's Budget a ceiling of Rs. 60,000 per annum by way of remuneration to all Indian employees, inclusive of the value of perquisites drawn which would be allowed as legitimate expenses of a company for purposes of tax computations, while at the same time he exempted all foreign employees from this ceiling. We did not like this distinction as, apart from being invidious, this would be a direct deterrant against the gradual process of Indianization of management personnel which has been in evidence for some time. This would have the effect of further stimulating expatriation of

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that already large body of Indian scientists and technologists who have been increasingly seeking and obtaining employment outside the country and whose services the nation would seem to need so urgently to-day. But that in a country as poor as ours and where existing economic disparaities have already been far too wide and unbridgable and which has been generally assessed to be one of the factors in the process of concentration of economic power and the growth of monopolistic tendencies, some ceiling on individual incomes is a needful measure could hardly be repudiated by anyone in his right senses. What was wanted was that the distinction as between an Indian employee and a foreign one in a corporation should have been severely attenuated, if it was not possible to eliminate it altogether. The Government have been allegedly pursuing a policy of offering a tax holiday to foreign personnel in Indian enterprises for a limited period in order to fill the gap in technical personnel. This, however obnoxious in itself, might have been regarded as a necessary short-period measure for specific objectives of development. Unfortunately, however, the Government machinery determining where, to what extent, and the specific objectives for the attainment of which such a tax holiday has to be needfully offered, has either been too lax or too inefficient to limit its incidence to only needed and specific objectives and for only specified periods of short duration. It was also necessary to determine in each case that the personnel so imported and employed fulfilled certain requisite needs and were not diverted to other less needful uses which could be as well covered by corresponding Indian personnel. For instance, it should have been a declared objective of the Government that such tax holidays would not be allowed to imported personnel except to those who are assigned to specific jobs involving advanced technology of which necessary know-how is ordinarily not available within the country. Instead all and sundry, assigned to whatever jobs they may be, so long as they are imported from abroad, are being allowed this especial concession to enormous losses to the public revenues for which there could never have been any legitimate justification. If a factual survey were to be made of the qualifications, attainments and technological experience of all the foreign personnel employed in Indian enterprises, we have not the least doubt that a very large proportion of these would be found to be mere mechanics or even less—**bilaiti karigars** as they are popularly dubbed—whose places might have been far less expensively and more adequately filled in by Indian personnel. This would seem to be as true of the public sector as of the private and the process would appear to have assumed such proportions already as to indicate as if this country has become the happy dumping ground for most unemployables from other advanced countries. One is reminded of a story in this connection that a top-ranking plenipotentiary of a highly developed country while asked by one of his Indian friends as to since when his country had become so altruistic that she were able to send out her so-called technically qualified personnel to this and other underdeveloped countries while herself importing large numbers of personnel from abroad to run her own industries, was answered, on the condition, of course, that it was considered off the record, by the simple and forthright question as to why his country would not export her "sodden goods" if a remunerative price was offered for them? As regards the limit of 3 years for which such tax holidays would be available to foreign personnel, exemptions and exceptions are so widely and universally being made that most foreign personnel in Indian enterprises are being allowed the privilege in perpetuity and **ad infinitum**. The loss to the public revenues would appear to be overwhelming for most of which there would seem to have been no legitimate need at all.

Relief to Low Incomes

So far as the bottom income levels of income-tax payers are concerned, Mr. Krishnamachari has removed a rather obnoxious measure altogether from the Statute Book. I mean the compulsory savings depo-

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sit which had already been partly amended earlier in so far as it affected those who did not come within the purview of the income tax. Now the income tax payers will also be exempt from it. This is good so far as it goes for the two principal reasons; first that its effect was to attenuate the fundamental rights of the individual citizen guaranteed by the Constitution and was basically repugnant on that account; secondly it was an imposition which, at the bottom levels, had the inevitable effect of further severely attenuating already too low living levels. But his claim that he has given these categories of income-earners some relief would not appear to be borne out by facts. He has integrated all previous surchages into one basic and uniform tax rate subject to the usual allowances. Thus, at the lowest levels the present tax rate sums up all these previous surcharges and additional surcharges inclusive of the compulsory deposit into one single rate the aggregate of which is not less than but actually equal to all these different elements in the deposit. In the former computation the tax payer would, at least stand to receive back the amount he deposited under the savings scheme. In the present case, however, although he has to pay, in the aggregate, quite as much as he had to do last year, he does not get back anything at all. Where, then is the relief to these unfortunate income-earners of which so much is sought to be made by the Finance Minister? The annuity scheme for those who earn Rs. 15,000 per annum and more is, indeed, a good one, but on basic principles it should have been voluntary and not made compulsory.

Private Foreign Capital

It would be unfair if a passing reference was not made in this context to the **super-inducement** offered by the present Finance Minister to private foreign capital for participation in Indian public sector enterprises, if only to comment that he has thus opened the door wide to a new field which may be fraught with a variety of dangers to the future process of development in the country. It is also additionally obnoxious that identical privileges continue to be denied to private Indian capital. This would seem to indicate a shift in the Government's basic economic policies which may be quite far-reaching in their effect.

It would seem, therefore, that the current Budget of the Union Government would be bound to have the eventual result, on the one hand, of further enriching the already rich and thus allowing him to weild progressively more increasing economic power, and at the same time to further impoverish in real terms the already very poor. For, if the effect of the Budget would be bound to prove even harsher than it already was on the bottom levels of those who come within the purview of the income tax, how much harsher it would be bound to prove to that very large and numerically overwhelming class in the country who remain far below the reach of the income tax can easily be visualized. The inevitable effect would be bound to further substantially widen already existing and very wide economic disparities in the country and thus would prove to be a direct repudiaton of the principles enunciated by the ruling party at its last Bhubaneshwar get-together. We had commented in these columns earlier on the Bhubaneshwar resolution that no serious departure from the present economic lay-out in the country could have been genuinely intended, for it is not conceivable that the hand which had been again and again elevating the party into powers of government would be sought to be deliberately bitten by those who have been the beneficiaries of the largesse of big business and the moneyed classes. With another general election looming ahead in course of the next two years, it is only legitimate to expect that the Government would seek to further strengthen the hands of those whose munificence would again be expected to vote it back into power.

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EDUCATION FOR LIBRARIANSHIP

By R. C. BANERJI M.Sc.

In order that a library may meet its heavy responsibilities in modern days, it must have competent staff to manage and service it. The intricate services which a modern library renders can only be handled by persons who are aware of the purposes and potentialities of the library and the modern techniques and tools of achieving them. Without persons on the staff of the library who are thoroughly familiar with all facets of modern librarianship "the building would be dead," observes Ernest H. Wilkins* and "the books moribund : slowly handled, poorly bound, poorly classified, poorly catalogued, poorly shelved, poorly charged, poorly controlled in every way, and often misplaced, or completely unfindable—a scholar's nightmare." The preparation of persons to handle the complicated and complex professional tasks connected with the ordering, cataloging and classification of books and the general direction of a modern library, therefore, assumes great importance.

The need for instituting courses in librarianship, however, came to be recognized only a few decades back. Before that there were no training courses for librarianship and the eager novice used to learn by means of an apprentice system. In those days the libraries contained limited number of books. It was therefore, not essential to have elaborate catalogues or any other reference tools. The circumstances have changed now with the continuous flow of publications. In order to make the materials in libraries manageable and easily accessible for daily use, librarians evolved some methods for efficient acquisition, cataloguing and classification and perfected these methods. They realised that some type of formal training was necessary before one could efficiently handle the responsibilities in a library. They discovered, just like the journalists, that there was a time when doctors and lawyers also did not receive any professional training. "The shop idea is the one that used to prevail in law and medicine. Legal studies began by copying bills of cost for the lawyer, medical training by sweeping a doctor's office. Now it is recognised that better results are obtained by starting with a systematic equipment in a professional school. Now the doctor begins only after he learns the principle—the experience of others. He must then work in a hospital to acquire the art of practically applying his theories" (Joseph Pulitzer—editor and publisher of the New York World).

Librarians realized that the development of professional training enriched and enhanced the standing of the profession itself. This, they found, was true in the case of law and medicine and engineering too. They realized that a librarian, if he is to hit his target, is as much in need of perusing books on librarianship as the lawyer is in the need of reading the principles of jurisprudence. The need for systematic training and testing was thus slowly recognised and, in 1887, the first school for the education of librarians was set up at the Columbia college (now Columbia University) at New York. After that, the number of such schools increased in geometrical progression and today almost every country is having facilities for the professional training of librarians.

Training Facilities in Our Country

In our country the lead in starting classes to train students in the science and art of librarianship was taken by the Punjab University in 1915 i.e., before partition. But this was dislocated due to partition of the country and was later restarted. The Madras Library Association was the next to start a course in 1929. This course was taken over by the University of Madras in 1938. After the Madras Library Association, courses were instituted by the National Library at Calcutta, the Bengal Library Association and the Universities of Andhra, Bombay, Banaras, Calcutta and Delhi.

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Today there are in our country sixteen Universities which offer courses in Library Science. These are the Universities of Aligarh, Andhra, Banaras, Baroda, Bombay Calcutta, Delhi, Karnatak, Kerala, Lucknow, Madras, Nagpur, Osmania, Punjab, Rajasthan and the S.N.D.T. Women's University.

Certificate Course

The certificate course is conducted in the Universities of Aligarh, Andhra, Madras, Osmania and Rajasthan. The minimum qualification laid down for admission to the course is a pass in High School or S.S.L.C. Examination with experience of library work varying from one University to another. In the Aligarh and Rajasthan Universities at least one year's experience is required; in Andhra some experience is required; and in Madras five years' experience is required. In the Universities of Rajasthan and Madras some concession regarding the requirements of experience for admission to the course is given to students who have passed the Higher Secondary or Pre-University examination. Such students are required to possess experience of three years in Library work in the University of Madras and no experience in the case of Rajasthan. The duration of course is three months in the Universities of Rajasthan, Andhra, Madras, and Osmania; and of four months in the other two Universities. There is some uniformity in the curriculum covered by the Universities, and all Universities have the following papers in common :—(1) Classification and Cataloguing (Theory and Practical); (2) Library Organisation and administration. In the University of Rajasthan there is also a paper on Bibliography, Book selection and Reference Services and another on School library science. The total number of students enrolled is seventy in Aligarh; twenty in Andhra; twentyone in Madras; twentyeight in Osmania; and twentysix in Rajasthan.

Diploma Course

The Diploma course is conducted in the Universities of Andhra, Banaras, Baroda, Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, Karnatak, Nagpur, Osmania, Punjab and in the S.N.D.T. Women's University. The minimum academic qualification prescribed for admission to the course is a Bachelor's Degree. The duration of the course is of one year in all the Universities although there is a great divergence in the total number of hours devoted for lectures, tutorials, practical classes etc., per week. The papers in which the students are examined varies from one University to another but the following compulsory papers are in common: Library administration and organisation; classification (Theory and Practical); cataloguing (Theory and Practical); and Reference service. In addition to these there is a separate paper on Bibliography in all Universities except Bombay. There is a separate paper on Book selection in six Universities, namely Baroda, Calcutta, Delhi, Nagpur, Osmania and Punjab; a paper in general knowledge in the Universities of Bombay, Calcutta, Karnatak and in the S.N.D.T. University. There is a paper in History of Libraries and Library movement in the Universities of Bombay, Karnatak and S.N.D.T. In the University of Bombay, cultural history of India forms a paper while in the University of Calcutta students have to cover a paper on one of the following four languages—French, German, Hindi, and Russian. In the University of Punjab, Sessional note book and Project Report form the two separate papers. Students have to appear viva-voce in the University of Karnatak and Nagpur. There is no provision for optional papers in any University excepting the Banaras Hindu University which proffers an option to students to choose one of the following three papers on Library Organisation—University college and special Libraries; Public Libraries; and School and Children's Library. The number of students on rolls in the diploma course is 10 in Andhra; 39 in Banaras; 8 Baroda; 34 in Bombay; 88 in Calcutta; 64 in Delhi; 10 in Karnatak; 32 in Nagpur and Osmania; 43 in Punjab and 21 in the S.N.D.T. Women's University.

Degree Course

The Degree course is conducted in the Universities of Aligarh, Kerala, Madras and

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Rajasthan. The minimum qualification laid down for admission to the course is Bachelor's Degree. Some experience as an apprentice, under a qualified librarian, is required in the universities of Madras, and Rajasthan. In the Aligarh University preference is given to holders of certificates in library science and in Kerala to candidates deputed by Libraries. The duration of the course is of one year. There is more or less uniformity in the courses of study in different universities. Thel following papers are common :— Classification (Theory and Practical) Cataloguing (Theory and Practical); Library Organisation and administration; book selection and physical bibliography; and document bibliography and reference service. The number of students enrolled in the degree course is 39 in Aligarh ; 24 in Kerala ; 13 in Madras ; and 31 in Rajasthan.

Master's Degree Course

The Master's degree course in library science is conducted only in the university of Delhi. The minimum qualification laid down for admission to the course is a Postgraduate diploma in library science of any university recognised as equivelent to the Delhi course. To be eligible for admission students must have secured at least 50% of the marks in Diploma course and must have passed an admission test in library classification and catalogue. The duration of the course is of one year. The curriculum consists of a universe of knowledge ; Advanced library classification (Theory and practical); Advanced Library Catalogue (theory and Practical); Advanced Library organization and literature survey. In addition to this students have to choose one out of the following optionals :—Academic libraries ; special libraries and Archival libraries.

Research

The University of Delhi offers facilities for research work in Library Science, leading to Ph.D. degree. The minimum academic qualification required for admission to the course is Master's degree in Library Science. There is, however, no student enrolled for research work.

In the Lucknow University students can offer a paper on Library Science in the Bachelor's degree course. Besides this some Library Associations also conduct courses in Librarianship. The total annual output of trained persons, however falls short of the actual requirements. There is, therefore, a great need for expansion of the facilities for training. This expansion is all the more necessary for another reason also.

We are conducting in our country a stupendous experiment in democracy, never attempted before in any part of the world towards which all the eyes are fixed. Democracy attaches the greatest value to public opinion and the ultimate success of democracy hinges on the effective and intelligent participation of the masses in the affairs of the state. Unfortunately, the vast millions of our countrymen are still illiterate and grouping in ignorance although they are not unintelligent. It is, therefore, difficult for them to form and exert opinion about the grave issues facing the country intelligently. In order that they may be sincere and active in thought and action to influence the policies and decisions of the country intelligently, it is imperative that we spread knowledge and enlightment among the unenlightened people. In this uphill task of spreading knowledge the Library can play a salutary and beneficient part. It can exert a constructive influence by the recognition and encouragement of ideas and aspirations, plans and proposals which may lead towards the betterment of the country. The libraries in our country are already taking some interest in this direction, but the success of their attempt will depend mostly on the availability of qualified Librarians who can guide the people intelligently. To meet the needs of the times, we must provide more facilities for rearing up an army of qualified and competent craftsmen to discharge successfully the heavy responsibilities of the Librarian.

The Universities in the country have realized this need and are opening their portals, one after another, to eager aspirants to this noble profession.

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*Ernest Hatch Wilkins in his paper entitled "The University Library and Scholarship" presented in the conference on "The Place of the Library in University Library, Cambridge, 1950.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

Reviews and notices of books in Gujrati :

Authors and publishers of Gujrati books, desirous of having them noticed or reviewed in *The Modern Review*, should send them direct to, Shri Rangildas Kapadia : Gandevi, Dist. Surat, instead of sending them to the Editor, *The Modern Review*.

STUDIES IN BENGALI POETRY, by Humayun Kabir. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay. August, 1962. Price Rs. 2/-.

Professor Humayun Kabir's views on Bengali Poetry have been well-known, and the basis of the volume before us is more than 25 years old. He has in a very compact manner presented the whole range of Bengali Poetry from early times to our contemporary poets. An able writer, himself a poet and lover of poetry, the author of many major publications, his 'studies' will be read with interest. His judgment on contemporary Bengali Poetry will be accepted by many, and his eulogy of Tagore will be read with sympathy ano appreciation.

But there are many places in this brief study where the reviewer has to demur to the author's prejudices against Bankimchandra ; he refers again and again to Bankim's surrender to European influences (p. 76), blind admiration for British rule (p. 75), and says again ; 'For Chatterji and his contemporaries, the British were chosen instruments of Destiny and hence they never suspected the British of distorting history.' (p. 72). It is not necessary to multiply instances where prof. Kabir's pronouncements will find no support in the writings of Bankimchandra, and will be unacceptable to any competent critical judgment.

The comparative study of Hindu and Moslem middle classes to poetry (Bengali) and nationalism or national movement also is fruitless now, or fruitful not of good. A historical explanation (a plausible one) might be found in Mcnut's **The Rise of the West** (pp. 776 ff), a University of Chicago Press publication.

SUFIS, MYSTICS AND YOGIS OF INDIA by Bankey Behari. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay. August 1962. Price Rs. 2/-.

This is the 100th publication of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan—Institute of Indian Culture—the well-known Book University which has for its general editors K. M. Munshi and R. R. Diwakar. The writer of this particular volume is a remarkable **sadhak**, not a mere scholar, who has drifted from law to mysticism. He has been an inmate of Brindaban since 1940 and the volume shows the path pursued by saints who realised God in life. The compositions of Farid, Sarmad, Bullah Shah and Nazir—Sufi saints—are given in their English version with a brief account of their lives. They are followed by the Yogis and Shabdamargis —the great Shankaracharyya, Nanak, Kabir and the saints of Maharashtra.

The book makes accessible to the reader the rich heritage of mediaeval India in point of spiritual achievement, and it is an opportunity to have close at hand so much information which should not be missed. The original versions of the sayings and songs of the great saints, given in sections at the end will be highly appreciated. The Vidya Bhavan has rendered great service to the cause of education by this publication.

P. R. Sen.

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STUDIES IN COMPARATIVE GOVERNMENTS—Demy 8 Vo. Pp. 240, Price Rs. 5.25 nP. STUDIES IN ANCIENT POLITICAL THOUGHT —Demy 8 Vo. Pp. 140, Price Rs. 5.50 nP. Both compiled by Prof. B. R. Sen Gupta, Head of the Department of Economics and Politics, D. M. College, Imphal (Manipur), and both published by the Students' Stores, Imphal.

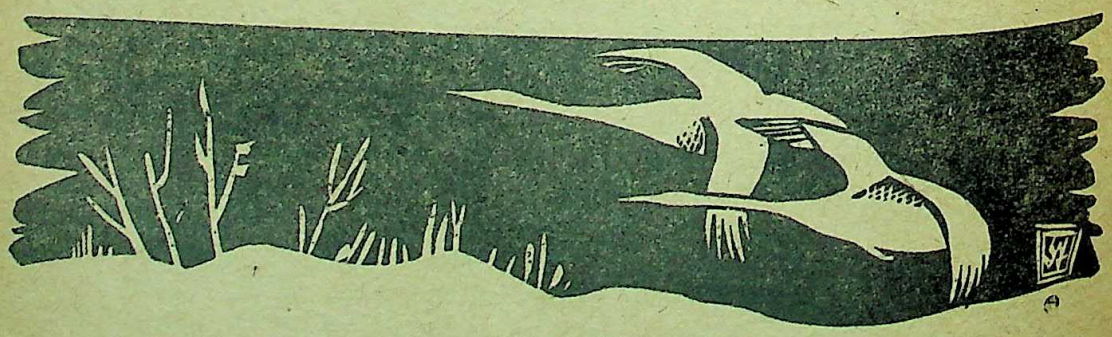
The first of these books undr review is a study of the Governments of Bfitain, U.S.A., U.S.S.R. and India with an appendix on the Government of Japan. It is mainly designed to meet the requirements of students of the three-year Degree course of the Gauhati University particularly, although it should equally cover the needs of students at other standard universities in India pursuing an identical course of studies.

The book is divided into four parts covering the systems of government of each of the countries under study. Thus Part I deals with the Government in Britain, Part II with the U.S.A., Part III with the U.S.S.R., Part IV with the government of Switzerland and the last part with the Government of India. In the Appendix is appended a short summary of the principal contours of the system of Government in Japan.

Mainly a compilation from a number of authoritative sources, the layout of the book, as already observed, is principally designed to give, in a composite compendium all that a student of this class needs to know about these Governments for his university examination. The language of the book is simple and direct and the presentation of the subject matter both lucid and comprehensible. Ordinarily this might have been regarded as only one other of those numerous books for purposes of cramming for examinations which usually does such a lot of harm by cramping the imaginative functions of the students' minds and by correspondingly robbing him of that measure of self-reliance which a proper and critical study of a subject alone could yield to a student. Fortunately, the book under review is not anything like these books for cramming and its presentations are so designed as not to kill but rather to stimulate independent thinking, criticism and evaluation. At the same time the book brings to the student a lot of useful material within a short span to gather which he would otherwise have to wade through a variety of books and compendiums.

The second of these books is likewise designed to fulfil an identical purpose. In a sense however, this is a much more valuable compilation, since it covers within its very few pages and in very lucid and easily comprehensible language the whole range of the history of political thought beginning from Ancient Greece down to the present times. Indeed, for a proper comprehension of the trends of evolution of political thought in the modern world, one has inevitably to plough back to the days of the heathen Greeks who, as the author himslf states in his preface to the First Edition, "broke new ground for fruitful research" and, indeed, "almost laboratory experiments in political science." Even the most modern political thinker and the philosophy he has been enunciating, would be found to derive the first principles upon which their thinking and conclusions are founded, to the ancient Greeks. Designed mainly to cover the immediate needs of unversity examinees, the book under review would, I have no doubt, be found both interesting and rewarding to even a maturer reader who is genuinely interested in the history of the evolution of political thought in the modern world.

- Karuna K. Nandi



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Indian Periodicals

MAY THE GOVERNMENT BECOME WISER!

Writing Editorially under the above caption, what the **Commerce** has to say on defence and development should keenly interest our readers.

Prime Minister Nehru said in the Lok Sabha on Monday this week: "Nobody can defend us; not the greatest power in the world can defend our borders except ourselves." He conceded that, to a certain extent, help from outside was necessary and that it was being obtained, but he reiterated that, ultimately, India's borders had to be defended by Indians themselves. He also said that a peaceful settlement of conflicts with Pakistan and China "would be desirable, but such settlements must be in keeping with the honour and integrity of India." Broadly speaking, these are sensible statements, the realism underlining them being borne out by the history of this generation that has seen two devastating World Wars. But, if this country is to be self-reliant in defence, it must be strong both militarily and economically. Again, if this country is to negotiate with China and Pakistan for settling the disputes (which are not its creations) peacefully and honourably, it can do so only from a position of strength. This is also the lesson brought out by the post-war history. So military and economic strength are imperative and the primary task of our leaders, especially of those who are in power, is to ensure that this goal is reached as quickly as possible, without wasting time and energy on useless ideological pursuits. Development and defence go together. Without a strong agricultural and a diversified industrial structure, it is not possible to develop a military force that can serve the objective of self-defence against aggression.

This is an elementary proposition. Yet it has to be reiterated, because it is not remembered by several of our politicians when they examine or explain the economic policies of our Governments, Central and States alike. Nor is adequate regard for it had by the Ministers when they frame their policies and programmes. India needs many modern industries and economic services, but its resources—financial and non-financial—are inadequate. Both the public sector and private sector have to co-operate, one supplementing the other. There is a limit to which the external resources that are required can be found through inter-Government loans. It is, therefore, essential to attract foreign private capital, especially for fields where know-how, technical personnel and plant and machinery have to be imported. The admission of such foreign capital will have to be on realistic lines. Its participation need not be confined only to the private sector but could cover the public sector as well.

In the past one year, the momentum of economic growth has slowed down. There has been virtual stagnation in the creation of new industrial capacity, **vide** Mr. G. D. Birla's speech published on pages 668-69 and commented upon on page 639 of this issue. This state of affairs is not conducive to the preservation of India's political independence and to the peaceful solution of its troubles with Pakistan and China. A wrong set of fiscal policies adopted in the last Budget of Mr. Morarji Desai has been largely responsible for this damage. His successor, Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, has only made things worse. He, of course, claims to have improved the fiscal climate, but he is only deluding himself. The few concessions given by him are more than offset by the fresh imposts. He has doubtless tried to make India more attractive to foreign private investors by giving them a few additional benefits, but, in its totality, the Budget has not improved the position to any significant extent. In some cases, it has been made more adverse. The Esso Refinery Company, for instance, admitted

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form of cumulative preference shares, in addition to issuing debentures. It is, therefore, an Indian company, with a minority share for Indian investors, and comes within the mischief of Section 104 (old Section 23A) of the Income-tax Act. It has to suffer a higher incidence of taxation under T. T. K.'s proposals than the Burmah-Shell Refinery Company, a subsidiary wholly owned by a public limited company in Britain. This company, which has taken rupee capital only in the form of debentures and not in the form of shares, preference or otherwise, has actually had some relief. There may be many instances of such anomaly. Moreover, it is unrealistic to think that a fiscal policy which is slightly more attractive to foreigners but quite harsh on domestic investors will yield satisfactory results, for enough indigenous capital will not be forthcoming to go in partnership with foreign capital. This criticism will no doubt be not wholly valid, if the Government's intention is to encourage participation of foreign private capital in India's economic development only through partnership with public sector corporations and or wholly-owned subsidiaries. But that surely is not its intention; in fact, the emphasis in its policy has all along been on minority participation by foreign capital.

In fine, a substantial reorientation of the fiscal policy in favour of investors is urgently called for, in order to stimulate industrial growth to attain a pace that will serve the twofold purpose of Defence and Development. This is one of the prerequisites for the successful outcome of public relations efforts that have been undertaken for infusing confidence among foreign investors and for attracting them on a large-scale. In making this remark it is not our intention to minimise the importance of good public relations work of the type that is being carried on by the Investment Centre and by some of the foreign bodies themselves, as, for instance, the U.S. Commerce Department and the Federation of British Industries in the U.K. Only, it is sheer commonsense to say that these efforts will yield impressive results, if they are backed by tangible and sustained incentives. The fact that the results achieved so far in this direction have fallen far below expectations clearly substantiates our statement. Fortunately for us, there is a definite move in the Western countries to encourage the flow of private capital to developing countries through special tax concessions. The U.S. Administration, for instance, has on the anvil a legislation for giving a large tax credit to American businessmen who invest in developing nations. The tax credit would reduce a businessman's Federal income-tax by 30 per cent of the amount he invests in them. A similar facility is being offered by West Germany too. It is only a question of time before the other countries follow suit. It would be a pity if this move were to be neutralised by the developing countries through imposition of excessive taxation on individuals and corporations as is being done in this country.

One may regard these observations on the fiscal policy of the Government of India as rather inopportune because of the arrival this week of a delegation of 40 leading U.S. businessmen for discussions on foreign investment opportunities in India. The businessmen are the guests of India, having arrived at the invitation issued by the Government through the Investment Centre. It is customary on an occasion like this to play up the favourable features of India and play down the unfavourable ones. It is equally customary for both the guests and hosts to be soft, polite, courteous and pleasant. All this is undoubtedly necessary, but, if anyone thinks, that these businessmen, some of whom have been in India before and know the country very well, will be carried away by the diplomatic policy of being nice and sweet, one will be seriously underestimating their competence. It is not suggested that the authorities in New Delhi, Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari and Mr. C. Subramaniam in particular, are guilty of this underestimation. They must have been aware that their guests would make the most detailed enquiries. If they still invited the Americans to come to the country and see for themselves, it must have been because of their confidence that they could convince them that, as against

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the high rates of taxation, there are many valuable advantages, such as political stability, large size of the market, protection against competition from imports, good profitability, freedom to repatriate capital and profit, and keen desire to have foreign capital and to treat it well. There is no doubt that these advantages are there and that they compare favourably with other countries in need of foreign private capital. Even Mr. A. D. Ogilvie, President of the Associated Chambers of Commerce and Industry, a body representing the great bulk of foreign capital already invested in this country, has clearly conceded this point at the meeting with the American businessmen on Wednesday this week. It must also be said to the credit of the Government of India, in general, and Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari and Mr. C. Subramaniam, in particular, that procedural matters pertaining to obtaining of licences, sanctions, consents, etc., have been greatly simplified and streamlined, though there is still a lot of red-tape. But how much more favourable will the climate for foreign capital be if the fiscal policies happen to be less onerous, with their expropriatory features substantially trimmed! That really is the crux of the issue. It is to be hoped that the visit of the U.S. delegation will make the authorities in New Delhi a little wiser.

If the invitation extended to Aemerican businessmen to visit this country for talks and consultations reflects the Government's awareness of the value of foreign capital, the promptness with which it was accepted and acted upon by the invitees is an indication of their wilingness to participate in this country's economic progress to the mutual benefit of both sides. The leader of the delegation, Mr. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr. U.S. Under-Secretary of Commerce, aptly remarked when he said: "We have come at your invitation with seeds of additional economic growth which are yours to plant and cultivate. We hope only that the ground be prepared, that favourable weather conditions and climate be maintained, and that opportunity for growth be reasonably assured." A lot, therefore, depends on our Government and businessmen. They have to permit foreign capital to play its part in areas where it can be most useful, as, for instance, oil, petrochemical, drugs, fertilisers, heavy machinery, machine tools, shipping and shipbuilding, aircraft, electronics, special steels, aluminium and copper, to mention only some. Rapid progress in all these industries, it is needless to add, is absolutely essential, if India is to attain the status of a modern industrial power and have the sinews of defence.

Not all these industries can be established in the private sector, for it is not big enough for this purpose. Nor is it politically feasible, even if desirable, to allow most of them to be established with one hundred per cent foreign capital. There will, therefore, have to be collaboration between the public sector and foreign private capital, besides the usual partnership between domestic and foreign private capital. The Government must be prepared to carry the public and Parliament with it by persuasion on this point. The spokesmen of American private capital now in this country will also have to change their attitude in this respect and persuade their colleagues at home, too, to do likewise. In saying this, we are only echoing what Mr. Roosevelt said: "We come not to tell you that our system is the best system ,that to succeed you must copy our system; for we believe that each nation must conceive and evolve that system which is best adapted to its resources, its peoples, and its philosophy; that system which can best solve its own problems and assure its own future." This is a very realistic sentiment which it is to be hoped is fully shared by all the members of the U.S. delegation.

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Foreign Periodicals

A Macro-Micro Man

This is the story about the valuable work of the little known atomic researcher, Prof. Herbert Anderson which is packed with human interest.

The first time the "cat burglar" broke into Professor Herbert Anderson's home in Hyde Park, near the University of Chicago campus, he took a pocketbook in which the professor's wife, Jean, had put her house key. On the next visit, the "cat used the key from the pocketbook to open the front door, and left the house with a suit of the professor's clothes. The third time the "cat" called he called at night, wearing the jacket of the professor's suit and using the house key so deftly that he reached the hall leading to the professor's bedroom door before being noticed. At that point Mrs. Anderson heard a noise, looked into the hall and saw someone who was obviously not her sleeping husband. She jumped out of bed, ran into the hall, took the burglar by surprise, and chased him down the stairs. As he headed for the front door and freedom, she grabbed the tail of her husband's stolen jacket and pulled. The jacket tightened on its wearer, pinning the "cat's" arms in the sleeves and throwing him. Mrs. Anderson heaved herself on top of his prostrate body and sat there.

The commotion wakened Professor Anderson, who hurried downstairs and joined his wife on top of the struggling burglar. Richard Lundy, a physics student living with the Andersons at the time, came out of his room and made it three on the "cat". The Andersons' daughter Faith telephoned the police while her three siblings—Clifton, Kelley and Dana—applauded the performance from gallery seats at the top of the stairs.

When the police removed a knife from one of the "cat's" pockets, Mrs. Anderson said she was scared. And she may have been. Nevertheless, when three young hoodlums in the neighbourhood some time later attacked her in an attempt to steal her pocketbook, she fought them off.

Still later, after a bicycle belonging to one of the Anderson children had been appropriated by another youngster known to the family, Professor Anderson and his wife went alone into a slum for a friendly discussion of the incident with the culprit's parents.

If asked, Professor Anderson will confirm these episodes but will not moralize about them. He has chosen to live near the campus of the school with which he is associated, and to participate actively in the great racial harmony experiment being conducted there. He must accept the consequences, the dangers along with the satisfactions. He knows that the crime rate in Hyde Park is still too high, but remembers how much higher it was before the Hyde Park urban renewal project began under University of Chicago leadership. He recognizes that slum conditions everywhere demand a degree of basic research in the social sciences far beyond anything yet tried.

The accelerating urban crisis is more excruciating to him than it is to many men because the professor's position of authority and responsibility at the Enrico Fermi Institute for Nuclear Studies immerses him in the continuing struggle for research funds derived from public tax monies. The competition between one scientific discipline and another is fierce, and growing fiercer by the day. In his own field of study, atom smashers are necessary to explore the mysteries of the atomic nucleus. Building and maintenance of these enormous instruments costs billions of dollars. But defense of democracy may depend on the knowledge of nature uncovered by these incredibly expensive tools. At what point should spending for democracy's survival stop in

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order to permit more spending for nourishment of democracy in practice?

Professor Anderson has risked his life in both directions. By continuing to reside where he does, he holds his physical comfort always in some jeopardy. His search for understanding of the atom likewise has been hazardous. For years he has turned back the ravages of beryllium poisoning through treatment with cortisone at Billings Memorial Hospital on the University campus. He makes a joke of the fact that he consumes more cortisone than any other man alive.

Professor Anderson is a genuinely historical figure. Without him, the dawn of the atom age might have occurred at a later time and at a different place on the horizon. He was one of the first Americans to hear the news of the fissioning of uranium (by word of mouth from Niels Bohr, who had heard it from Germany). Enrico Fermi had just arrived at Columbia University in New York City, an exile from Mussolini's fascism in Italy. As an "enemy alien," Fermi had no access to facilities with which he might apply his theoretical knowledge of the German discovery. Although only an unknown graduate student from the Bronx, Anderson did have a facility of precisely the type that would be most useful to Fermi. This was the cyclotron Anderson had built for Columbia physics Professor John Dunning. Anderson suggested to Fermi that Fermi's brain and Anderson's hands together might make a valuable contribution to nuclear science, and Fermi gladly accepted.

Taking an instrument of Anderson's design, and hitching it onto the cyclotron, Fermi not only confirmed the fission achieved by Otto Hahn and Fritz Strassman in Berlin but demonstrate that freed neutrons might enable a chain process of producing nuclear power.

When the time came to build the first atomic furnace, Fermi wanted to make the attempt in New York. A National Academy of Sciences committee headed by Dr. Arthur Compton decided that whoever built the furnace would do so in Chicago. Being young and eager to see the world, Anderson came to Chicago and encouraged Fermi to come, too. Toward the close of 1942 the trip paid off.

"For me the eventful day began at midnight December 1," Anderson wrote later, "I was the straw boss of the building of the pile (of interlaced uranium and graphite). My job was to build the pile layer by layer and see to it that the graphite and uranium were put on in their proper places. . . . . On this day our measurement showed that the pile would reach criticality (be ready to work) at the fifty-sixth layer . . . . job would be done. I could send the crew One more layer, the fifty-seventh, and the home and survey our completed handiwork."

It is curious that this man who did so much to facilitate the exercise of Fermi's genuis has never been given material recognition by the Atomic Energy Commission. A payment of $20,000 (what a piddling sum alongside the spectacular present day atomic power investment!) has been requested but never awarded.

If Professor Anderson were less modest than he is, it might be easier to appraise the long-term significance of an experiment in which he is now engaged—for the execution of which he recently resigned the directorship of the Fermi Institude. My own layman's guess is that it will speed up atom-smashing research of all kinds and perhaps lay the foundation for more rapid development of simplified nuclear theory.

At the time when Fermi and Anderson worked together, the result of any given experiment always was known by nightfall of the day the experiment took place. Fermi simply didn't go home until he knew the answer. It was therefore easy to plan the next day's experiments on the basis of that day's results.

Since then, however, the nucleus of the atom has become progressively more difficult to understand. Almost a hundred different particles have been indentified in it, tentatively grouped in octets. The natures and energies of these fragments make them difficult to trace. To permit them to be trailed accurately, they are shot through chamber filled with bubbles. The tracks left in the bubbles are photographed. Thousands of photographs are taken. Their

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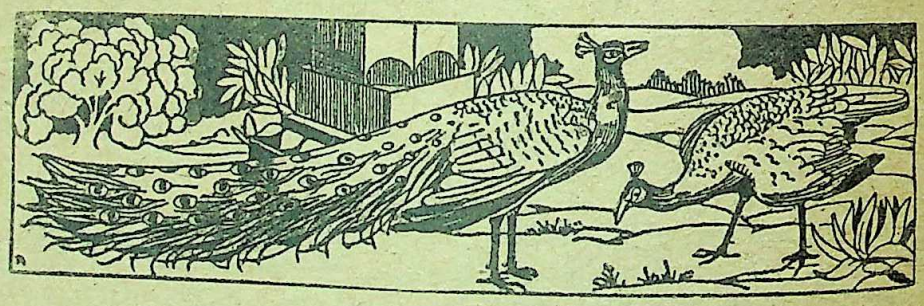
analysis may occupy a year or more before the result of an experiment can be known. Until that result is known, related experiments must be haphazard.

To speed the process of identifying the nuclear particles, a new detector called a spark chamber has been invented. In this device the passing fragments leave a trail of sparks which can be timed very accurately. This means that only certain fragments may be watched for, while others are ignored. The experiment time is thus reduced. Professor Anderson proposes to reduce it even further by training TV cameras on the spark chamber. The distances of the sparks from the edges of the TV screen are measured electronically, the measurements are read directly into a high speed computer, and the computer gives the result of the experiment within the hour.

Being dedicated to her husband's happiness, Mrs. Anderson—a former airline hostess who met her handsome spouse at a tea party at Fermi's house in Chicago—undoubtedly knows all about this enormous ZGS instrument at Argonne National Laboratory of the Atomic Energy Commission. She might be forgiven a request for a TV detector that would watch for stray "cats" around the house.



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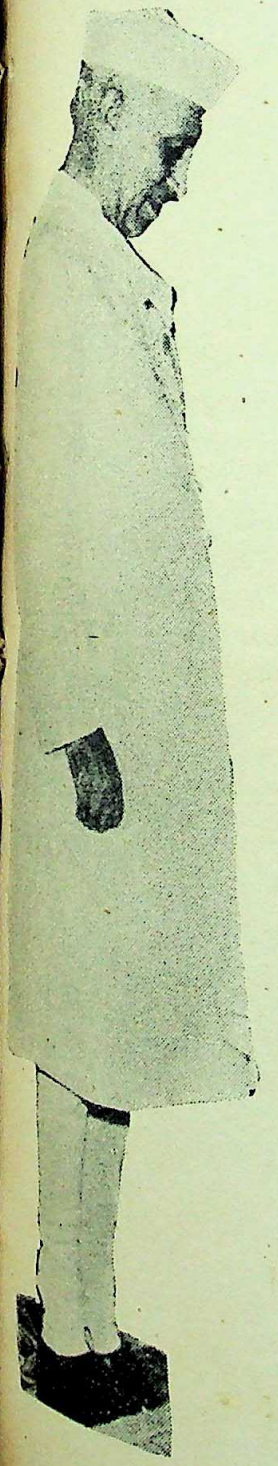

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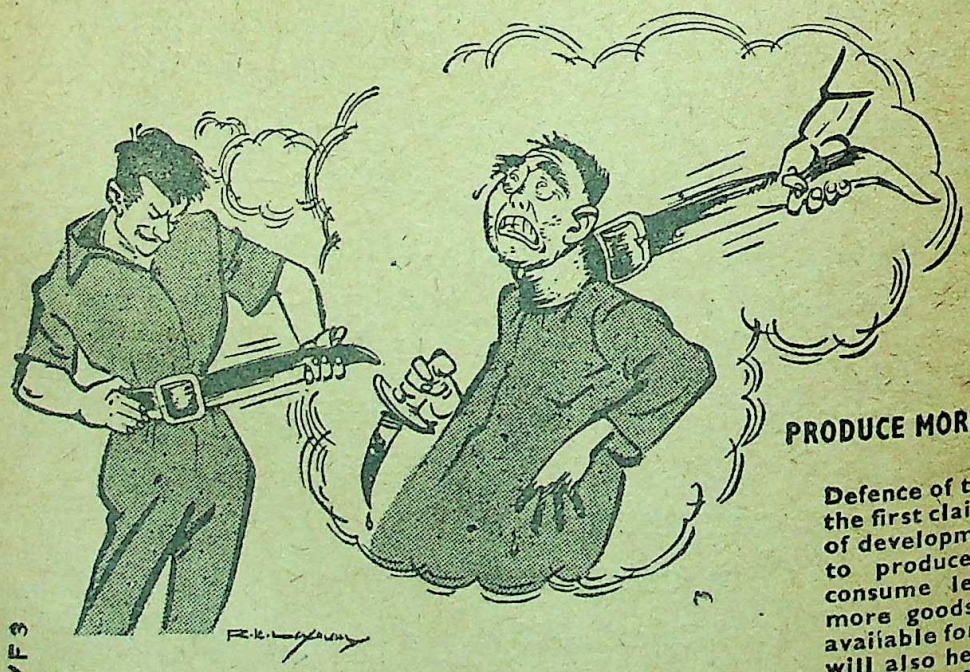
Freedom is in peril, defend it with all your might

—*Jawaharlal Nehru*



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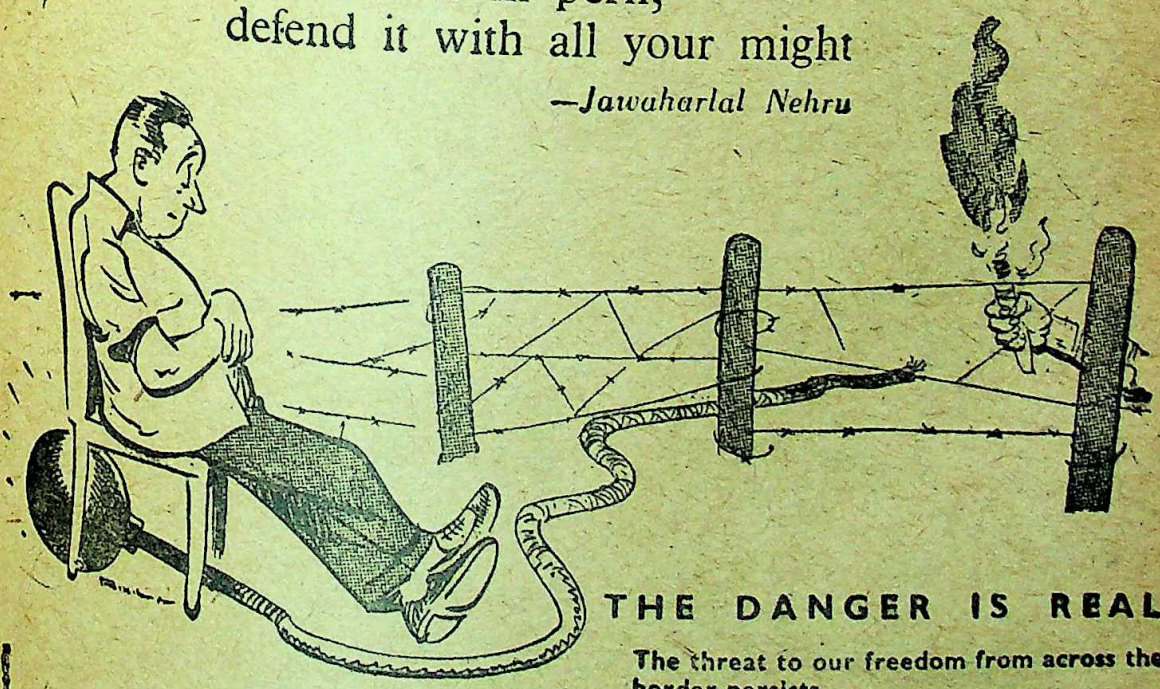

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THE MODERN REVIEW

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NOTES

Jawaharlal Nehru

India's Man of Destiny has crossed over into eternity. The peoples of the Indian Union, who were all so dearly beloved by him, regardless of caste, creed or of religious and social boundaries, are plunged into grief. The shock is all the more poignant because he seemed to be so well set on the path of recovery from the sudden attack of illness that he had suffered in January last, that he himself had smilingly remarked, in his last gress Conference of May 22, "My life is not going to end so very soon." The Nation had rejoiced at this message for it marked the recovery in body and spirit of the man in whom the common citizen of India reposed the maximum of faith, trust and regard.

Few persons in our history, or in the history of any nation, have been so close to the hearts of so many of their peoples, as was Jawaharlal Nehru, and few indeed have commanded so much respect and regard, in the hearts and minds of so many of their own, in the annals of history. Indeed in the recent history of our own peoples only the Father of the Nation can be named and placed above and before Jawaharlal, and Jawaharlal was chosen by him to lead his people at the advent of freedom.

In one of his first public speeches after freedom had been attained, Pandit Nehru spoke of the wager that he, together with the rest of the devoted and dedicated band under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, had laid with Fate regarding th edestiny of his Nation. In the stakes that were pledged by him were all that he had and all that he held near dear, and on the other side was Freedom—Freedom with honour. The wager was won but a terrible price had to be paid later in the terms of partition accompanied by riots, bloodshed, rape, arson and loot, together with the migration of millions of uprooted and evicted humanity that had suffered untold agonies.

Through all the storms and stresses that followed the partition of India, and through the intense tensions and strains of the first few years of the resurgence of Indian nationhood he staunchly steered the Union and its peoples towards the goal of progress, peace and attainment of self-sufficiency. The path towards fulfilment has been beset with trials and seemingly insurmomotable difficulties, all along the sixteen years of the premiership of Jawaharlal Nehru. But the country and nation has been able to maintain its progress despite all that without surrendering part of its freedoms and honour, mainly because of his steadfastness regarding his ideals.

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It is not possible at such a short internal offer the sudden and appalling shock—so totally unexpected—that the news of the demise of our beloved leader has delivered, to set forth the qualities and the achievements of this titan amongst the statesmen of the world, in any coherent order or in any comprensive detail. The publication of this particular issue of this journal has been delayed through circumstances beyond the control of its staff or direction and we are called upon to place on record the doleful news and pay our homage on almost the last hour prior to printing these columns.

Since the day in 1947 when he was sworn in as the Prime Minister of the Indian Union by Lord Mountbatten until the fateful day of his passing, Jawaharlal Nehru remained firmly placed as the Chief Executive of the Union, not merely by virtue of his leadership of the majority party in the political field of India, but far more justifiably because "This was a man who, with all his mind and heart, loved India and the Indian people. And they, in turn, were indulgent to him and gave of their love most abundantly and extravagantly," as he himself wrote while in a pensive mood he composed an epitaph for his own self. We, who have been trained to observe the passing moods and phases of our own people through forty years of experience as a journalist, were astounded when our young sweeper boy—who seemed shocked almost to the point of tears when he heard the news—said "now who is left to look after us? He was the only one who had all of us in his thoughts!" (Hum sabi logoki khayal). This was singularly true of the man we mourn, after the passing of Gandhiji, he was the only great leader in India who kept all the sections of all the peoples, all over India, constantly in mind. He represented India and the Indian Nation more comprehensively than any other Indian after the Father of the Nation had gone. The following passage from our President's broadcast to the Nation, on May 27, are true to the last letter of every word :

"His courage, wisdom and personality has held this country together. It is these qualities which should be cherished, if we are to hold on. Our thoughts today go out to him as a great emancipator of the human race, one who has given all his life and energy to the freeing of men's minds from political bondage, economic slavery, social oppression and cultural stagnation."

The World

At the time of writing these, actual shooting warfare was going on in three small areas; the first and the most controversial one was at the Southern tip of the Arabian peninsula, where it touches the mouth of the Red Sea. Here the British were shooting and bombarding, by rocket throwing hunter planes and by heavy artillery, the strongholds and hideouts of the Arab tribesmen who are out to demolish the British sponsored South Arabian Federation, composed of a dozen or more tiny Sultanates, Emirates and Sheikhdoms, which run along the lower rim of the Arabian peninsula. The tribesmen call themselves the Red Wolves of Radfan and can muster about a thousand men, who have been harassing the key trade routes between Dhala and Aden. They are getting support from the Yemen as well and are able to utilize their capacity for hit and run raids to the full, because of dual base lines along the Radfan hills and the Yemeni border areas. They are further amply supplied with arms and ammunition by the Yemeni forces, which include 40,000 Egyptian troops.

The British have staged a minor punitive war, with air and artillery aiding the troops they have rushed in, in support of the Federation's British-officered army totalling 4,000 men. The Arab members of the U.N. have got together about 12 countries who have petitioned the Security Council to intervene.

The two other areas where actual fighting—sporadic in nature—is flaring up frequ-

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ently are Laos and South Viet-Nam. In Laos the situation seemed peaceful after a temporary interlude when the Rightists staged a **coup d'etat,** thereby deposing the neutralist Premier Souvanna Phouma, which misfired in its turn. Talks were proceeding a short while ago between the neutralist Premier, the pro-Communist Pathet-Lao Chief, Prince Souphanouvong, and General Phoumi Nosavan, head of the Royalist right-wing forces. Then suddenly the talks broke down and the Pathet-Lao, which seems to possess the only fighting troops ready for combat, started their warlike operations and, at the time of writing, the neutralist positions in the Plain of Jars is exceedingly precarious. The neutralist Premier has asked the Commission appointed at the Geneva talks, to intervene. The Commission consists of India, Poland and Canada. The situation is unstable there, to say the least.

The American leadership, which has assumed responsibility to a very great extent in South-Vietnam and to a lesser extent in Laos, is under serious challenge in that section of the Far East. Indeed, some of the sensation-mongering news weeklies started talking about Dienbienphu, where the French made their last stand against the liberation forces of Indo-China in their losing war of about a decade back. Indeed the tenth anniversary of the savage battle that lost France her century-old Indo-Chinese empire, was celebrated in many cities of the Asian Communist countries.

The French themselves expressed their doubts about the outcome of the war against Communism in those areas in no uncertain terms during the SEATO Ministerial Council deliberations at Manila that took place about the middle of April last. The international edition of **New York Times** of April 19, contained the following editorial comments:

"The military situation in Vietnam reverberated in the deliberations of the Ministerial Council of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization in Manila last week. Foreign Minister Maurice Couve de Murville expressed new French doubts that the Khanh Government was capable of defeating the Vietcong.

The French view was reflected also in its refusal to join the other SEATO members last week in a declaration of support for the South Vietnamese military effort against the Vietcong. President de Gaulle has proposed "neutralization" of Vietnam as a solution to the conflict there. The U.S. view, in so far as it is able to fathom what General de Gaulle has in mind, is that neutralization might only prove a transitional stage to full Communist takeover.

The difficulties of the neutralization approach were underscored last week by developments in Vietnam's theoretically neutralized neighbor—Laos. A conference of the three leaders—rightist, leftist, and neutralist—of Laos' coalition Government broke up in disagreement over measures for ending continuing strife in the country. The neutralist Premier, Prince Souvanna Phouma, said he would ask King Savang Vathana to relieve him as Premier—a step that could mean collapse of the coalition if the King acceded to the request.

At the weekend, Secretary of State Dean Rusk was in Saigon, following his participation in the SEATO meeting. He strongly reaffirmed support for the Khanh regime. The U. S. was said to be concerned about the possibility of a coup against General Khanh by some dissident military elements."

The sombre tones underlying, the above comments were further reflected in the following editorial comments in its April 26 issue:

"Ten years ago, Indochina was, to most Americans, a remote, little known land where the French were coming to the end of a cruel, losing war. Today, it is the arena of an increasingly complex struggle that has already taken a toll of American lives and treasure and is posing a test of American leadership of the forces of anti-Communism in the Far East.

Last week, the complexity of the struggle was reflected in events in two of the states involved, Laos and South Vietnam.

In Laos, a neutralist regime—a frail buffer in the East-West conflict—was swept aside by a rightist military revolt.

In South Vietnam, the pro-Communist guerrillas were intensifying their attacks,

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placing the U.S. under pressure to devise new responses.

The immediate crisis was in Laos. It grew out of the collapse, only the week before, of talks."

Although the areas where active conflicts were in progress were limited to the above-mentioned three places, this did not indicate that there was a general relaxation in World tensions where either covert hostilities or open declarations of animosities were concerned. The only indications of a somewhat less tense conditions in the East-West cold war were detailed by the **New York Times** as follows, in the aftermath of the showdown in Cuba over missiles :

"(1) The two countries, joined by Britain, signed a treaty agreement to stop above-ground tests of nuclear weapons.

(2) The three nations agreed not to orbit nuclear weapons in outer space.

(3) A "hot line" was installed between the White House and the Kremlin to permit rapid communication between them in case of emergency.

(4) The U.S. agreed to sell up to $250 million worth of wheat to Russia to help compensate for Soviet harvest failures.

There has also been an easing of Soviet pressures on the West and of the propaganda battle. Both sides seem eager to smooth over incidents, such as the downing of U.S. airmen over East Germany, that would have set alarm bells ringing in the old days. As for Cuba itself, neither side seems to want another showdown there, despite occasional rhetorical flareups.

None of this has brought Russia and the West any closer on the basic issues of the cold war—disarmament, the division of Germany (including the status of Berlin), and the continuing Soviet commitment to spreading Communist rule (even if the emphasis now is on "peaceful competition" rather than revolution).

However, the fringe agreements reached have improved the atmosphere of East-West relations. And both sides seem interested in continuing that process, while keeping in the background the central issues that seem to defy solution for the time being."

Elsewhere the tensions are still actively evident in some places, like the tangle in Malayasia, which newly born state has been bedevilled right from the start of its birth pains with the open and actively hostile attitude of the Indonesian authorities and the less blatant demands of the Philippine Government. The foreign minister of the latter state is now attempting to bring about a summit meeting between the heads of the these States in order to arrive at a solution of the problem. The position at the time of writing these was somewhat more hopeful than at the end of last month, but as yet there are no signs that the Indonesian dictator is willing to give up his policy of "Confrontation," which consists at present in guerrilla warfare by Indonesian forces in the North-Borneo territories of Malayasia.

The tension that has developed between the two giants of Communism is still at a peak, though there does not seem to be any likelihood of a shooting war unless the megalomania of the Peking autocrats flares up into causing major incidents. As yet both sides are attacking each other with acrid propaganda in speeches, pamphlets radio dissertations and newspaper articles. Russia is actively moving in neutral and non-aligned spheres to counteract the effects of the Chou En-lai mission to Africa and the Arab States. The latest moves have been in Egypt, where Mr. Khrushchev "assisted" at the opening of the first-phase High-dam at Aswan, thereby considerably dimming the image of Chinese munificence and brotherly love and sympathy as painted by the adroit Mr. Chou En-lai during his propaganda mission to the Arab and African nations. But still the strife between Peking and Moscow is limited to ideological skirmishes as yet.

Minor tensions, such as between the Arab nations and Israel over the waters of the Jordan, and between Cuba and the U.S.A. over the U_2 reconnaissance flights still remain at a fairly low level principally due to lack of instigation.

Near at home, the aggression by Red China on our Himalayan frontiers remains unresolved and unsettled, due to China being handicapped seriously through the ideological conflict with the Western World of Communism which has meant a complete stoppage of major warlike supplies from the

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West. Although some countries of the Soviet Bloc like Rumania and Poland have not ideologically broken-off from Peking, they have little potential for the supply of war material to China and of course no direct channel of transportation to Red China, even if they wanted to send war material to replenish Red China's warlike stocks. Albania, the only Western Communist country that has adhered firmly to Peking, is a complete liability in every way to her Far Eastern ally and possesses only nuisance value as a Chinese satellite.

On our side the defence preparations are going on according to the plans, but long years of criminal negligence have imposed handicaps that are at last showing some signs of reduction. As such there is as yet no move on our side to resolve the Chinese aggression by force, as hasty measures are not advisable under the circumstances and, of course, our national policy of trying for peaceful solutions of all issues involving international disputes and conflicts to the uttermost limits must be given the fullest trial. Pandit Nehru has declared that we are prepared to meet China at a conference table if she agrees that neither side shall have any posts or strong points in the demilitarized zone in Ladakh. He has said that that would be in conformity with the Colombo proposals and would permit us to enter into direct negotiations with China without any loss of national dignity and honour. The differences with Pakistan remain unabated and indeterminate.

Kashmir, Pakistan and Sheikh Abdulla

Pakistan's latest adventure into U. N. politics has ended in a fiasco, after the leader of the Indian delegation, Education Minister M. C. Chagla, had effectively smashed the arguments of Mr. Z. A. Bhutto, the Foreign Minister of Pakistan and the leader of the Pakistani delegation. Pakistani arguments and the "Case" made out by Mr. Bhutto received stout support from Britain and the U.S.A. on some occasions. But despite all that, Pakistan could not make the U.N. Security Council either to pass any resolution nor could it persuade them to come to a "consensus." Indeed, Mr. Chagla's comment on the Kashmir debate in the Security Council, in which he styled it as "An exercise in futility" was more than justified by the results—or rather the lack of any. Pakistan could not adduce even a shred of evidence to prove her charges against India. The news from New York received at the time of writing these, report that:

'Before the Security Council adjourned **sine die** last night, President, M. Roger Seydowk of France emphasised that the Council members felt the two parties should resume contacts as soon as possible in order to resolve their differences by negotiation.

In his final speech, Mr. Chagla said that for negotiations to succeed there must be goodwill on both sides.

Pakistan, he said, must accept certain basic positions.

These were: Kashmir is an integral part of India and no country can agree to give up a part of itself or have self-determination for a part of the country.

India, he said, was an example of society, where inter-communal harmony could exist.

"My appeal to Pakistan is: Do not interfere with this experiment. Let this experiment go on, because the future of the world depends upon inter-communal societies succeeding". Mr. Chagla said.

About the possible intervention of the U.N. Secretary-General U. Thant, Mr. Chagla said, this would serve no purpose without consent of the parties.

"We propose to carry on negotiations in the near future, and if a stage is reached, when both India and Pakistan invite him, then and then only he should come".

The U.N. Secretary-General's help in that case would bring fruitful results, he said.

Though he could not have his way this time (indirectly rebuffed), Mr. Bhutto hoped to come again to the Security Council in a few months to raise the Kashmir issue.

Council members met privately for more than two hours behind closed doors before going into the chamber for the open meeting, the start of which was repeatedly postponed while they deliberated.

It was understood that they had discussed the possibility of reaching a consensus

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which Mr. Seydoux, President of the Security Council, might then read.

When he took the floor at the open meeting, the President said he wanted at the outset to apologise to the Ministers of India and Pakistan for having kept them waiting for so long. But they must be aware of the fact that this was for reasons outside the control of the President.

"In my mind, and I believe in the minds of my colleagues, this was a question of considering the possibility of drawing common conclusions to which all members of the Council could agree," the President said.

"I tried to carry out this task in consultation with all members and we were forced to realise that, despite the efforts made, we were unable to arrive at a complete agreement."

The U.S.A. which has been used as a likely "Cat's paw" by Pakistan and Britain over this affair seems to have slowly awakened to some of the realities of the situation—or has it ?

In the 11th May issue of the **News Week** we find the following pithy comment in the "Periscope" :

"President Johnson tried more of his personal diplomacy at last week's CENTO meeting in Washington. Samples : (1) he singled out for special, warm attention Turkish Foreign Minister Feridum Erkin, who in turn toned down demands for strong U.S. condemnation of Greek Cypriots ; (?) on another tack, the President pointedly ignored Pakistan's foreign Chief, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, leader of his nation's swing toward Peking" !

Despite all these set-backs Mr. Bhutto has remarked that he would try again. But the main hopes of a come back where Pakistan, Kashmir and the U.N.O. are concerned seemed to be concentrated on the coming visit of Sheikh Abdullah to Rawalpindi.

Mr. Chagla was asked about the significance of Nehru-Abdullah talks and the projected talks of the Sheikh with President Ayub of Pakistan, in the context of the Kashmir question, at a Press Conference after the Security Council meeting at the United Nations. His clarification, as sent in a news report from the United Nations is worthy of record. It ran as follows :

Two-fifths of Kashmir now under Pakistan's illegal occupation was also part of India, he said, in reply to a question.

Negotiation between India and Pakistan, Mr. Chagla said, was separate from the Nehru-Abdullah talks. The former was between two sovereign countries while the latter was between an eminent individual of India who had a following in a part of the country, and the Prime Minister of a democratic country who was accessible to a large number of people.

Mr. Chagla also emphasised that Sheikh Abdullah was not the only voice in Kashmir ; there were other voices too.

Asked how Sheikh Abdullah could then talk with President Ayub of Pakistan or negotiate, Mr. Chagla said Sheikh Abdullah was anxious that the relations between India and Pakistan should improve and he felt he might be able to bring about some solution which might improve the relations.

"We do not know the nature of his solution, but the Prime Minister has categorically stated—and other members of the Indian Government have said this also—that we will not accept any solution which does not accept Kashmir as an integral part of India. Within that context we might consider all possibilities."

Mr. Chagla said this could involve a degree of autonomy for Kashmir within the Indian Union.

Mr. Chagla further stated at the same press conference that India and Pakistan had a number of differences to discuss and settle. Kashmir was not the only dispute, he emphasised, nor was it the disease. It was only a symptom of the Indo-Pakistan differences.

Sheikh Abdullah, in the meanwhile, is on his way to Rawalpindi. He does not seem to be so very sure about his programme in Pakistan, far less about the outcome of his visit to that fermenting vat of anti-India propaganda and intrigue. It is as yet too early to estimate the effects of the Sheikh's activities but this visit to Pakistan may provide an indicator regarding the intentions he harbours in his mind.

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The A.I.C.C. Meeting

The All-India Congress Committee held a routine meeting at Bombay. The three-day session started on May 15 and ended on May 17, without any major decision arising out of the issues raised at the Bhubaneshwar Session of the Congress. The Working Committee presented the following agenda:

1. Consideration of the amendments to the Congress Constitution.
2. Discussions of the Dhebar Committee's report on implementing the Resolution on Democracy and Socialism.
3. Consideration of an official resolution on the communal situation.
4. Submission of the following reports to the A.I.C.C.
   (a) A report of the Working Committee on the non-official resolutions tabled at the Bhubaneswar session.
   (b) A report on the training and education programme for Congress workers.
   (c) Report of the Minimum Tasks Committee.
   (d) Report of the Committee on Collection of Funds by Congressmen.
5. The Working Committee will also process over 90 non-official resolutions, half a dozen of which relate to the Kamaraj Plan, including one calling for its withdrawal and another urging its speedier implementation.

It will be seen that the agenda contained no mention of the anti-corruption campaign that is supposed to be launched by the Home Ministry. Of course the campaign being an official undertaking the Congress as an "independent body" may or may not take any interest in it. But the fact remains that the main problem before the Congress as a body-politic lies in the removal of that evil, which is rotting the entire organization. Indeed the first item on the agenda relating to the amendments of the Congress was definitely aimed at the removal of a major factor leading to corrupt practices regarding elections. "Primary members" in locust-like swarms appear at election time and lend their overwhelming weight in the election of undesirables. The report submitted to the A.I.C.C. by the Committee on collection of Funds by Congressmen (Item 4 D), has also considerable bearing on the subject of corruption.

As it happened, however, there was no direct approach to the subject mooted by any Committee or member. Indeed we might borrow a phrase from Mr. M. C. Chagla and term this session of the A.I.C.C. as an exercise in futility. Pandit Nehru's speech on Sheikh Abdullah's "Mission," was a mere reiteration of what has been stated by him before and Mr. V. K. Krishna-Menon's 80 minute discourse somewhat resembled the weather-reports we are getting these days which state "thundery conditions developed but no rain"!

Dr. John Haynes Holmes

We have received the following excerpt from the speech of Mr. Prafulla C. Mukherji and followig that a resotution passed at a meeting of the Tagore Society of New York on the occasion of Buddha Purnima. As the speech and the resolution were both tributes to Dr. John Haynes Holmes, a genuine friend of India and a lifelong admirer of both Gandhiji and Rabindranath. We publish both:

We are gathered here tonight to pay homage to one of the greatest men in history, who was born in Kapilavastu, India on the Baisakhi Purnima night 2507 years ago—Gautama Buddha the Compassionate.

It is fitting that on this sacred day we also pay American and a world citizen. Dr. John Haynes Holmes was born 84 years ago in Philadelphia and died in New York City on April 3. He graduated from the Divinity School of Harvard University and became a Unitarian Minister. When he established himself in New York City he founded the Community Church which became not only a religious center but also the center of various civic, cultural, international and reform movements in the city and the country.

Dr. Holmes was instrumental in the appointment of the noted Seabury Commission for investigation of crimes and vices in New York City. This Committee forced the resignation of the then Mayor, James Walker

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and inaugurated many reforms. Dr. Holmes was a founder also of American Civil Liberties Union and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, two of most vital institutions in American life today. He was a dynamic crusader and an ardent worker for peace. He held Mahatma Gandhi as his ideal. "Gandhi is a saint and a seer and is my teacher" said Dr. Holmes. Every time Mahatma Gandhi was in prison or went into a long fast, Dr. Holmes led a silent demonstration, holding a black flag. He also inspired others in other cities to do the same. During Rabindranath Tagore's several visits to America, Dr. Holmes established very close relations with him and went to India to help Tagore in the work of his schools at Santiniketan. Dr. Holmes was really the fore-runner of the non-violent and peaceful demonstrations in America today, which have given such fruitful results.

It is a matter of great regret and it will leave a scar on British life that they found it necessary to put Gandhi. Nehru, Sri Aurovinda, Chittaranjan, Subhas Chandra and others in prison in their attempt to save their colonial system. But we then asserted our faith in the ultimate triumph of India and the other colonial countries. And today it is a matter of regret and it will leave a scar on American life that they find it necessary to put to prison men like Dr. Du Bois, Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Rev. Dr. Donald S. Harrington, the Minister of the Community Church, my friend Bayard Rustin the Executive Director of War Resisters' League, James Farmer, President of Congress of Racial Equality and many others including hundreds of young boys and girls, in their attempt to keep from fulfilment the Emancipation Proclamation by Abraham Lincoln the great Emancipator—so that a great injustice may be perpetuated on our brothers and sisters. But on this sacred day of the birth of great Buddha and as we honor the memory of Dr. John Haynes Holmes and in the name of universal brotherhood, we assert our faith in the triumph of the Negro in America; of the triumph of good over evil, of justice over injustice, of the triumph of human dignity and peace. For that day of triumph we pledge all our effort, and join with them in singing: "Deep down in our heart, we do feel. We shall Overcome today."

On this auspicious day, as we the members and friends of the Tagore Society of New York have met to commemorate the memory of Gautama the Buddha and pay him our homage, we wish to express our profound sorrow and sense of great loss at the demise of our revered friend Dr. John Haynes Holmes on April 3, 1964.

A great humanitarian and a Unitarian Minister, Dr. Holmes was a leader of the progressive forces in America for more than half a century. He was the founder of the Community Church of New York, which had been and still remains not only a Temple of worship but also a center of many humanitarian, civic and progressive movements in this city. His dynamic personality is imprinted in the work of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (N.A.A.C.P.) and the American Civil Liberties Union—two of the most vital institutions in America today, which Dr Holmes helped to organize.

The people of India will ever remain grateful to Dr. Holmes and his colleague the late lamented Dr. J. T. Sunderland, also a great Unitarian Minister, for the genuine help and co-operation they had given in the struggle for India's freedom. It was Dr. Holmes who introduced Mahatma Gandhi to America, first by his famous sermon "Buddha to Gandhi", then by his constant interpretation of Gandhi's Satyagraha movement, which made a profound impact on the people throughout the country. It was Dr. Holmes again who gave his full co-operation to Rabindranath Tagore during his several visits to this country. He also went to India to help the poet in the work of his school at Santiniketan.

Today we pay tribute to the memory of John Haynes Holmes, with a sense of dedication, so that we may be fit to carry on the various activities he so nobly espoused. We send our sympathy to his son and daughter, his grand children and relatives and to Dr. Donald S. Harrington, Minister of the Community Church, his associates and the members of the congregation.

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Current Affairs

By KARUNA K. NANDI

FOURTH PLAN PERSPECTIVE

Reported conclusions of the Perspective Division of the Planning Commission, recenty presented, are said to have envisaged a yearly economic growth rate of 7 per cent as a tentative basis for formulation of the Fourth Plan framework, in order to yield a per capita monthly income of Rs. 20 by 1975-76. The Planning Commission, meeting under the Chairmanship of Late Prime Minister, are reported to have accepted the recommendations of the Perspective Division in this behalf, and to have reached the broad conclusion that the Fouth Plan would have to be very substantially larger in size than the Third Plan and that a great deal more emphasis than hitherto would have to be laid on agricultural development. According to the paper submitted by the Perspective Division, the estimated national income by the end of the Third Plan period would reach the mark of Rs. 18,000 crores and not Rs. 19,000 crores as the earlier target postulated and, to achieve a per capita monthlly income of Rs. 20 by 1975-76, the economic growth rate must be such as to raise the level of the national income to atleast Rs. 37,000 crores. At 7% annual growth rate, the national income should rise to Rs. 26,000 crores by 1970-71 (end of Fourth Plan) and on to Rs. 37,500 crores by 1975-76 (end of Fifth Plan); the population of the country, it is estimated, would rise to 555 millions in 1970-71 and to 625 millions by 1975-76. To achieve this projected economic growth rate, the paper envisages, capital formation during the Fourth Plan period must comprise 15 per cent of the national income by 1965-66 instead of 14 per cent as earlier estimated, and on to 21 per cent by 1970-71. The content of foreign aid in the Plan formulation, it is also visualized at the same time, must progressively decline during the coming Plan periods. The present foreign aid content of Plan investments comprise 25 per cent of total resources ; this, it is emphasized, must be reduced to some 7 per cent by 1970-71 and be completely eliminated in course of the following five years. The Perspective Division's recommendations include the proposal to very substantially widen the area of the public sector in industry to raise the content of public ownership in industry to substantially more than half of the total capital stock in the country under direct ownership of Government and other public authorities.

Feasibility Studies by Working Groups

Various Working Groups of the Planning Commission are reported to have been invested with the responsibility of studying the Perspective Division's proposals and conclusions and, in making their report thereon, to apply their own understanding of the situation and test the technological and financial feasibility of the former's recommendations without being, in any way, inhibited by their conclusions. In the meanwhile the Commission is scheduled to meet again shortly to consider what have been described as basic issues. But it is only at a later and third meeting of the Commission when the reports of the Working Groups would be available, that final conclusions are expected to be drawn and it is expected that a general framework of the Fourth Plan would be ready by October or November next. In the meanwhile the National Development Council, which is scheduled to meet in July, would review the basic issues, although no final decisions are expected to be taken by it.

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Continuing Industry-Orientation

From the report summarized above, only certain broad general points of view—it would be too premature yet to call them conclusions—would appear to have been discussed and formulated and only preliminary lines of policy laid down. But from the general trends of the report it would seem obvious that despite the reported recognition of the vital need to lay far greater emphasis upon agricultural development than in the current Plan, the Fourth Plan also will continue to be far more heavily industry-oriented as heretofore. This would seem to basically disregard one of the fundamental postulates of economic growth in the especial context of Indian conditions whereby it is still sought to tag on to an overwhelming but visibly languishing agrarian economy, the engines of intensive technology-based industrialization.

Lack of Concern Over Price Pressures

Another important conclusion that it would seem to be quite pertinent to draw from these reports is that neither the Planning Commission nor its Perspective Division seem to be unduly concerned with the process of continually spiralling price-explosions that have been a most disturbing feature of development planning progressively throughout the last 16-17 years and which seem, from present trends, likely to be further substantially aggravated during the months and years ahead. Development planning is not, it would seem to be very necessary in the circumstances to emphatically underline, a mere exercise in abstract economic acrobatics, but must conform to certain wholesomely conceived and objectively formulated human and social ends. If those ends were not likely to be gained or, atleast very closely approached, the process of planning would be bound to be regarded as a futile exercise, however rapid or large the rate of economic growth in terms of the increase in the gross national income. The objectives of development planning have been broadly laid down as being to raise the national income so as to enable a progressively improving national living level to be attained while, at the same time, to correspondingly close down the present wide disparities of incomes and wealth of the people at the opposite ends of the economic scale. These objectives have again and again been reiterated from various official and party platforms although, curiously enough, the late Prime Minister, the foremost and the most steadfast apostle of development planning in the country, was reported to have made the rather ambiguous and obviously paradoxical statement sometime ago, that he did not mind the "rich getting still richer" so long as the poor did not get any poorer at the same time. Unfortunately, however, from evidence now available and about the indisputable veracity of which there would not seem to be any doubt, development planning, over the first two Plan periods, appears also to have accelerated, correspondingly with the growth in the economy, the process of progressively increasing concentrations of income, wealth and consequent economic power, in selected and favoured sections of the social scale epitomized in the vigorously growing private sector.

Failure of the Plans

From evidence so far available, a great deal of which have ben thoroughly sifted in course of public discussions, in Parliament and elsewhere, it would appear that by far the greatest proportion of the increased net national product, emerging as a result of the process of economic growth, has been and is being seived up at higher levels and has not been percolating to the rock-bottom levels of the economy as it normally should have. With increasing burdens of taxation, especially more severly on the lower levels of the social scale than at its higher reaches, inevitably flowing from the huge spate of indirect taxation—a great deal of it in the shape of excise and other similar imposts on a long range of essential consumables entering vitally into the living requisites of the poor and the less affluent—which has been an outstanding feature of the national Budget over the years,—the proportion of

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indirect to total taxation incidences have been currently estimated at over 74 per cent of the whole—and under the continually spiralling price levels, it would not be too much to assert that the process of planned development has, so far, failed to justify itself because, despite an estimated rise in the national income over the first two Plan periods of the order of a gross 42 per cent at 1950-51 prices, the country as a whole, as represented by its overwhelmingly poor citizens, has clearly failed to derive any assessable benefit therefrom.

Minor Emphasis on Agriculture

One of the prime causes of such a state of affairs must be assigned to the comparative lack of emphasis, in practicable and realisable terms, on the development of agricultural production, leaving the country heavily and vitally dependent upon imports of essential foodgrains. Official estimates of food grains production would seem to demonstrate, on the face of it, that in terms of actual population incidences, shortfalls in production have, so far, been only marginal. But the involved dealings of the concerned trade, coupled with the glaring inefficiency and unimaginative policies of the concerned departments of Government, both at the Centre and in the States, have been maintaining a continuing and substantial scarcity situation in market supplies resulting, on the one hand, in correspondingly increasing price pressures and, on the other, in also eventuating temporary and obviously artificially engineered famine conditions in selected areas of the country from time to tme. The obvious remedy would seem to be a wholesale refurbishing of the entire national agricultural policies to yield, in actual terms, not merely in the shape of unrealistic targets and imaginary estimates of crop statistics, a progressively increasing and sizeable agricultural production, especially in essential foodgrains and industrial raw materials. And, until such a position has been achieved, it is equally vital that adequate, wholesome and practicable cheks and balances are devised and applied with ruthless impartiality to enable price stability to be established and maintained. The Union Finance Minister had, in course of his last Budget speech in Parliament, deprecated the use of physical controls as a possible means towards this end which, as he had so rightly pronounced, would imply the introduction of some sort rationing. Government, simply, has not the necessary administrative resources at its disposal, both in terms of the requisite efficiency and rectitude to enable such controls to be worked wholesomely and impartially for public benefit. But the Finance Minister had promised that he would devise the necessary fiscal measures and apply them with that quality of ruthlessness, that would enable a wholesome check on the price structure to be established. The measures which he appears actually to have conceived towards this end included in his last Budget proposals would, however, have the only affect, as far as we are able to visualize, of subjecting the more vulnerable middle and low income sections in the community to a great deal of unmerited harassment without the least posibility of being able, even in the remotest degree, to curb the machinations and ill-gotten gains of the anti-social profiteer. How real our apprehensions in this behalf have proved to be would be evident from the new and very substantial upward price-spurt, especially in essential edibles, that has eventuated during the very few short weeks already since Mr. Krishnamachari presented his current Budget to Parliament. Government have, at various levels, no doubt, been dilly-dallying with various, and mostly ineffectual administrative measures to cope with this new spate in price pressures, without, however, the least influence on the situation. The only effective fiscal measure that might, in our view, have borne some fruit towards such an end, is by a thorough revision of the taxation structure which would have for its objective the progressive replacement of the greater proportion of present indirect taxes, especially where they affect essential consumables, by a system of wholesomely conceived direct taxation which would not merely normally not be capable of being passed on to the vulnerable

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consumers, but which should equally not be capable of being evaded. This would, no doubt, call for both a great deal of courage and imagination on the part of Government, both in conceiving such measures as well as in their effective application. In the name of providing added incentives to capital formation and investment for growth, the Union Finance Minister has, on the contrary, provided very substantial and, in our view wholly unmerited reliefs from a certain measure of direct taxation to especially selected and favoured sections of the community. It is significant that the beneficiaries of these new reliefs occupy those very levels in the national economy at which, according to the findings of the Mahalanobis Committee, concentrations of wealth and economic power most particularly occur.

Conditions for Growth

It is true that in its studies the Perspective Division of the Planning Commission, has defined the objective aimed at to be the achievement of a basic minimum income level of Rs. 20 per capita per month for the poorest sections of the country's population by the end of the Fifth Plan period. The proposals contained in its reported study are seemingly oriented to this objective. Technical and financial feasibility studies would now be undertaken by Working Groups of the Planning Commission to finally confirm the proposals' final acceptance for formulating the Fourth Plan framework. But no indication, from reports so far made public, is available as to the conditions that must determine the actual achievement of the end-results visualized. True, it has been broadly laid down, first, that far greater emphasis would have to be placed on agricultural development than hitherto. Secondly, it has also been stated that in order to attain this set objective the Fourth Plan will have to be far larger than originally contemplated and there must be a very substantial widening of the public sector bringing under Government and other public authorities more than one half of the total capital stock in industry. Thirdly, investments under the private sector will, also at the same time, have to be considerably enlarged to enable the rate of gross capital formation during the Fourth Plan period, under public and private sector enterprise together, to be raised to 15 per cent of the national income by 1965-66 and progressively to be raised further to the level of 21 per cent of the national income by 1970-71. These are some of the postulates that have been laid down as being essential to attain the declared objectives of planning in perspective. But, so far, no indication seem to be available, as to the modus operandii which would be likely to enable these very primary postulates to be fulfilled. One of the primary conditions-precedent for achieving the desired growth rate during the Fourth and Fifth Plan periods, it has been laid down, is the attainment of a Rs. 18,000 erore national income level by the end of the Third Plan period, which is, roughtly 5.3 per cent less than the originally targetted for national income during the Third Plan process.

Studies on Third Plan implementation undertaken some time ago and which disclosed the actual growth rate during the initial two years of the current Plan as having been no more than 2.4 per cent annually would, however, tend to indicate that even this comparatively modest estimate of the growth rate during the entire Plan period may be far too optimistic. Reliable figures as to actual growth rate since the end of the second year of the Plan are not, so far available, but from independent studies made by eminent economists during and after the mid-term Plan appraisal, it looked unlikely that the gross growth rate represented in terms of the increase in the national income could, even at very optimistic estimates, exceed the annual rate of 3.5 per cent during the remaining three years of the Plan. If that were to be accepted as a realistic assessment of the situation as it has actually eventuated, it would not seem likely that the rate of the annual national income, by the end of the current Third Plan would rise substantially beyond Rs. 17,000 crores per annum. So, if the Fourth Plan were to start off at a national income level of Rs. 17,000 crores and not Rs. 18,000 crores

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as now estimated, a 7 per cent annual growth rate would take it on to Rs. 24,900 crores at the end of the Plan period and on to no more than Rs. Rs. 35,000 crores at the end of the Fifth Plan. If this were to be accepted as realistic, all the perspective projections of the estimates of Fourth and Fifth Plan achievements would be likely to be completely vitiated. It is necessary that all wishful thinking in the matter should be wholly avoided and estimates were realistic and realisable in terms of actual implementation and achievements. It has, unfortunately, been a deplorable feature of Plan formulation and implementation alike so far that targets, both over-all and in respect of individual items have proved to be quite substantially wishful and unrealistic. This inevitably leads to a great deal of waste in both effort and capital deployment which the country cannot simply afford. This has also led to inadequate production incidences in terms of laid down capacity at huge capital outlay at many and diverse points of the economy leading to high costs and scarce supplies alike. The Perspective Division's proposals, we appreciate, are only broad bases indicating the lines that the formulation of the Fourth Plan framework should follow and that its actual shape would be determined by the results of the feasibility studies that the Planning Commission's Working Groups are currently said to be undertaking. It is necessary, however, that the bases and postulates upon which these studies are founded should be realistic in terms of the actual achievements gained. It is equally necessary, we feel, that the deployment of all to scarce capital in Plan investments is so conditioned that no waste is involved at any point of the economy by way of idle or inadequately utilized capacity.

Agriculture

It has been said that the Fourth Plan framework must provide for a far greater stimulus to agricultural development than appears to have been the case during the Third Plan. This is only a recognition of one of the very basic conditions of future economic growth in the particular context of the conditions obtaining in the country. India, despite very nearly a decade of primarily industry-oriented planned development during the Second and current Plans, still remains overwhelmingly agrarian in over-all economic organization. Reliable statistical data do not seem to be available, but various unrelated estimates place the figure of the population still directly subsisting on agricultural yields at anywhere between 68 to 80 per cent. The supreme importance of the need for rapid agricultural development would, in the circumstances, seem to be all too obvious. It is also necessary to realise at the same time that one of the very basic conditions of rapid and wholesome industrialization is the foundation of a vigorous and **surplus** agriculture. The prospects of development of the economy as a whole as visualized in perspective for the Fourth and Fifth Plans will largely depend on the extent the foundations of agricultural development are firmly laid down on sound and progressive lines at the same time.

Exercise In Futility

In agriculture, especially, it must be emphasized, planning has, so far, remained largely an exercise in futility. Targets have been laid down, prospects visualized and estimates prepared which have often proved to be largely conjectural and, in consequence, wholly incapable of realization. Difficulties, it is recognized, in the way of agricultural development have been many and various, some of them of quite an intractable and insuperable nature. Some of these are based on traditional and inherited factors like, for instance, fragmentation of holdings. Legislations have been undertaken and are in course of formulation further to deal with this aspect of the problems of agriculture. But implementation has been unconscionably slow and halting so far, preventing a possible reintegration of extremely fragmented holdings over large areas of the country. There does not seem to be any reliable estimates of fallows and of economically reclaimable waste land which could be agriculturally

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exploited with little effort and organization. There does not seem to be much co-ordination between Government's Forest and Agriculture departments in most States and this, coupled with the age old habit of our people have been causing deforestation in many areas aggravating problems of erosion and soil conservation. Most multipurpose river valley projects put up in different parts of the country seem to be more primarily concerned with power development than irrigation and flood control still leaving agriculture in the country largely at the mercy of the seasons. Power development, we appreciate, is a fundamental requisite of progress, even for rationalized agricultural development, but so far as the river valley projects are concerned, their primary responsibility should be to ensure flood control, provide irrigation water and, where projected, enable navigation canals to be maintained for large and inland water traffic. In this they appear to have miserably failed so far and as former Union Food and Agriculture Minister S. K. Patil said last year, agriculture in the country remains still primarily dependent upon the mercy of the seasons. Then, again, inspite of enunciating more than four years ago in very definite terms that one of the fundamental objectives of Congress policy so far as agricultural development was concerned, was to foster and encourage the growth of agricultural co-operatives to enable the basic conditions for the growth of integrated and mechanized agriculture to be laid down, nothing seems to have been done in this regard and the process of agriculture remains largely mideavalistic and wholly anachronistic in the context of the efforts at morernization that have been going on in the other fields of national activity. There has been some progress, we appreciate, in the manufacture of chemical fertilizers during the last decade, but it has nevertheless been far short of targets envisaged and the country is still very largely dependent upon imported fertilizers for its basic and, so far, somewhat rudimentary needs. No attempt worth the name appears, so far, to have been made to utilize human and farm wastes as compost manure which might have, more wholesomely, perhaps, than mere chemical fertilizers, provided very substantial assistance to agricultural development. One could multiply instances, almost **ad nauseum**, of the innumerable ways in which assistances to agricultural development might, but have not been provided.

Unexplored Potentials

In fact, the suspicion has been growing apace of late that inspite of the extraordinary proliferation of innumerable organizations under Government, both at the Centre and in the States supposedly concerned with various aspects of agricultural development in the country, the field of agriculture remains more or less a wholly unexplored one so far as its full future potentials are concerned. Except the fragmented studies said to have been undertaken in this field from time to time, variously by Working Groups of the Planning Commission, Government departments and others, no comprehensive, co-ordinated and factual survey of the country's agricultural conditions and the future potentials of the industry, appears ever to have been undertaken at any stage in the process of planning. There does not also seem to be a great deal of co-ordination between the activities of the Central and State Governments on the one hand and between the organizations of the Planning Commission and those of Government on the other. It is not surprising, therefore, that Planning for agriculture has, so far, proved to be largely conjectural and unrealistic if for no other reason than at least for the fact that its potentials so far remain mainly unexplored and unassessed in realistic terms. In fact agriculture on a nation-wide plane has never been made the subject of any over-all factual survey ever since the days when the Royal Commission on Agriculture under the Chairmanship of Lord Linlithgow submitted its report more than three and a half decades ago. It is high time that a fresh survey were immediately undertaken by a high powered Commission to arrive at a factual picture of the present conditions of Indian agriculture in all its aspects and the results of such a survey should form the fundamental basis

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upon which future plans for agricultural development should be formulated.

Human Objectives

Planning for development, we are constrained to observe, to be both rational and wholesome, must have for its primary and only objectives certain well defined human and social goals. So long as the process of planning fails to take the country along towards these set goals at progressive stages, it must be considered to have been futile. We have these goals well defined and definite before us. We must, therefore, test and evaluate every decision, every project, each individual item of achievement in terms of their contribution or otherwise towards the achievement of these set goals. Unfortunately, in the results that have so far eventuated from the first one and a half decade of planning. The process appears to have assumed an increasingly mechanical aspect divorced from the desired end-results and which seems to be more overwhelmingly concerned with the mechanics of progress rather than the achievement of its predetermined human goals. We have purposely avoided using masses of statistical data in the present discussion which might have been very telling from certain points of view. Our purpose, however, has not been to repudiate, altogether, the need for planning but to point out the lack of co-ordination and largely the disregard of results in terms of input-output ratio at innumerable points in the process, making it eccentric in its progress and unwholesome in many of its achievements. What is needed, in our view, is a redefimtion of the entire process, comprehending within its orbit all departments of national economic activity, to make its forward movement in future more concentric and well balanced.

The Price Problem in West Bengal

The *mountain*, to wit the West Bengal Price Inquiry Committee, appears to have given birth to the proverbial mouse. Headed by that much-boosted economist, Dr. Bhabatosh Datta and consisting eleven others representing both the State Government and the trade, the Committee appear to have been sharply divided in their views, two having signed a minute of dissent. Who these two in the minority may have been is not yet known, but it would be reasonable to surmise that they must have been among those who represented the trade.

The majority are reported to have opined that while price rises have been mainly caused by the pressures of large investment plans, and was, therefore, an all-India problem, the major price problem was that of rice in West Bengal and the State Government could play "an important role" by helping to increase supply and ensure equitable distribution.

They recommend greater Government control over the rice trade at all stages, take over by Government of all rice mills, acquisition of all surplus stocks of paddy and rice, direct acquisition by Government of Orissa's surplus rice (300,000 tons), supply to the State Government 400,000 tons of rice and 1,00,000 tons of wheat by the Union Government, distribution of 800,000 tons of rice (internally procured) through modified ration shops to all urban areas and deficit rural areas on the basis of a daily adult cereal ration of 12 oz. equally divided between rice and wheat and wheat products (4 oz. extra for heavy manual workers), the cordoning off of all surplus areas and the introduction of statutory rationing in large industrial areas, at least intially. Administrative measures recommended are, licensing of producers, importers, wholesalers and retailers in all areas; regulation of markets mainly at the wholesale stage; setting up of Price Advisory Boards and Sub-committees for each major commodity; maintenance of buffer stocks; and the enforcement of decision by Government orders and not by way of socalled "gentlemen's agreements."

The dissenters do not agree with the majority report and hold that the "trade" cannot be accused of *undue* profiteering. They do not agree that any sustainable case has been made out for State trading in foodgrains. They hold that the price position in the State has been aggravated by Government measures to achieve certain social and ideological objectives in the context of planned development.

In sum, therefore, it would appear that the Price Inquiry Committee's recommendations are

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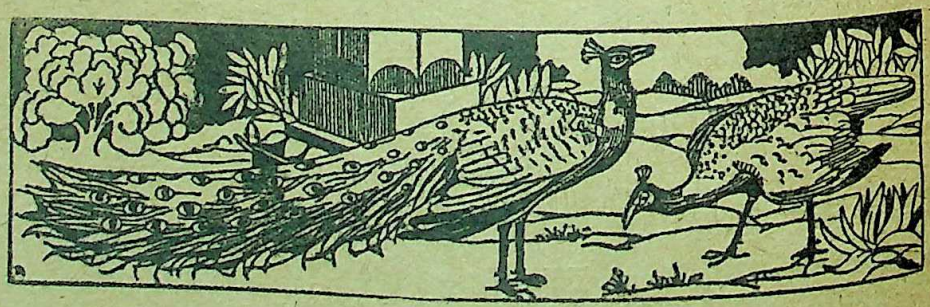
as inoccuous as they are futile. No one has ever doubted that the price problem in its broder aspects is a national problem and its solution must be found on a nation-wide context. But the especial manifestations of it which are peculiar to West Bengal alone, both as regards their physical shape and degree of intensity, must be regarded as being germane to the State alone for which it is necessary to devise and apply remedies in the particular parochial context of the situation obtaining here. The Committee have, no doubt, pinpointed rice as being at the apex of the problem but they have wholly failed to—perhaps with deliberate intent—diagnose the especial causative factor or factors occasioning this situation. It has been observed over a decade and longer and repeatedly from time to time, that impacts of price rises in this state devolve the most heavily upon essential edibles compared to anywhere else in the country. In other words, the burden has to be carried in the main by the most vulnerable and numerically the most overwhelming sectors in the community. They are invariably and cruelly victimized by deliberately engineered scarcity and artificially stimulated price-boosts at every possible pretext. There is intelligent design and organization and coordination to a set pattern to which these recurrent price symptoms generally affecting all essential edibles would be found to conform even on a most cursory examination. And unless the sources of conception, direction and control of these recurring occasions can be discovered and exposed, no permanent, wholesome and effective solution can be expected.

The recommendations of the majority Committee would appear, in the circumstances to be so completely *inane* and useless (with due apologies to the *Eminent* economist!) that they might never have been made at all for all the good they are likely to produce. All that may happen is a further proliferation of an already top-heavy and correspondingly useless administration, the burdens of which have already become almost back-breaking to the community!

Indeed, the Committee's recommendations would seem to very closely conform to the twisted thinking and involved logic of the Government who appointed them. In a recent notification the Government of West Bengal have announced the threat to promulgate an ordinance to punish those who are found to be guilty of purchasing a commodity of which the price has been controlled at anything above the scheduled price. This, we are told by an eminent contemporary, is supposed to constitute the element from which what the Government call *consumer resistance*, arises! Government will not accept any responsibility for maintaining supplies at the price-schedules fixed by them! Their responsibility obviously ends with prescribing a price-schedule! But failing to obtain supplies at the prescribed price, if the consumer is goaded into offering inducements by way of a higher price (for less than which he may not obtain any supplies at all!), the minions of law will have the right lawfully to pounce on him! Obviously the consumer is expected to commit suicide by pseudo-Gandhian Praphulla Sen, so that the trade may have a "*change of heart*"!



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TAGORE AS A POET AND A PAINTER

By Prof. V. V. TONPE

Painting is silent poetry, and poetry is a speaking picture.

—Simonides,

When Simonides, the Greek poet, wrote this epigram about the fifth century before Christ, did he foresee Tagore, the painter, and his **Chitralipi** or the painting-script of the twentieth century? Perhaps he did. Both of them being poets, the kindred souls must have rolled their eyes in a fine frenzy and glanced at each other in timespace from heaven to earth and earth to heaven; and as imagination bodied forth the forms of things unknown to his generation, Simonides must have turned it to shape in his epigram!

If at eight, Tagore lisped the numbers and the numbers came, at eighty he played with the pen and ink as well as with the brush and colour and designs and birds and animals of fantasy peeped out of the zigzag lines of blue and green and red; and while Tagore, the child recognized the poet-philosopher in him, Tagore, the grandfather, the child-painter.

Tagore's art had its origin in child-play and calligraphy. Whenever he wished to erase a portion of his manuscript, the beautifully carved lines of his hand perhaps protested against the atrocity of the rubber and refused to be obliterated. The compassionate poet-philosopher instead of simply putting a line through, as any common man would do, converted the portion to be struck off into some imaginary designs or fantastic rhythms of lines and colours. He did this, not so much from an artistic urge from within as in the playful mood of a child. When he was dotting the i's and crossing the t's of his poems or prose writings, his unwanted words and rejected sentences clamoured like the dumb for a local habitation and a name, and the clairvoyant genius of the poet sympathized with them, and lo! Creation widened in Tagore's view. When he was indulging in these imaginary drawings in his leisure, some times at the cost of the important literary work on hand, Tagore, the Man, was never conscious of laying a new road to the temple of fame.

In the second stage of the growth of the artist, Tagore became an illuminator of his own poems. He embellished his pearl-like handwriting with human figures in decorative manner. In style they were completely diverse from the old Indian illustrations which were rich in colour combinations. They rather took after the Gothic style in form though they had their inspiration in Indian decorative style.

A cursory study of the various influences on Tagore's poetry and art will be of much help to us in understanding him as a poet and painter, though, in the words of B. K. Sarkar, "the painter has commenced where perhaps the poet left off."

Tagore's poetry clothes itself in deceptive simplicity and sometimes seems to be even shallow while his paintings assume an air of the grotesque to the extent of offensively violating orthodoxy. On the surface his poetry sounds so uniform a note that it is very difficult to discern any depth of inner tranquillity in it; and his painting is so outlandish for a painter of Bengal that one is tempted to condemn it. It is, indeed, strange that the poet Tagore should be entirely different from the artist Tagore. Yet Tagore, the poet, was the inspiration for the neo-Bengal school of art. He encouraged his nephew, Abanindranath Tagore, to revive earlier traditions by turning to the Ajanta frescos for form and guidance. But there is scarcely any influence of the neo-Bengal school upon Tagore's paintings. His work stands aloof from the classical and the renaissance schools in Bengal. Moreover on

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many occasions he even expresses his disapproval of the modern inclination to imitate the Ajanta or other traditional styles.

To reconcile these contradictions in Tagore's personality one has to refer to Tagore the educationist. As a teacher, he believed not so mulh in over-burdening the mind of the student as in helping him to develop his own character and personality. When his student took a pitcherful of water from the sea of tradition, he did not object to it, for he believed that the student would know not only the weight of the pitcher but also the weight of its contents. But when the student took a dip in the sea itself, he objected to it, for he believed that the sea, a thousand pitcherfuls of water, would flow over his head and he would not feel the weight.

Tagore encouraged Abanindranath in the early days of his artistic career to turn to the gracious figures of Ajanta for inspiration because he was fully conscious of his nephew's genius which would not slavishly 'imitate' the original. The Mughal and the Rajput and Pahari miniatures provided him with other models while scenes from legends and classical literature of Hindustan, like the **Ramayana**, the **Mahabharata**, the **Gita**, and the **Puranas**, and episodes from Indian History furnished him with the necessary themes. Within this broad orientation, there was enough room for the expression of the genius of an individual. His works show a distinctly original synthesis of various traditions like Chinese calligraphy, Japanese colouring and Persian finish while the themes of his pictures reflect the synthesis of Indian culture. Abanindranath is not an imitator of traditional styles but an individualist who studies the various styles and assimilates them.

Tagore is original and individualistic though Euro-American trends are discernible, in his art. Just as in his lyrics, stories, songs and dramas the influence of Western veterans from the Romantics to Browning, Whitman, Maupassant and Anatole France is traceable, so too in his art Gauguin, Van-Gogh, Cezanne, Renoir, Derain, Nolde Marc, Kandinsky, Weber, Klee, Kokoschka and other Euro-Americans seem to have influenced him. The greatness of Tagore lies not in imitating these men of letters and arts but like Abanindranath, in acclimatizing them to Bengali conditions and environment. But there is a fundamental difference between the two. While Abanindranath is a conscious artist, Rabindranath is an unconscious artist.

When Tagore's paintings were exhibited in Europe in 1930, Western connoisseurs were surprised to learn that he produced an art for which they were long striving. He had no regular schooling in art; in fact he accidentally discovered the artist in him and it was really gratifying to note that the European painters acknowledged an inner kinship with his works. This is indeed true genius. In the words of Dr. Johsonson, it is but a mind of large general powers accidentally determined in a particular direction.

Taking the many-sided personality of Tagore himself into consideration, we find that Tagore the poet was conscious of the various influences on him, while Tagore the painter was unconscious of the indirect schooling of his genius.

The influences on the paintings of Tagore can be classified into three broad divisions. The first is the influence of Indian decorative styles. Though it is difficult to assert the motive of his art, it is evident that his paintings and drawings are not representational. They take the decorative spirit from Indian conventional styles but invent their own design or shape according to the sheer power of creation from within the artist.

The second influence on Tagore's paintings is that of primitive art, and child art. Some of the forms and techniques of the prehistoric people like the primitive Negroes, Mayans, Tahitians, Javanese, or American Indians, seem to have influenced his art. But this is more a shadow than a substantial moulding force. The distortions and suggestivity of child art seem to find a place in his paintings. But they are overcome by the imaginative gusto of the poet.

The third influence traceable in Tagore's art is that of the modern Euro-American impressionists and expressionists. In his pictures the liberty of subject and treatment

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of impressionism is conveyed through the sensation of movement and of light. But unlike Manet's pictures which are realistic, Tagore's are the products of his fancy which was rich and virile to the end of his days. He seems to have appreciated the poetic ideas native to his genius and then tried to achieve a masterly freedom in expressing them in the manner of the impressionists.

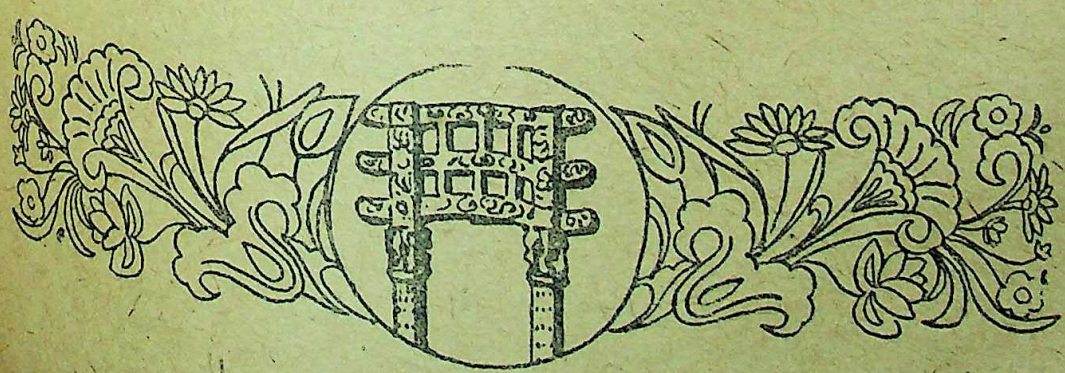
In tracing out the tendencies of expressionism in Tagore's paintings, we have to accept the term rather loosely, for it is to be identified in his human forms and head studies which are so hideously at odds with human anatomy that first of all they seem to be loathsome. Added to this, his idealism in poetry makes his art critics search for the same in his paintings when the disappointment becomes twofold and fills them with a distaste for his art. But as in expressionism, when the initial shock is worn off, they find that the pictures exert a spell upon their imagination. They seem to be earnest in conveying something virile and ecstatic.

Tagore was an international figure in the realm of letters; so nobody dared to criticise and even those that found fault with his poetic works in the early days changed their opinions in the light of the poet's world-fame. But in the realm of art, though he was old, he was a novice, and art critics therefore, riddled him with questions about his qualifications and schooling. But such a curiosity of the critic, instead of censuring his "work" exposes his impertinence and reduces him into a fault-finder; because real genius cannot tolerate bullying from a criticiser. It needs no pruning from a university; the iron discipline of a class-room and the sheep-mentality of student life have no value for it. It always seeks to examine the human spirit through its creations, literary or artistic.

Tagore gradually grew into a conscious painter. He tried to depict life and nature with his pen and brush. To him art was an experiment in line and colour and it found expression through abstract forms which were original.

The technique of Tagore's painting was also original. In the first stage of designing he worked with an ordinary fountain pen and ink. In the second stage he replaced the pen and ink by brush and Indian ink. In the third stage he drew human figures, landcapes, flowers and other "subjects" in colour. He utilized both ends of a pen while drawing pictures: he did the lining with the pen dipped in bottles of coloured ink. At times he made use of his fingers to spread out the colours. These stages were not rigid, not the devices he made use of. As and when he felt a particular technique was necessary, he made use of it. The brush also had its conventional use for him.

Tagore in the last stages of his life unintentionally sought for himself a niche in the temple of fame in the domain of painting. He very correctly said, "My morning was full of songs. Let sunset days be full of colour." And among the four great pioneers of Modern Art Tagore became one, the other three being Abanindranath Tagore Jamini Roy and Amrita Sher-Gil.



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SWAMIJI'S LAST LETTERS

Prof. DEBIPRASAD BHATTACHARYYA

In order to get a clearer understanding of the spiritual heritage of India one must turn to Swami Vivekananda's lectures and books; if one wants to know the man who delivered those historic speeches and wrote those stimulating and still wonderfully readable books, one must turn to his letters. It is in these and that remarkable memoir in Bengali by Sharat Chandra Chakravarty that one feels the full impact of his genius, of the blinding scintillations of a myriad-faceted personality; above all, it is here that one has, if, of course, one happens to possess— the rarest of all human faculties— spiritual perception, a glimpse of something of still greater importance—his spiritual power. A great deal has been said, and rightly, about the splendour of his mental endowments, which were certainly of the very highest order; about his achievements as a social and religious reformer, as the founder of a powerful world-wide organization; about his patriotism—which is too trivial and feeble a word to express what he felt and did for India—and warm humanity.

All this is true; and yet if this were all we have to say in praise of Vivekananda, we have missed his real greatness. For spirituality, in the final analysis, is the essence of this intellectual giant; his whole life is permeated through and through with spirit. Those of us—and they are the majority—who acclaim, and are still acclaiming, him loudly in the midst of the nation-wide centenary celebrations as a great national leader who loved his country and preached humanitarian ideals of service to the poor and the down-trodden, had better leave him alone, because they are the last persons to understand this great man. The first step in the understanding of Swamiji is to realize that he was first and foremost a spiritual seeker, in other words, a **sadhaka**. This is a point that needs emphasising in this centenary year, because it is in danger of being lost sight of in a predominantly political-minded modern India.

The primary object in writing this article is to trace the spiritual development of Swamiji through the remarkable series of letters that cover roughly the period 1892-1902. I have, however, concentrated on the letters of his last phase. By the last phase I have meant roughly the last three years of his life, that is, from the middle of 1899 till his death, three years later. His spiritual development, as these last letters show, was astonishingly rapid during this last phase of his life. He condensed, so to speak, in three or four years a process that would have taken a whole life-time, or several lives, in the case of others. His strange premonition of the approaching end, a feeling which he expresses repeatedly in these last years, I think, accelerated this process. In a letter addressed to his dear Mary (Hale) on August 27, 1901, he writes: "Then again, I am a dying man; I have no time to fool in."

As an example of the profound change that came over him during this last phase I may refer the reader to a letter he wrote to the same young lady on June 17, 1900. His earlier letters to the Hale sisters, especially those addressed to Mary, who must have been a girl of remarkable charm, and full of golden good humour. These delightful letters could have been written by a young man who was in love with this world; they express, in almost every line, an intense zest for life for which we shall look in vain in his letter of June 17, 1900, for example. The tone, the very style has changed. The dominant note of this very serious letter, the teasing, chaffing, even mischievous note is no more—is one of profound world-weariness. "I have worked for this world, Mary, all my life," he writes with deep sadness, "and it does not give you a piece of bread without taking a pound of flesh." Then comes a surprise. "Amen! I have given

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up all thoughts about India or any land. I am now selfish, want to save myself."

I said this is surprising because it is the exact opposite of what he had been saying all his life, namely, that the desire to save the souls of others is infinitely nobler than the desire for one's own salvation. In his earlier letters and recorded conversations he is very severe on the latter conception of salvation and condemns it as something narrow and selfish, unworthy of a noble soul. I may here remark in passing that this contemptuous attitude towards the ideal of personal salvation, although inspired by the spontaneous generosity of a great soul and, therefore, deserving our highest respect appears, nevertheless, to rest on a fundamental misconception of what the ancient sages of India regarded as the final end of human existence, namely, Moksha.

The very fact, however, that he outgrew, even if for a moment, his earlier contempt for the traditional view of individual salvation, is of the utmost importance, because it is a symptom, among others, of a profound change that was coming over him, a turning-point in his spiritual development—a growing dissatisfaction with himself, a vague uneasy feeling that something had gone wrong with him, that he was perhaps not following his **swadharma.** In his earlier letters he appears to be on the whole satisfied with himself; the disatisfaction he expresses, sometimes very strongly, is about the world and his fellow human beings. We must not forget that his earlier letters to his brother disciples, although usually warm-hearted, good-humoured and pleasant, were not always so; they were often very severe and sharply critical, now ruthlessly blunt, now bitingly sarcastic. In his last letters to his brother disciples, whom he loved more than his own self, the asperity is softened; instead of criticism we discover self-criticism, even self-reproach, unsparing and remorseless. This great reformer now turns his attention to himself, expresses repeatedly his irritation at, and determination to get rid of, what he thinks are his glaring faults: emotionalism, "brutal outbursts" of temper, and above all, restlessness.

In his earlier letters he appears to be too breathlessly busy, too absorbed in the immediate work in hand to be capable of introspection; he hardly had the time for it. That is why his earlier letters give one the impression of an extrovert, of an energetic, strong-willed, self-satisfied man of action. For self-analysis, dispassionate and searching, the most powerful weapon against egoism,—the most subtle and, therefore, the most difficult of all spiritual sins to conquer—we must turn to his later correspondence.

As a remarkable example of passionate self-revelation I must call the reader's attention to a letter he wrote to Miss McLeod on April 18, 1900. "After all, Joe", he writes, "I am the boy who used to listen with rapt wonderment to the wonderful words of Ramkrishna under the Banyan at Dakshineswar. That is my true nature; works and activities, doing good and so forth are all superimpositions. The old man is gone, gone for ever, never to come." He never did; the born contemplative in him, which he now rightly, if rather belatedly, recognised as his true self, was reasserting himself; all the celebrity, the blaze of publicity that might well have turned the head of the noblest of men, could not shut out from his fascinated gaze, the dark, silent, impenetrable caves of the Himalayas. This is, it must be remembered, no momentary emotional outburst; this feeling of intense home-sickness is the key-note of a series of letters; the vision of the Banyan tree and the Himalayas continued to haunt him. He would now give anything, his fame, his triumphant, unprecedented success in conveying to the West the message of India, the deep respect and love he inspired in hundreds of devoted admirers of both sexes in the West,—he would exchange all these for the obscure but peaceful days with his master, for the life of devotion, of meditation in solitude, the life he thought he was born for.

This profound dissatisfaction with himself is the result of a spiritual crisis he was passing through during the last two years of the last century. By the end of 1897 he was already a tired man; years of severe hardship, of ascetic austerities in India followed by intolerable physical and mental strain in America and the West, at last began to

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tell upon his health which was never sound; his iron nerves went to pieces. "The last two years" he writes to his dear Mary in 1897, "have been specially bad. I have been living in mental hell". His experiences with the people he had to deal with were not always happy; he was, like all great men, widely misunderstood, even by men and women who were nearest to his heart, and he did not lack enemies at home and abroad, who did all they could to disgrace him. He had always had a genuine indifference towards public opinion—a quality rarely found even among great men, and never among politicians; but he was too affectionate and kindly a man to be insensitive to failure in reciprocation on the part of those whom he trusted and loved. (His capacity for love was infinite; no wonder he, an intellectual disciple of Shankaracharya, regarded Buddha, who could sacrifice his life to save a suffering fellow creature, as a greater man).

All these,—failing health, shattered nerves, mental suffering caused by unhappy experiences with people he loved and trusted, financial worries, the premonition of the approaching end—are among the factors which must have contributed to the spiritual crisis.

This spiritual crisis which occurred at the beginning of the last phase, that is during 1897—1898, is characterised, as I have said, by a profound world-weariness and listlessness; things that greatly agitated his mind formerly begin to interest him less and less. There is a new note of aloofness in his letters of this period; he repeatedly expresses the desire of ridding himself of all responsibilities, of retiring from the world in order to devote himself to meditation. What is still more remarkable, in a man who was the most warm-hearted and least cynical of all men, is that we perceive a note of disillusionment about human nature; his letters henceforward grow somewhat colder in tone—a striking contrast with his earlier letters which are all warmth and fun and hearty laughter. Even the style reflects this change. There is something severe and austere about these letters; the fluency, exuberance and copious eloquence of the early nineties are no more; instead, we find greater economy of words, greater concentration. The unrivalled clarity and simplicity, and the unfailing—and, for a man whose mother tongue was not English, —amazing felicity are, of course, there as ever.

I have, however, not yet mentioned what, more than anything else, constitutes the real crisis in his soul: restlessness. "I never know," he writes again to Mary (Hale), "a moment's peaceful life". There is hardly a letter of this period (1896-1899) in which he does not express an intense longing for peace. Peace, that is the one thing that seems to matter, that he must achieve at any cost; every other consideraion is subordinated to this supreme need of his soul. From the spiritual point of view this restlessness and consequent craving for peace are facts of the highest importance; I would go even so far as to say that without them it is doubtful whether he would have made any further spiritual progress, because it was this restlessness that dealt the final blow to the deadliest enemy of spiritual progress —self-complacency. And the danger was in his case increased by the fact that he had experienced, on several occasions, moments of supreme self-exaltation. Not only that. In spiritual, as in all other, matters, his conception was so extraordinarily clear, he could understand even the most abstruse subject so quickly and so thoroughly, that it is quite possible he sometimes made the mistake of identifying intellectual conviction with spiritual realization. I shall try to show later, from one of his important letters, how this is what actually happened.

It was this restlessness, again, that made it perfectly clear that, in spite of occasional experiences of spiritual illumination, he was still miles away from the final goal—self-realization. The result was, as I have already said, searching self-analysis, severe, remorseless self-criticism; he wants more and more to concentrate his energies on his own **sadhana**, devote more and more of his time to meditation. In a letter addressed to Swami Brahmananda in Bengali (12th March, 1900) he writes: "Now I shall quietly do Japa and meditation for sometime—nothing

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more". The man who wrote this is very different from the Vivekananda who is still represented in the popular imagination of India as first and foremost a social reformer, an apostle of the gospel of work, and in America, as the "Cyclonic Hindu". But that Vivekananda, in his own words, "is gone for ever, never to come". The mystic-contemplative in him, the real Vivekananda, has asserted himself once and for all. His mind—and a magnificent mind at that—now turns in upon itself. The result is something which we rarely notice in his earlier letters of busier days but appears in every letter he wrote during the last phase :- inwardness, increasing, ever-deepening inwardness without which there can be no real spiritual life. This is only one among many other facts which testifies to the astonishing progress of the last, and the most important, phase of his spiritual journey.

As this inwardness intensified he began to experience something he seldom knew for years; and yet that was the one thing he now desired more than anything else in the world-peace. A deep inner calm was descending on his troubled, restless soul; almost every letter he wrote during the last two and a half years breathes peacefulness, a certain contemplative serenity. "I am attaining peace", he writes to Mary Hale, in an inspired letter, "that passeth understanding, which is neither joy nor sorrow, but something above them both." In another, dated April 7, 1900, he writes, "I am more calm and quiet than I ever was....." "My boat", he writes with serene confidence "is nearing the calm harbour from which it is never more to be driven out". The restlessness of his earlier letters is never more to be heard; he has attained at last the ultimate object of all spiritual striving—peace. Whether this was the final, imperturbable calm of the Bhagavad Geeta, or even the peace "that passeth understanding" of the Bible, is a question that will concern us presently : it is, to my mind, the great question about Vivekananda which has got to be answered in any serious study of his spiritual achievement.

Before I venture to attempt an answer to this great question, I must point out a few significant and marked changes in the phraseology of these last letters. One of these is the increasingly frequent occurrence of the word Karma. In a touching letter addressed to E. Sturdy, (Sept. 14, 1899) he writes : "It is Karma that brings us together, and Karma that separates.... It is Karma again." He tends more and more to attribute his sufferings, both physical and mental, to his own Karma which he must work out fully in this birth. He feels, in consequence, less and less inclined to accuse or find fault with anybody ; even his virtuous indignation, so refreshing and stimulating an element in his satirical utterances, becomes rare. "Of course", he writes in another letter, "it is my Karma and I am glad that it is so." This repeated reference to Karma, like everything else that marks a change, points to a progressive and steady diminution of the ego which must be, for us, and always, the ultimate test of a man's spiritual progress.

Along with this repeated reference to Karma I must call the reader's attention to a remarkable fact which, from our point of view, is still more significant. It is the recurrence of a memorable phrase in these letters : "Mother knows best." This is indeed something new ; it is certainly not the voice of a man who is conscious and even proud, quite justifiably, of his astounding abilities. It is not the voice of a man out to change the world but of one who is content to let things go. This is something very different from the unbounded self-confidence so clearly discernible in his earlier letters ; instead, we find a growing realization, more tranquil than painful, of his utter powerlessness. It is all "the will of the Mother."

All this, as I have said, points to a steady and progressive diminution of egoism. At this point, to dispel a possible misapprehension, I must hasten to add that by this I am not suggesting that he was an out and out egotist before. The tone of some of his earlier letters may, indeed, give such an impression. It is confirmed, moreover, by certain incontrovertible facts : his self-assertiveness, self-righteousness, consciousness of his intellectual superiority and con-

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tempt for stupidity. Such a view of him, however, would be very superficial and entirely unjust; it is due to a regrettable failure to understand the real man behind all these. And the real man, as he reveals himself in his letters, was the kindliest and most affectionate of men, and when it came to human relations, completely, incredibly, selfless. The vision of the ill-clad, downtrodden, starving millions haunted him as it haunted the mind of Gandhiji, a man so different from him in so many respects. Before we start criticing Swamiji for his egotism, we would do well to pause to reflect what we—who have, by the way, so little to be egotistic about—would have felt had we achieved a thousandth part of what he had in his early thirties.

When I said that we notice a progressive and very marked diminution of egotism in his last letters I meant by egotism the subtler and more complex manifestations of it. Complete extinction of the ego, reducing the self to zero in the memorable phrase of Gandhiji, is the most difficult thing to achieve on earth, even for great men; it is the last stage of all spiritual striving which is followed by the final enlightenment. Swamiji, at the stage when "Mother knows best" becomes almost the refrain of his letters, I believe, was getting nearer every day to this final goal of all **sadhana**, annihilation of the ego, the first and the last enemy to be conquered on the thorny, razor's-edge path to salvation. And this brings us to the great question about Swamiji, which everything I have said so far has been inevitably leading up to, to try to find an answer to which has been the ultimate object of writing this article. Did Swamiji, before he left this world, at the incredibly premature age of thirty-nine attain, after what must have been, as I have tried to show, an extraordinarily rapid spiritual progress, the final enlightenment? In other words, did he ever become, in the language of the Upanishads, a Brahmavit?

Now, before I go to answer, with as much humility and respectful diffidence as the subject deserves, this important and difficult question about Swamiji, I shall call the reader's attention to a letter addressed to Miss Mary Hale, written a little over five years before his death. What occasioned this remarkable letter was the publication, in some of the American papers, of the "strange news" that he disliked American women and that he was an outcast in his own land. The result was this sharp rejoinder; it is a shocked, indignant protest expressed in a language that betrays considerable irritation. The provocation, everybody will admit, was severe enough to justify virtuous indignation. Nevertheless, it is impossible not to feel, especially for those who, like myself, are his devoted admirers, something of a shock at the fact that so unusually strong-minded a man as Swami Vivekananda should have been stung so visibly and so much. What is perhaps still more disturbing, from the point of view of a **sadhaka** is that the letter expresses, very clearly and very strongly, a state of mind which, although entirely human, is not calculated to inspire feelings of admiration in those who regard him, rightly, as, above all, a spiritual genius. It is pride. Betrand Russell once remarked that a certain amount of pride is something that is to be found in the best of men. Perhaps he is right. I myself, I must confess, find something very refreshing about Swamiji's healthy and manly pride; it did India, which needed it badly, incalculable service. Pride, under certain circumstances and in certain exceptional persons, is far from ignoble or unbecoming. To say this, however, is not to deny what is equally true, namely, that real, Christian humility is an infinitely more beautiful thing to contemplate; it is also, as T. S. Eliot once rightly affirmed, the most difficult of all virtues to achieve.

Now to our letter. "And dear Mary," he writes, reminding her of the fact that he is a Sannyasin, "these feet have been washed and wiped and worshipped by the decendants, of kings, and there has been a progress through the country which none ever commanded in India." Then expressing contempt, and later, pity, for those fools who tried to malign him, he writes: "What, who have realised the Spirit and the vanity of all earthly nonsense, to be swerved from my path by babies' prattle! Do I look like that"?

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This is a tremendous statement; it is also a disturbing one. It is disturbing because it raises a number of questions, and they are very important questions. The first question is: is it true? In other words, had he, when he wrote this letter, realised the Spirit? If we believe he had—which I do not—we must be prepared to face a further question, inescapable and extremely pertinent. It is this. Is it necessary for such a man, a man who has realised the Spirit; to establish his spiritual superiority? Is it necessary for such a man to assert, with such evident heat, that he is utterly, contemptuously indifferent to what others thought and said of him? Should a man who really thought all this mere "babies' prattle", take it so much to heart?

The answer to these disturbing and yet crucial questions seems obvious to me: they are unanswerable. Swami Vivekananda, in other words, could not have "realised the Spirit" as yet, that is to say, in July, 1897; five years before he died. At this point, the scandalised, and if he or she happens to be an uncritical admirer of Swamiji, indignant reader is sure to ask, "Was he then, when he said he had realised the Spirit, suffering from self-delusion? Or was it the pretension of a megalomaniac"?

It was, I am sure, neither the one nor the other. What happened, I think, was this. Intellectual conviction, let me repeat, when it is unusually strong and sincere, may sometimes pass for spiritual experience, even to exceptionally alert and critical minds. It is quite possible, even natural, as I have already suggested, for one who has attained an advanced stage of spiritual development to mistake the one for the other, especially when beliefs are fortified by sudden illuminations during moments of mystical ecstasy. It was, I believe, during such periods of supreme spiritual exaltation that Swamiji declared himself a liberated soul, one with the Brahman. That he was still miles away from the final beatific vision, from the **Brahmi sthiti** of the **Bhagavad Geeta** is made abundantly clear from the letters that precede or succeed these rare, exalted ones. The letters, we must remember, that follow the one just referred to above, those written during the next two or three years, are, as I have already pointed out, full of an intense desire for peace, physical and mental.

Was this desire, the one great desire of his last years, fulfilled? The answer, if we are to accept what his last letters suggest, would be: it was very nearly fulfilled. I said "very nearly" because even so late as May 18, 1901, a little over a year before he left this world, he wrote to Mary, "I feel a quiet nowadays, and have done with three-fourths of my restlessness." From this confession we we are, I think, justified in our conclusion that he was, a year before he died, yet to achieve the settled calm, the imperturbable serenity of the **Bhagavad Geeta.** The very fact that he was still **developing** spiritually—the very language and tone of his letters, as I have shown, testify to a continuous change in his personality the very fact that he was getting every day calmer, more at peace with himself and with the world, shows that he had **not** yet "realised the Spirit," not yet, in other words, become, in the true and profound sense of the term, a Brahmavit. There is clear evidence, again, even in the letters of his last phase, of conscious moral and spiritual effort which shows that he was, till the last, essentially a **sadhaka,** a **sadhaka** who, **although not yet** fully enlightened, had attained, nevertheless, a high degree of spiritual development. For a young man who never lived to be forty, with the body and nerves all gone to pieces after years of terrible, intolerable physical and mental strain his was an astounding achievement. Had he lived longer and died in ripe old age, he would, we have every reason to believe, certainly have attained, in this very life, the last stage of spiritual perfection of which a human being is capable, the **Brahmi sthiti** of the **Bhagavad Geeta,** of which he had only had, during his life, a clear intellectual conception. His conceptions, by the way, were, as I have said, amazingly clear, no matter what the subject under discussion was—but no direct spiritual experience, except in rare, occasional glimpses during meditation or in moments of sudden, mysti-

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cal illumination. Such speculations, I know, are, after all, idle, and yet irresistible, especially when, as in his case, the person involved happens to be such a magnificent **adhar**, gifted with mental endowments of the very highest order.

I have tried to show above why I think Swamiji was not, in the final analysis and in the full sense of the term, a Brahmavit, not because I had the slightest intention to belittle this great man, a man for whom I have more admiration than I can express in words, but because I thought it very necessary to explain, and thus make the readers realise, what it means to be a Brahmavit. It seems to me very unfortunate that most people in our country, the land of the Upanishads and the Geeta—let alone other countries—even among men who are genuinely religious, do not appear to have the faintest notion of the tremendous import of this little understood and therefore much abused word. This word is used, even among learned circles, incredibly loosely; it looks as though Brahmavits nowadays are as plentiful as black-berries; in fact they are as many at present as there are "Gurus" in our country. To me, I must confess, this is worse than culpable frivolity; it is downright blasphemy. Nothing horrifies me so much as this vulgar debasement of so noble a word. I would go even so far as to say that nothing shows more clearly the utter spiritual bankruptcy of modern India as the complete and almost universal ignorance of the meaning of a word which enshrines, in all its grandeur, the ammazing Indian conception of the highest attainable perfection of man that finds its supreme expression in the imperishable verse of the **Bhagavad Geeta**—a conception which remains, even according to some distinguished exponents of civilizations which are remote and very different from ours, unquestionably the most completely satisfying of all attempts, made so far in the history of man on our planet, to discover the meaning and the ultimate justification of human existence.

INDIAN INFLUENCE ON MALAY CUSTOMARY LAW

By JOSEPH MINATTUR, M.A., Ph.D., LL.D., Barrister-at-Law

THE purpose of this paper is a very modest one. It is intended to indicate that some rethinking in regard to the early period of Malaysian legal history is necessary. With all due respect to R. J. Wilkinson, who has done excellent work on Malay language, it is proposed that *adat perpateh*[1] was influenced by Indian customs as much as, or more than *adat temenggong*.[2] It is generally assumed that *adat temenggong* was gleaned from Indian fields. I would suggest that Malay *adat* in general, irrespective of whether it is *adat perpateh* or *adat temenggong*, owed a great deal, probably its very soul, to Indian influences.

In a paper published in 1944, Sir Richard Winstedt stated:

"With little exaggeration it has been said of Europe that it owes its theology, its literature, its science and its art to Greece: with no greater exaggeration it may be said of the Malayan races that till the nineteenth century they owed everything to India: religion, a political system, mediaeval astrology and medicine, literature, arts and crafts."[3]

After elaborating this thesis he concluded:

"Though he is unconscious of it, from the cradle to the grave the Malay is surrounded by survivals of Indian culture. Even his nursery tales are many of them derived from Bidpai's Fables, the *Jataka* tales and Somadeva's *Ocean of Story*. India found the Malay a peasant of the late stone-age, a "free under a coconut shell," and it left him a citizen of the world. It taught him the weaving of silk and emobroidery and metal work, and it gave him its clothes and material comforts. It taught him to tame the elephant and improved his methods of fishing. The customary law of the tribe it broadened into the

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law of the State. It introduced the Malay to Hindu and Persian classics and induced into an illiterate people a passion for knowledge. It gave him the science of the middle ages, and, converted to Islam, it gave him the ideal of democracy. But now that steamships have brought the Malay world into close relations with Arabia and Egypt, England and Holland; all these things are to its inhabitants no more than a tale that is told by Indian and European scholars."[4]

If he were to write now, he would probably make special mention of the Constitution of Malaysia which is derived, in a large measure, from the Constitution of India as adapted in part by Pakistan in its Constitution of 1956.

De Josselin de Jong thinks, the view that Malayan races owed everything to India: religion, political system, etc., is "to put it mildly, greatly exaggerated."[5] Though one cannot vouch for this "everything" in Sir Richard's allegedly exaggerated statement, one need have no hesitation in protesting that when he said "the customary law of the tribe it broadened into the law of the State" he was probably indulging in an understatement. For India not only broadened the customary law of the tribe, but also strengthened that law by adding to it sizable chunks of India's own customary law with the result that in a few spheres at least, the Malay customary law has been able to withstand the onslaughts of Islamic law and English law. I may cite, for instance, the survival of the formalities of the installation ceremony observed in Negri Sembilan and elsewhere which were undoubtedly borrowed from Indian practices. Whether the *Yang di-Pertuan Besar*,[6] if elected and installed without these ceremonies[7] will be entitled to exercise the powers granted to him under the Constitution may be a nice point for discussion in Constitutional Law, but one may venture the suggestion that Malay society in Negri Sembilan will have to pass through many more vicissitudes before it is likely to have a *Yamtuan* accepted as its ruler without these ceremonies.

The instance from Negri Sembilan has been cited with a view to pointing out that Indian influence in *adat perpateh* society was no less potent than *adat temenggong* society. One would probably find much clearer indication of indebtedness to India on the part of the former than of the latter; for most of the institutions of the latter are found all over the world, while those of the former are not so widespread and when one looks at the details, similarities are so striking as not to be easily dismissed as accidental.

Ever since Wilkinson wrote his "Law: Introductory Sketch" published in the series *Papers on Malay Subjects*, it has been an article of faith among students of Malaysian legal history that *adat perpateh* is the indigenous customary law of the Malays, or to use Wilkinson's own words, "the pure Malay law of Minangkabau."[8] Following Wilkinson, they believe that *adat temenggong* represents the old Minangkabau jurisprudence in a state of disintegration after many centuries of exposure to the influence of Hindu despotism and Muslim law,[9] and that the Minangkabau immigrants who brought with them adat temenggong to the Malay Peninsula came by way of Pelembang. The "ancient Malay kingdom of Palembang had come under the influence of the old Hindu civilisation of Java and had entirely adandoned its Minangkabau customs."[10]

With respect, it is submitted that both these views appear to be erroneous. Apart from the many undisputed facts of history with which we are familiar, there is ample evidence to be derived from social anthropology and etymology which would induce, if not compel, acceptance of contrary views.

The view that *adat temenggong* is *adat perpateh* in decay under Hindu and Muslim influences may be easily disposed of. As both *adat perpateh* and *adat temenggong* existed (and still exist) in Minangkabau, there is no good reason to assume that certain groups of Minangkabau people who temporarily settled in Palembang permitted a state of disintegration in their own *adat* and when they later on migrated to the peninsula, brought along with them what was left of this *adat* which had by now assumed substance as *adat temenggong*. The kampongs in Minangkabau are traditionally grouped into four *suku* (= quarter). They are called *Bodi*, *Chaniago*, *Koto* and *Piliang*. They are further grouped into two, *Bodi-Chaniago* and *Koto-Piliang*, and these two groups are considered to have their own adat. Each *nagari* in Minangkabau considers itself as belonging to one of these two groups, either to *Bodi-Chaniago* group with its *adat perpateh* or *Koto-Piliang* group

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with its *adat temenggong*. This division into two groups does not mean that there are no kampongs belonging to *adat temenggong* in the *Bodi-Chaniago* area or vice versa; it only indicates that kampongs belonging to the *adat temenggong* traditionally occupy a prominent positon in a *nagari* of the *Koto-Piliang* group and those of *adat perpateh* occupy a similar position in the *Bodi-Chaniago nagaris*, which may have among them kampongs following *adat temenggong*. After all, the two groups are described as forming *lareh*,[11] which means harmonious or belonging together.[12] According to legend,[13] the two law-givers, Kei Tamanggungan[14] and Parapatih nan Sabatang, after whom the *adat* are called, were half-brothers.[15] It is true that according to the version of the *terombo* (the song of origin) of the *adat* familiar to the people of Naning and the neighbourhood, the two law-givers chose two separate spheres of influence; *Tamanggungan* chose the coastal area

Where the water comes in rolling billows,
Where the waves break white in foam,
Where the beaches glare in the sun,
Where the sand-banks stretch seaward,
Where the long islands lie on the tide,
Where the merchandise goes out and in
Where the traders sell and buy.[16]

Parapatih chose for himself the inland region

Where squirrels race and frisk on the trees,
Where monkeys leap from branch to branch,
Where long-armed apes dangle and swing,
Where mouse-deer nightly come to bathe.
...A place of snakes sleeping and coiled,
A place of wild cats sleeping curled...
A place of high hills and open glades.[16]

Though the *terombo* speaks of two different spheres of influence for the two law givers,[17] we know as a matter of fact that in Minangkabau from olden times to this day, *nagaris* following *adat perpateh* and those following *adat temenggong* exist together and in harmony, in conformity with the concept of *lareh*. *Adat temenggong* could therefore have been brought by certain sections of the Minangkabau people to the Malaya Peninsula direct from the country of its origin. It was certainly unnecessary for them to have gone and sojourned in Palembang to adopt *adat temenggong* and then to import it to the Paninsula.

The other Wilkinsonian myth that *adat perpateh*,[18] an institution utterly indigenous to the Malays, flourished in its pristine purity in Minangkabau, uncontaminated by Indian influences, probably requires more detailed discussion. It is known from inscriptions found in Kedah, Province Wellesley and East Borneo, that there were Indian settlements in Malaysia as early as the 4th century A.D., if not earlier.[19] Coedes has proved beyond reasonable doubt that most of the settlements were of South Indians.[20] He says that the Indian adventurers on their arrival found a people who were fairly advanced in civilisation. According to him one of the characteristics of their civilisation—the Austro-Asiatic civilisation—was the recognition of descent in the female line.[21] It is found among the Khasis of Assam in N.E. India, an Austro-Asiatic community.[21a] The Garos of Assam as well as the Jaintias who are closely related to the Khasis also follow matriliny. Considering that matriliny was not unknown to the Austro-asiatics, it is not suggested that this social system was introduced into Minangkabau from South India, where it was prevalent in the area now comprised in the state of Kerala; but the probabilities of such introduction cannot be ruled out when one recollects that in various parts of Sumatra, Malayalis settled down along with other South Indian immigrants. This may be seen from the old clan names in Sumatra. Thus one comes across in the subdivision of Marga Simbiring of the Karo Bâtak names like Colija, Pandija, Malijala, Pelavi and Tekang.[22] In this company it is not difficult to recognise Malijala for Malayalam,[23] corresponding to the presnt day Kerala, Pelavi for Pallava and Tekang for Dekhan.

From 500 A.D. there were Indianised states in Sumatra; the oldest of them was probably Melayu with its capital at Jambi, near Minangkabau. It would appear that the Srivijaya empire brought this State under its power and influence.[24] When the empire declined the ancient kingdom of Melayu seemed to have come to life again[25] under the name of Dharmasraya. In 1275 King Kertanagara, the ruler of a Javanese kingdom called Singasari entered into relations with Melayu. As may be gathered from an inscription of 1286 these relations led to a successful expedition against Melayu. Tribhuvanaraja Maulivarmadeva, the King of Dharmasraya, became an ally of the King of Singasari.[26] These historical facts

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deserve notice because of the geographical proximity of Melayu and Minangkabau and because of the significant circumstance that the kingdom in Melayu had an Indian name and the King an Indian name as well as an Indian title.

In the next century a prince who was educated in the Indianised kingdom of Java set up a kingdom for himself in Minangkabau and ruled over it for about thirty-five years, from 1340 to 1375. He was called by an Indian name, Adityavarman.[27] It may therefore be safely assumed that Minangkabau during these days was not without some impact of Indian culture. According to the tradition current in Negri Sembilan it was in 1388,[28] that is thirteen years after the reign of Adityavarman, that some sections of the Minangkabau people migrated to Negri Sembilan. A Minangkabau prince who was elected *Yang di-Pertuan* in Negri Sembilan in 1773 is referred to as Raja Melewar, which appears to be a title rather than a name, for Melewar (or Melavar) in Tamil and Malayalam would mean a superir or overlord.

The first Minangkabau king mentioned in *Sejarah Melayu* also appeared to have had an Indian name, Sang Sapurba,[29] which Winstedt reconstructs as Prabhu.[30] His queen's name[31] was undoubtedly Indian, Wan Sundari,[32] which means sylvan beauty. It may be that the Indian settlers gave their beautiful queen from the wilderness a complimentary appellation. According to the Minangkabau legends, the first ruler had the name Maharajadhiraja, which is actually an Indian title and may be translated as 'supreme ruler.'

In Negri Sembilan, *di-Pertuan* in the designation *Yang di-Pertuan Besar* appears to be Malay transliteration for the Sanskrit compound adipradhan. The hereditary titles of the four *Undangs* of Negri Sembilan have in them a number of Indian words: *Putera Indera Pallawa* (Sungei Ujong), *Lela Perkasa Setiawan* (Johol); *Maharaja Lela Sedia Raja* (Rembau) and *Mendika Mentri Paduka* (Jelebu). The hill above the old Istana in Negri Sembilan is called Bukit Sri Indera, after a Hindu deity. One of the *orang empat istana* (four men of the palace) has the title *Raja diwangsa*, that is Rajadhivamsa, in Sanskrit, meaning ruler of the chief tribe. The *Yamtuan's* throne is referred to as *singahasana* which is the Sanskrit word for throne. The sacred bathing-pavilion meant for the ceremonial lustration of the *Yang di-Pertuan Besar* and his consort has a Sanskrit compound word for its name, *pancha persada*. The musical competition held on the occasion is referred to as *sepat raga* which probably stands for the Sanskrit *sapta raga*, seven tunetypes.

To refer to a number of institutions connected with their matrilineal system, Minangkabaus and Negri Sembilan people use Indian words, some of which are the very words used by the people of Kerala to denote their own institutons. For instance, Minangkabau *bako* denoting patrilineal relationship, is heard in Negri Sembilan as *baka* and in Kerala as *vaka*. *Harto pusako* of Minangkabau and *harta pesaka*[33] of Negri Sembilan have in them two Sanskrit loan words: *artha* meaning wealth and *sakha* meaning branch, used in relation to the branch of a matrilineal family group in all the three areas. The *same* sakha appears in Managkabau in the phrase *kata saka* or *kata persaka* in the sense of *perbilangan*, sayings. *Kata* also is a Sanskrit word. What one observes occasionally in the vocabulary of Minangkabau and Negri Sembilan in that some names denoting certain institutions and territorial units are exact translations either into Malay or into Sanskrit of Dravidian names used in Kerala. For instance one comes across the strange word *ebu bapa* which means father-mother (not mother-father, as is sometimes seen translated) and which appears to be a translation of Malayalam *ammaman*, meaning 'he-mother.' Negri[34] is given a specialised meaning in Negri Sembilan and Minangkabau and stands for Malayalam '*nadu*.'[35] In Kerala one becomes familiar with such phrases as *nadum nagariyum*, literally country and town, but used indiscriminately in the sense of territorial units. *Taluk*, an arabic loan-word, denoting a territorial unit in Kerala, seems to be evident in the Minangkabua, *luhak* and Negri Sembilan *luak*. *Kotta*, fortress, a Dravidian word, appears in both Minangkabau and Negri Sembilan, though in the specialised sense of village in Minangkabau and that of a small town in Negri Sembilan. As used in these areas, it probably meant, in the beginning, a fortified area.

Peru is another interesting word. It means name in Kerala and may include the name of the family by which a person is identified as the member of that family in the same way as a surname in the west helps to identify a person.

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Parui (womb) in Minangkabau and *perut*[36] in Negri Sembilan, stand for the matrilineal clan to which one belongs.

Again, the Negri Sembilan expression *orang semenda* may be a derivative from Malayalam *sambandhakaran*,[37] the expression used to denote a man who has entered into a marriage relationship in the Kerala matrilineal society. *Harta depatan* or *harta pendapatan* would appear to be derived from *dattam*[38] (given) in Sanskrit. These Sanskrit words were commonly used by the higher classes in Kerala.[39] *Pramanikal*[40] who, in medieval Kerala, assisted the chief of a *desa* (district) in police and judicial matters and decided disputes in his court, seems to correspond to *penghulu* in Malaya.

Perhaps the most important institution in a matrilineal society is woman. This may be so in other societies as well, but it is assumed this is especially so in matrilineal societies. The commonest word used in Malaysia as well as Indonesia to denote a woman is *perempuan*, a Dravidian derivative, from the Dravidian *penpirannavar*.[41] If one applied the usual rules of Malay syntax to the Dravidian compound and also dropped the last two syllables in the compound, it would not be hard to come by the Malay word, *perempuan*.

Almost all the Sanskrit words one comes across in Malay are those which an educated Melayali would have used and which are still current in modern Malayalam. There are a large number of Dravidian loan words and derivatives in Malay, a few of which can be easily traced to the exclusive vocabulary of the speech current among Mapillas and Tiyas in North Kerala. To cite one instance, the word *peteras* which Wilkinson explains as arrogance and says is an Indian word, without giving any further indication about its etymology, is heard only in North Kerala.

In Kerala matriliny was practised by Nayars from time immemorial. In North Kerala, Tiyas and Mapillas too had the same system of social organisation. In *Kunhi Pathuamma and others* v. *Sundara Aiyar and another*,[42] Chief Justice Leach of the Madras High Court held that a Mapilla family is "governed by *Marumakkattayam law* (that is, matrilineal descent) in all matters relating to property unless there happens to be private property undisposed of by will.[43] Mapillas are Muslims belonging to the Sunni sect. Most of them were originally converts from Hinduism and, in spite of embracing a new faith which perscribed a different rule of inhritance, cherished their own materilineal system, until inroads were made into it by legislation.[44]

Assuming that matriliny was indigenous to Minangkabau, it is not unlikely that this local institution was influenced by South Indian settlers who were familiar with a similar system and who, when they were in Minangkabau and took wives from there and adopted certain local customs, were interested in creating a synthesis of the local institution with their own. Even if no conscious attempt at synthesis was made either by the settlers or by the local community, the Minangkabau and the Kerala institutions had many points of similarity which may not be due to chance coincidence. The fact that the same words or related words are used in both the countries to connote some of the characteristics of this social structure, points to a relationship that cannot be dismissed as purely accidental. In Negri Sembilan, Sanskrit names are heard in relation to a greater number of such characteristics, covering a wider field. It is not likely that old indigenous institutions would fall for foreign names at first sight. To adopt foreign names for an institution, the institution must have been introduced or had been thoroughy subject to the impact of the foreigners or at least so often mentioned by the local people while speaking to the foreigners that the former found it casy to refer to it by its foreign name. When one knows from one's understanding of South East Asian history, that South Indians settled in Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula, and that some sections of the South Indians followed materiliny and some of the matrilineal institutions in Minangkabau in Sumatra and Negri Sembilan in the Malay Peninsula are called by Indian names, it is difficult to rule out South Indian influence on such institutions, just as one may not feel convinced if one is told that the name Raffles Institution was coined by a Malay poet at the court of the Sang Aji of Tumasek for its euphony, when one knows that Raffles was the founder of Singapore, that the English ruled over Singapore when the institution was founded and the word 'institution' is an English word as we know it, though of Latin origin and borrowed from Old French.

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One may in passing refer to an observation made by M. Zaborowski who said,

"I have seen in India, on the Malabar Coast,[45] and especially at Beypur, Calicut, and the surrounding country, various natives of *Malaisoid* type, whose features struck me owing to their close resemblance to those of the Nias.[46] Among the Tiyans . . . . this resemblance is great . . . .; but those in whom the resemblance struck me most, were a . . . . Kurumba man and woman, mendicants met in the vicinity of Calicut. It was on my return from Nias, and the impression they produced was a lively one . . . . I do not wish to affirm that the Nias are descended from the Tiyans, or from the description of their physical characters, their customs and their legends, results the possibility of a common origin between Nias and Kurubas."[47]

We shall now consider a few institutional similarities between *adat perpateh* and the law of the *Dharmasastra*. Wilkinson seems to think that *adat perpateh* awards compensation for offences while Indian law of the olden days inflicted severe punishment on offenders,[48] as was done under *adat temenggong*. While not disputing that the *Dharmasastra*[49] made provision for severe punishment for heinous crimes which were called *sahasa*, it may be mentioned that atonement for murder and slaughter by way of payment of blood money was not uncommon in India. Jolly, in *Hindu Law and Custom* writes,

Roth . . . . has proved that in the Vedic age a blood money of 100 cows was paid to the relations of a murdered person. Baudhayana (1,19,1) prescribes fines of 1,000, 100, and 10 cows and a bull to be paid to the king for the murder of a Kshatriya, a Vaisya and a Sudra respectively . . . . As Buhler ingeniously suggests, probably the king did not keep these fines for himself, but gave them to the family of the murdered person. The blood money of 100 cows reminds us of the 100 cows which have to be given as price of an adoptive son or as the price of a bride.[50]

Jolly proceeds to say that even in modern days payment of blood money consisting of pieces of land or village was in vogue in Rajputana. It ended with the tribe agreeing to pay "the usual blood-money" for a Brahmin shot down in the fight.[51]

Writing early in the 5th century A.D., Fahsien, the Chinese traveller, observed that the administration of criminal law in India in his time was mild, that most crimes were punished by fines only and that capital punishment was practically unknown.[52]

It may further be mentioned that under *adat perpateh* compensation was not invariably the method of punishment to which an offender was subjected. There was provision for death and exile. Parr and Mackray state that in Rembau incest of near relations was nominally a capital offence, but actually punished with outlawry and confiscation of property, a penalty which the *Undang* had no power to commute.[53] They also add that in Naning the death penalty was exacted and refer to a legend current in Pulau Sebang, Naning, according to which a man and a woman found guilty of incest were placed in baskets and drowned in a stream.[54]

The saying

Keris menyalang draipada Undang
Pedang pemanchong draipada raja.
(The execution-kris is the Chief's;
The sword of execution is the King's.)

also indicates that execution as a mode of punishment was not unknown to *adat perpateh*. It may not be seriously contended that the Raja and the Undang were invested with these powers for their own personal entertainment.

The principle of substitution in *adat perpateh* may be an adaptation of a similar principle, namely, *pratinidhi*, in Hindu Law. The concept of *pratinidhi* was evolved to meet cases in which the original could not be produced. A familiar substitute was a fixed monetary payment in place of penances prescribed for expiation.

The rules of evidence in *adat perpateh* may also have been taken from Hindu law. The *adat*, it is said, relied too much on circumstantial evidence.[55] The most conclusive sign of guilt, as Wilkinson observes, is expressed in the saying,

Enggang lalu, ranting patah.
(The twig breaks as the hornbill flies past it.)[56]

It is said that . . . .
When customray law meets circumstances obscure
It throws aside its rule . . . .

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Crime leaves its trail like a water-beetle ;
Like a snail, it leave its slime ;
Like a horse-mango, it leaves its reek ;
A stream that knows not its source or its mouth,
Like that is a man who cannot account for his doings ;
Where a dog barks is where the iguana climbs.[57]

In connexion with the undue reliance placed on circumstancial evidence, one hears :

Pass through flames and you are scorched,
Rub against a bamboo stem and you itch,
Shake it and you will be sprayed with moisture.[58]

With these may be compared what Narada says about the criminal cases in which a person may be convicted merely on suspicion even where there is no witness to prove the guilt. "He who is seen with a firebrand will be known as an incendiary; he who is seem with a weapon, as a murderer; he who is seen with the wife of another, as the adulterer; he who is seen with an axe in his hand will be known as the destroyer of forests."[59]

It is not proposed to deal in detail with *adat temenggong*, for it is generally accepted that there was considerable Indian influence on this *adat*. But this conclusion has been reached partly on the basis of doubtful reasoning. It is assumed, that because it was autocratic and cruel, it must have been influenced by the Indian concept of autocratic, arbitrary rule and severe punishments.[60] The Hindu rulers of India were subject to the *Dharmasastra*. The sanction behind the *Dharmasastra* may be only a continuing cycle of births and deaths; but there were certain other practical considerations which kept the Indian kings within the limits set by public opinion as voiced in the king's council of advisors. The classical instance of a king yielding to public opinion, even against the dictates of his own conscience, may be seen in the *Ramayana* where Lord Rama abandons his faithful queen in the forest because the public gossipped about her life as a captive in the palace of King Ravana. It is again doubtful whether adat *temengoong* as observed in Malaya was as autocratic as is made out. Wilkinson, who speaks of the autocratic nature of *adat temenggong*, has the following anecdote to give from Malacca, a region governed by this *adat*. In the old city of Malacca, he writes,

> a certain chief asked the sultan to surrender an offender. The sultan demurred. When the matter was pressed, the sultan procrastinated in order to allow time for the chief's wrath to pass away, but at last handed over the criminal with a request that the chief might be merciful to his captive. The chief replied by taking up his elephant-goad and splitting open the prisoner's skull in the sultan's very presence.[61]

One wonders whether the sultan or the law he administered was autocratic. Wilkinson does not say anything at all about what happened to the chief; he merely remarks : "A criminal was a prize to be fought for; he was not a man to be tried."[62]

One may in passing refer to the etiquette in relation to the royalty in Malaysia which is called *adat istiadat* and which in the main is derived from India. For instance the language traditionally used for persons of royal blood and chiefs consists largely of Sanskrit words or derivatives. When a chief speaks, he makes *sabda*,[63] a Sanskrit word which means sound, while a commoner chakap, probably an onomatopoeic Malay word. When a member of the royal family is angry, he is said to be *murka*, again a Sanskrit word, while a commoner is content with being *marah*. The royalty gives *anugerah*, from Sanskrit *anugraha*, when making a gift, while a commoner only beri or bagi. These instances are given only to suggest the influence of Indian ways and manners on the etiquette accepted in Malaysia.

In our study of Malaysian law and its history, what we usually notice is an Anglo-centric approach. In this approach the early part of Malaysian legal history is treated as if it were a prelude to the history of the introduction of English common law into Malaysia. It may be alleged that the paper is Indo-centric. It is true that as the subject of the paper is Indian influence, much is said about India; but the attempt has been to view the Malaysian institutions in their historical, and to that extent, their proper, perspective. It is not attempted to point out, because it would not be true to history, that there was a legal choas in Malaysia and the only salvation lay in adopting Indian laws which the Indian settlers were willing and ready to help the indigenous people to adopt. Neither the Indian rulers nor the Indian settlers seem to have endeavoured to change the local customs by imposing their own; but, in their own sphere

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activities they tended to follow practices familiar to them in India and some of these were adopted by the local people. In some spheres as in the case of royal ceremonies, and the details of matrilineal descent and matrilocal residence, the influence seems to have been great.

Finally, it may be mentioned that the study of Malaysian legal history should be Malaysia-oriented and not Anglo-centric, as it has so far been. Now that Malaysia is regarded as having been weaned from England it is time she revised her laws retaining only as much of the English law as is considered essential and reviving as many of the old local laws as are found suitable to the genius and circumstances of the poeople who are to be governed by them.

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1. The custom (*adat*) followed mainly by the Malays of Negri Sembilan and Naning. It is characterised by exogamy and matriliny.
2. The custom followed by Malay communities in other parts of Malaysia.
3. Winstedt, *Indian Influence in the Malay World, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1944, p. 186.
4. *ibid.*, p. 195.
5. P.E. de Josslin de Jong : *Minangkabau and Negri Sembilan*, Leyden, 1951, p. 29.
6. The Head of State in Negri Sembilan.
7. Under the Constitution of Negri Sembilan, he is to be elected in accordance with the custom of the State. Article VII(2).
8. *Papers on Malay Subjects* : Law : Introductory Sketch by Wilkinson, p. 2.
9. *ibid.*, p. 36.
10. *ibid.*, p. 2.
11. *Lareh* is Minangkabau for Malay *laras*. Note the saying : *adopun mandirikan pajueng Koto-Piliang hanjo Bodi-Tjaniago* (Bodi-Chaniago sets up the umbrella of Koto-Piliang).
12. For details, see de Josselin de Jong, *Minangkabau and Negri Sembilan*, p. 12.
13. The legend is narrated by G. D. Willinck, *Het rechtsleven bij de Minankabausche Maleiers*, p. 121.
14. William Marsden gives the name as Kei Tananggungan (*History of Sumatra*, 3rd. edition, 1811, p. 332). According to de Josselin de Jong, the full name is (presumably in Dutch spelling) *Kjoi Katumanggungan*. As in the case of Parapatih, this name also appears to be a title, which may mean the Chief of the (King's) Companions, if it is not a corruption of Sanskrit *dharmanatha* (lawful protector) with *agung* added to it. The final *an* in the name probably serves the purpose of indicating masculine gender. Considering the duties traditionally attributed to a *temenggong*, one would incline to think that this title or official designation had something to do with *dharma* (justice, law). It is not improbable that the title has been adapted from Sanskrit *dharmagna, dharmanatha, dharmavid* or *dharmadhikarin*.
15. Haji Mohd. Din bin Ali, "*Two Forces in Malay Society*," *Intisari*, Vol. I, No. 3, p. 16. As a Minankabau saying has it, Dato Katumanggungan possesses the kingship, Dato Parapatih possesses the (royal) umbrella (the symbol of sovereignty). (*Datue Katumanggungan punjo karadjoan, Datue Parapatih punjo pajueng.*) Quoted in de Josselin de Jong, *op. cit.*, p. 73.
16. These lines are quoted from J. L. Humphreys's *Translation of the Terombo* : *JSBRAS*. No. 83, p. 13. It may be recollected that the terombo was composed in the Peninsula as may be seen from the following lines :

    Our sires, our origins,
    Forget not our origins!
    Minangkabau our overlord,
    Johor our Raja,
    Siak our ally,
    Malacca our landing place,
    Naning our mother,
    The land of Jelebu our offshoot!

17. The terombo lines :

    Di-situ lah pembahagian Dato Temenggong dengan Dato Perpateh nan Sabatang
    Menghilir ka-Kampar Kiri dan menghulu ka Kampar Kanan.
    There was the place of division
    Of Dato' Temenggong and Dato Perpateh—
    Down stream to Kampar Kiri,
    Upstream to Kampar Kanan.

18. *Adat perpateh* is believed to be named after Dato Parapatih nan Sa-batang. The Dato's name appears to be variously given; thus, Wilkinson would have Perpateh pinang Sa-batang while Hyde has it as Merpateh pisang Sa-batang. (JMBRAS, vi, iv, p. 51) *Parapati* is a Sanskrit compound meaning 'overlord' and 'nan' appears to be a corruption of the Sanskrit suffix 'nam.' Wilkinson's innovation to 'pinang' and Hyde's alteration to 'pisang' may be due to the presence of the word Sa-batang which means a single stem. Probably sa-batang was used, in contrast to *suku* (quarter) or *saka* (branch), as connoting the whole tribe and hence the title indicated the headship of a tribe.
19. B.H.M. Vlekke, *Nusantara*, p. 21: P. Wheatley, *The Golden Khersonese*, p. 273. Winstedt, *A History of Malaya*, 1962, p. 31.
20. George Coedes, *Les Etats hindouises d'Indochine et d'Indonesie*, p. 25 *et seq.*
21. *ibid.*, p. 21. See also P. Wheatley, *The Golden Khersonese*, p. 193.

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21a. J. Minattur, The Khasis, *The Modern Review*, May, 1955.

22. N. J. Krom, *Hindu-Javaansche Geschiedenis*, translated by H. B. Sarkar, *Journal of Greater India Society*, Vol. XVI, p. 26. Dr. Krom's Dutch spelling for these names is retained here. See also H. Kern, *Verspreide Geschriften* (Collected Writings), Vol. III, pp. 67-72.

23. Malayalam usually denotes the language of Kerala, but with the addition of *nadu*, and the resultant dropping of the final *m* in the first word, (*i.e.* Malayalanadu, but more often Malanadu, land of hills) it may stand for the State of Kerala.

24. B. H. M. Vlekke, Nusantrara, p. 28.

25. *ibid.*, p. 64.

26. de Josselin de Jong, *op. cit.*, pp. 8. 95-96.

27. B. H. M. Vlekke, *Nusantara*, p. 70.

28. Parr and Mackray, Rembau, *JSBRAS*, Vol. 56, p. 2.

29. His full title was Sang Sapurba Trimurti Tribhuvana; the last two words are undoubtedly Sanskrit. His original name Nila Pahlawan also consists of Indian words.

30. Winstedt, *History of Malaya*, p. 41. If *prabhu* was the title of the Minangkabau ruler, *Melewar* may be regarded as an exact translation of this title into Tamil or Malayalam.

31. Shellabear's edition of *Sejarah Melayu*, cheritera II.

32. The use of *wan* for grandmother in Negri Sembilan can probably be traced to this royal ancestress.

33. These words denote ancestral property in matrilineal society.

34. *Nagara* in Sanskrit means a city. In Malay *negri* would usually connote a country or settlement. Negri Sembilan seems to denote nine settlements.

35. Usually used in the sense of principality or province, but sometimes used to specify a district; also used to connote the country as opposed to town.

36. *Per* in Malayalam would mean giving brith. See note (41) below.

37. *Sambandham* is from Sanskrit and means bond or tie and hence marriage. *Karan* is a Dravidian suffix indicating a person who belongs to or possesses what is connoted by the preceding part of the word. Hence *sambandhakaran* is one who is bound or wedded. Applying the usual rules of Malay syntax, one would have karan sambandha or aran sambandhak. It is not unlikely that instead of accepting karan sambandha, the Malay adopted a semi-articulated 'k' at the end of sambandha and assumed that 'aran' was the substantive. He may have been right in this assumption as probably 'k' in 'sambandhakaran' stood for euphony only. Later 'k' may have been dropped and aran altered into orang. It may be observed that 'g' in orang is seldom distinctly heard. In a phrase like *orang di-tarek* (the adopted person) the 'k' seems to be retained, if the expression is derived from Malayalam *tara karan*, one who has, or is given a foundation on which a house is to be built, that is, one who is accepted into the lineage group. It is interesting to note that Wilkinson commenting on the word 'orang' in his Dictionary writes: "It is also used in national, descriptive or tribal names like 'man' in Englishman." (*A Malay-English Dictionary*, p. 821). Karan in Malayalam serves the same purpose.

38. Manu (ix, 194) where he speaks of *dattam pritikarmani* (what was given in token of love) as forming part of the property of a woman.

39. Dr. Gundert in his Dictionary (1872) quotes artam *dattam ceitu* (gave wealth) from *Hora Vyakhyanam* to illustrate the meaning of *dattam*.

40. *Pramanikal* is plural, and *pramani* singular: but the plural form is generally used as an honorific and may denote one person.

41. One who is born a woman as different from anpirannavan, one born as a man. Compare the colloquial *orang jantan* which may mean a person born as *tan*. Tan, in the sense of 'you' was a polite form of speech, used as late as the twenties of the present century in Kerala, while addressing a respectable male person. It is still used, but not often. One wonders whether the Malay 'tuan' has been derived from Malayalam 'tan.' *Tan* is sometimes used as a titular honorific in Malay, as in *tan dewa sakti* in Perak. Puan, in the same way, may have been adapted from pen, (*pon* in Tulu, another Dravidian language) a Dravidian word meaning woman or maiden, on the analogy of tuan, though the vowel sounds in the original words are different.

42. A.I.R. 1941 Madras 32.

43. *ibid.*, p. 33.

44. The (Madras) *Mapilla Marumakkathayam Act*, 1939.

45. In the State of Kerala.

46. The Nias occupy the island of Nias, off the west coast of Sumatra, and not far from Jambi and Mainangkabau.

47. Zaborowski. Malgaches—*Nias-Dravidians*. *Bull. Soc. d'Anthropol.* Fasc. 2, 1897, quoted by Edgar Thurston, Malagasy-Nias-Dravidians. *Madras Museum Bulletin*, Vol. II, No. 2, 119.

After referring to the resemblance between the clothing of the Irulas of Malabar and the

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Malagasy of Madagascar, M. Zaborowski proceeded to observe: "In studying the customs of our Indo-Chinese wild tribes, I have naturally been struck with the similarity of their taste for interminable rolls of copper which they wear on the fore-arm, the profusion of bracelets, and especially with the habit of dilating the lobes of the ears, and suspending therein rings of copper, with the tastes and practices of the Dyaks of Borneo. Now I find the same tastes, and almost the same practices among the Dravidian tribes of Southern India. Irulas, Panivans and doubtless the Kurumbas cover themselves with bracelets and rings of copper and insert in the lobes of the ears light discs, rolls of rajan, doubtless to suspend therein ear-rings, and even strings of copper, which stretch them. This last custom is very widespread at Nias, and it is met with in Madagascar. *Its point of departure, its origin, is then not in Borneo, but in Southern India*" (*ibid.*, p. 120, emphasis added).

48. Wilkinson, *Law : Introductory Sketch*, p. 33. He, however, mentions eight offences as "potentially capital crimes" *ibid.*, p. 34.
49. Code of laws.
50. Julius Jolly, *Hindu Law and Custom*, 1928, p. 284.
51. *ibid.*, p. 285.
52. Cited by R. K. Chowdhury, *Studies in Indian Law and Justice*, p. 33.
53. *Parr and Mackray*, Rembau, 56 JSBRAS. (1910) p. 78.
54. *ibid.*, footnote (2).
55. *P.P.* Buss-Tien, Malay Law, *American Journal of Comparative Law*. Vol. 7 No. 2 p. 261.
56. Wilkinson, *Law : An Introductory Sketch*, p. 33.
57. R. Winstedt, *The Malays, A Cultural History*, 4th Edition, p. 93.
58. A Caldecott *Jelebu Customary Songs and Sayings, JSBRAS*. Vol. 78, p. 29.
59. Cited by J. Jolly, *Hindu Law and Custom*, p. 299.
60. Wilkinson, *op. cit.* pp. 39-40, 45.
61. Wilkinson, *Law : Introductory Sketch*, p. 43.
62. *ibid.*
63. *Sabda* is used in relation to a *penghulu andeka* in Minangkabau and an undang in Negri Sembilan. The saying is Rajah berdaulat, *penghulu berandeka*, Rajah bertitah, *penghulu bersabda*.

"INDIAN STOCK EXCHANGES AND INDUSTRIAL FINANCE"

By Prof. K. P. AGARWAL,
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In a developing country, like ours, stock exchanges have played, in the past and are playing at present, a dynamic role in helping the rapid industrialisation by acquiring necessary capital from the investing public at large. This they do by imparting liquidity to funds; assuring soundness and genuineness of listed companies; facilitating the distribution and providing marketability to new as well as old shares in addition to rendering other significant services to investors and companies. Indian stock exchanges have, especially in the last decade, shown their special interest and rendered an useful service in the direction of finance towards the industrial development of the country.

A study of the 'object clause' and the elaborate listing requirements of stock exchanges; requirements of Section 19 of the Securities Contracts (Regulations) Rules, 1957; provisions of the Companies Act, 1956; etc., clearly shows that the Indian stock exchanges have not been very liberal in the matter of listing. During a period of nearly 15 years (from 1946 to 1961), though the number of listed companies has shown a very minor increase, yet from the point of view of finance, a considerable increase of nearly 40 per cent in stock issues of listed companies clearly suggests that the finance of companies must have increased substantially during this period.

The official lists of stock exchanges pointedly reveal that almost all the leading companies under different industries have got their shares listed. These companies, quoted on these stock exchanges, account for a major portion of India's national income from the corporate industrial sector of the economy.

As regards capital raised through stock exchanges, it is sufficient to say that Indian stock exchanges have imparted sufficient liquidity and marketability to our industrial securities. During the period 1946 to 1961 (up to Feb.) tremendous increase has taken place in the paid-up capital of all companies, whether they are private or public—listed or unlisted.

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TABLE I

Paid-up Capital Pattern of Listed Companies

(Rs. crores)

	1946	1960 (II Qrt.)	1961 (Feb.)	% increase in '60 over 1946	% increase in '61 over 1946
1. Paid-up Cap. all Cos. (exc. G.C.)	417.0	1125.0	1725.0[1]	169.8	313.7
2. Paid-up Cap. of public Cos.	306.0	786.0	876.0[1]	156.9	186.3
3. Paid-up Cap. of Listed Companies	270.4	611.0	674.8	127.0	149.5
4. (3) as % of (1)	64.8	54.3	39.1	—16.2	—39.6
5. (3) as % of (2)	88.4	77.7	77.1	—12.1	—12.8
6. Market Value of paid-up Cap. of listed Cos.	971.0	N.A.	1215.4	N.A.	25.2
7. Paid-up Cap. per unit of listed Cos. (Lakh Rs.)	24.0	53.0	56.0	120.8	133.3
8. Market Value of paid-up Cap. per unit of listed Companies	86.0	N.A.	101.0	N.A.	17.5

1. Figures relate to the financial year 1960-61.

[SOURCES : (i) Thomas Committee Report on Regulation of Stock Markets in India, 1948 Pp. 26-35; (ii) Dr. Raj K. Nigam, 'Commerce,' 1960 Annual, Pp. 106-8; (iii) K. R. P. Shroff. 'Madras Stock Exchange—Silver Jub. Souv.' p. 255.]

The table reveals that in the year 1961 (financial year 1960-61), the paid-up capital of all companies was Rs. 1725.0 crores, while those of public companies and listed companies were of the order of Rs. 876.0 and 674.8 crores respectively. This means, nearly 39 per cent of the total paid-up capital of all companies or more than 77 per cent of the total paid-up capital of public companies were raised through stock exchanges. These percentages are quite significant. If we take the year 1946 as the base, we notice, that in the year 1961, the total paid-up capital of all companies, of all public companies and of listed companies increased by 313.7 per cent., 186.3 per cent and 149.5 per cent respectively. But if we take the paid-up capital of listed companies as percentages to paid-up capital of all companies and of public companies, we find a considerable decline which may be due to the relatively stronger financial position of listed companies and consequently less demand for paid-up capital on their part; smaller paid-up capital of the newly listed companies, and finally, due to their stronger financial position, greater use of their internal finances than in 1946. It may also be true that, as the banks' loans and advances to industries have considerably increased in recent years and new financial institutions have sprung up, these public companies are relying on such loans and advances rather than on raising new capital alone. Whatever may be the causes, it is evident from the above discussion that though the paid-up capital of listed companies has increased, it has not increased in the same proportion as increase in paid-up capital of all companies or even of all public companies. It seems that these listed companies have not fully utilised the services of stock exchanges. In other words, the purpose of listing has not been served fully.

In order to show the extent of capital raised by different industries and also their attractiveness, the table below may be of some use. It clearly indicates that the total paid-up capital of all industries amounted to Rs. 674.76 crores in Feb. '61 the market value of which increased by nearly 91.8 per cent. Increase in the market value from Rs. 270.4 crores to Rs. 971.0 crores in 1946 and Rs. 674.76 crores to Rs. 1215.4 crores in Feb., '61 (vide table I) suggests as to what extent shares have been in demand. Though the increase in the market value in 1961 is not comparable to that of 1946

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yet it is quite appreciable. This lesser degree of increase in 1961 may partly be ascribed to the capitalisation of reserves because such practices increase the paid-up capital without affecting the market value much. On this very criterion of market value, the two industries viz.,

TABLE II

Paid-up Capital and the Market Value
(Industry-wise as in Feb. 1961)

Industry 1	Paid-up Capital 2	Deb. Outstg. 3	Total 4	Market Value 5	(5) as % of (4)	% of (4) to Total	% of (4) to Total
	(Rupees in Crores)						
Plantation	23.13	0.50	23.63	39.10	127.3	3.1	3.0
Cotton	107.77	3.82	111.59	222.80	199.6	14.8	17.2
Coal & Mining	14.87	1.37	16.24	23.08	141.1	2.1	2.0
Sugar	22.69	1.79	24.48	47.45	193.8	3.2	3.6
Jute	26.72	3.54	30.26	40.11	132.5	4.1	3.1
Banking & Ins.	35.98	16.32	52.30	80.31	153.5	6.9	6.2
Engg. & Metals	133.94	5.80	139.74	277.98	198.8	18.6	21.5
Cement	37.85	2.05	39.90	51.76	129.7	5.3	4.0
Paper	19.30	1.00	20.30	36.60	180.3	2.7	2.8
Chemicals	25.99	0.33	26.32	48.70	185.3	3.5	3.8
Railways	3.32	0.22	3.54	2.11	59.6	0.5	0.2
Shipping	17.06	3.55	20.61	16.97	82.3	2.8	1.3
Electricity	31.41	10.24	41.65	39.46	94.7	5.5	3.0
Miscellaneous	174.73	28.22	202.95	365.91	131.0	26.9	28.3
Total :	674.76	78.75	753.51	1292.24	172.9	100.0	100.0

SOURCE : (i) Madras Stock Exchange : Silver Jubilee Souvenir, 1937-62, Pp. 260-61.
Note : Some adjustments have been made as per requirements.

'Cotton' and 'Eng. and Metals' seem to be very attractive and favourites to all as they show increase of nearly 199.8 per cent and 198.8 per cent respectively in their paid-up capital. The two have been followed by 'sugar,' 'chemicals' and 'papers.' On taking into consideration the percentage market value of each industry to total market value of all industries, we again find that 'Engg. & Metal' and 'Cotton' ranked on the top by showing 21.5 per cent and 17.2 per cent respectively of the total market value of all industries. Percentage of paid-up capital to total also depicts the same picture. Thus, from all angles, this considerable appreciation in their market value seems, to some extent, the outcome of the efforts of stock exchanges.

Considering the individual industry and finance raised with the help of stock exchanges, it can easily be said that again 'Engg. & Metals' and 'Cotton' were the two promising industries which raised about 18.6 per cent and 14.8 per cent respectively of the total capital raised by all industries.

As we learnt, industries sometimes use debentures for raising their medium-term finance. Upto Feb. '61, Indian industries were able to raise debentures for the amount of Rs. 78.75 crores, nearly 10.5 per cent of the total capital employed by them. 'Banks and Insurance' and 'Electricity' industries were amongst the foremost industries who raised debenture finance of the order of Rs. 16.32 crores and Rs. 10.24 crores respectively.

Though the question of 'marketing new issues through stock exchanges' is a disputable one, yet there does not seem two opinions that the stock exchange is the ultimate shelter for new as well as old securities, and new issue cannot be successful if stock exchanges do not exist. In practice, members of stock exchanges (and in some cases the stock exchanges too) assume responsibilities right from the invitation for subscription to the final disbursement of and afterwards of all new issues. The success of such issues depends entirely upon the success of the stock market. They may

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not boost industrial finance directly through new issues, but indirectly it is of great help in bringing them in greater prominence. If we examine the trend in new capital issues in India (vide Table III) over a decade, we observe that consents for new capital issues have considerably increased from Rs. 59.6 crores in 1951 to Rs. 248.03 crores in 1961, while in the years 1958 and 1960 they were even higher being of the order Rs. 423.0 and Rs. 289.6 crores respectively.

TABLE III

Trends in Capital Issues in India (1951-61)

Year	Consents given to (Rupees in Crores) Ag. & allied Activities.	Industrials.	Non-Inds.	Total	% of total capital issues to industrials.
1951	—	44.0	15.6	59.6	73.8
1952	—	32.7	7.1	39.8	82.1
1953	—	71.4	10.0	81.4	87.7
1954	—	93.9	16.7	110.6	84.9
1955	3.2	97.5	24.7	125.4	77.8
1956	1.8	192.6	35.8	230.2	83.7
1957	2.4	113.4	37.5	153.3	73.9
1958	2.8	401.0	19.2	423.0	94.8
1959	1.3	174.3	27.9	203.5	85.6
1960	0.9	263.1	25.6	289.6	90.9
1961	1.03	220.57	26.43	248.03	88.9

SOURCE : (i) Company News and Notes, 1st March 1962, No. 5, Vol. VIII, Pp. 119-20.
(ii) Madras Stock Exchange : Silver Jubilee Souvenir, 1937-62., p. 289.

Consents were given for agriculture and allied activities, and for industrial and non-industrial purposes. From the point of view of industrial finance, it is quite significant to note that consents for industrial purposes always dominated over the other two. During these two periods, it ranged between 73.8 per cent in 1951 to 94.8 per cent in 1958.

"As regards Right Issues, in addition to initial issues of capital by newly floated companies, there were Right issues of capital by existing companies, which formed two-thirds to three-fourths of the total amount of new capital issued during the period of First and Second Plans."* These Right issues succeeded largely because of the facilities, direct and indirect, offered by an active stock market and the investment support if mobilised from all over the country. If we take the Second Five Year Plan periods, we find, that the boom in right issues corresponded to the stock market boom which made it possible for existing companies to undertake the scheme of expansion, renovation and modernisation.

Finally, so far as other functions, viz., fair price maintenance, 'discounting' the market and adjustments of capital flow, are concerned, Indian stock exchanges have to some extent been active in these respects too. But the data relating to the working of stock exchanges in India are rare and even if some are available they are not in any way helpful in these respects.

To conclude, an organised stock exchange does make a real contribution in the financing of industry, although it is an indirect and secondary one. The listed companies are better placed to sell their securities direct to shareholders through stock brokers in comparison to non-listed companies. This facilitates new financing. The mere information about the listing of new issues increases the initial sale. Further, as the market price of a particular share is a good indicator of the growth and earnings of that company, successful companies find it quite convenient in raising additional new capital through stock exchanges, if they decide to do so. The listed shares have always a wider market than the unlisted ones, and in this regard the question of listing of all public limited companies may be a matter of deep thinking.

* Shroff, K.R.P., 'Madras Stock Exchange Silver Jubilee Souvenir, 1937-62,' Pp. 245-46.

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RECENT TRENDS IN INDIAN ADMINISTRATION

By ASHOKE MOHAN RAY, M.A., W.B.C.S.

This paper is confined to a discussion of the recent trends in the executive branch of the administration. Administration is defined here as the organisation, personnel, practices and procedure essential to effective performance of the civilian functions entrusted to the executive branch of the Government. The forces which have played their part to influence these trends may be analysed first. First, the behaviour of the administrator is influenced or conditioned by the pattern of society in which he lives. His role is altered continuously with the changing role of Government in the life of the people. With the release of democratic forces in India, feudalism and paternal authority have gradually given way to modern representative systems of government. Since Independence, in particular, Government activity has rapidly crept into spheres which under laissez faire ideologies, had previously been treated as of no primary concern to the ruling power of the administrative machine. According to Shree M. P. Pai, Chief Secretary, Government of Andhra Pradesh (Indian Journal of Public Administration, Vol VIII, No. 4, p 480), the role of Government in the life of the people has altered over the years as a consequence of four distinct factors—firstly, the influence of modernisation of society due to scientific and technological advance and of growing money-economy on the countryside; secondly, the increasing complexity of political and administrative organisation; thirdly, during the last fifteen years, of greater governmental interference in all spheres of life due to the war; and our present concepts of a welfare state and planning for prosperity. Lastly, the natural extension of democratic institutions from the national and state level to the district and the village has brought about changes in the forms of administrative organisation, and the orientation of the officers of the state, which are still in the making. With all these changes, the role of the permanent civil servant has continuously changed.

Coming now to these changes, one can notice the challenge to the concept of neutrality of civil service as the first significant trend. The permanent civil servant in India—All India and State Services—were recruited and trained prior to Independence on the British concept of freedom of the Civil Services from all political bias. The traditional concept of neutrality has, however, been challenged on many grounds. In the first place, the concept is based on a belief in politics and administration dichotomy. It was Woodrow Wilson who told us in 1887 that administration lies outside the proper sphere of politics, that the field of administration is the field of business which is removed from the hurry and strife of politics. Opinion has veered round to the views of Gulick and Appleby that administration cannot be completely divorced from policy and vice versa. The role of the Civil Service in India has been changing from a mere agent of the political executive to that of collaboration with it. Policy formulation today, is an all pervasive and a co-operative endeavour. As the First Plan has stated. 'The security of tenure, expertise and knowledge and appreciation of the implications of different problems and programmes being derived from experience of dealing with them over many years, tend to give the higher grades of public servants a considerable share in the shaping of policy". Secondly, the concept is based on a confusion between party politics and policy politics. Party politics is being eschewed at all costs by the public official but not policy politics. As Appleby has pointed out in his 'Policy and Administration', all administration today is political since it must be responsive to the public interest. Public officials in India are engaged both in policy formulation

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and policy execution and Government is a mixture of the administrative and the political all the way up and down the line. Thirdly, the role of the Civil Servant has changed with a shift in the nature and purpose of the state from negative to positive. The state in India is engaged, today, in creating a welfare society by economic and social planning. It is now increasingly being felt that an emotionally indifferent or 'neutral' civil service will fail to deliver the goods. A new kind of positive minded, action-oriented and humanely inclined public official is emerging. It is now recognised that planning and experiments in a decentralised democracy will succeed if our officials have developed a positive and constructive bias towards them. For, as Dr. A. Avasthi has said (Public Administration p. 253), the civil servant can no longer command the people : he has to persuade them to win their consent.

The next important trend is the controversy of generalists vs. specialists in India. In Government administration the term generalist is commonly used to indicate the personnel of the Indian Civil/Administrative services and of the State Civil/Administrative services. A generalist administrator is one who has ability and workable knowledge for a job or enterprise requiring supervision, control, co-ordination, decision-making and execution. His task is to knit together all loose ends in the organisation to make its working smooth and efficient and to always view the administrative matters and problems in their proper perspective. By 'specialist' or 'expert' we mean a person who has special knowledge or skill in a specific subject which makes him an authority in that particular field. Lack of knowledge about the work or department or enterprise that one administers or manages does not make a Generalist. A Generalist is like a general practitioner in the medical profession as opposed to a specialist.

After Independence, India embarked on the programme of economic development of the Country with a socialist pattern of society as the national objective. Along with the general administrator, large numbers of technicians and experts are engaged in achieving this objective. With the setting up of the Planning Commission, the launching of the Community Development programme, the growing activities in industries under the Public Sector, the Atomic Energy Commission etc., new forces have been created in the administration which do not want to remain as passive observers in this race but are heading along to get at the top. The rapidly increasing importance of the experts in administration is being felt. The experts are not content with their advisory functions. They do not like to be placed in line hierarchy. The result is tension between generalists and specialists within the organisation at different levels.

Let us now discuss the scope of this tension in three spheres of administration: (a) at the district level, (b) at the secretariat level, (c) at the public enterprise level. The claims of the generalist to his present somewhat predominant role are not seriously questioned so far as district administration is concerned. The District as an unit of Indian administration has all along been one of the fundamental aspects of our administration and the District Magistrate and Collector has always been the key Government functionary. The existing system is that the District Officer is a generalist administrator and there is no great challenge against this system. It has been well established by experience that the generalist administrator at the district level is suited to the task of supervision and co-ordination in development and welfare activities in an integrated way. By virtue of his influence as Magistrate and Collector, the District Officer is best equipped to enlist the active support of the people in the successful implementation of any major programme of development and welfare activities of different departments. In the context of C.D. and N.E.S. movements, the Collector is invested with co-ordinating and supervisory powers over the district heads of technical departments, besides being made solely responsible for the execution of development plans in the district. While the organisational and professional or technical control over development officers of district rank will be that of the departmental supervisors, the

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functional control in non-technical matters to be exercised within certain limits by the District Officer.

This method of control is based on the theory of dual hierarchy which, according to Dimock and Dimock (Public Administration p. 331), is so far the best method of solving the problem of co-ordination. The crux of the problem is that certain officers must be administratively responsible to one superior (say District Officer) and technically responsible to another (Technical Head of the Office). The need for dual supervision arises out of the peculiar circumstances in the area of the district which requires the District Officer to be a generalist one. Prof. A. W. Macmohan (Delegation and Autonomy p. 42) has given a few illustrations to corroborate this point. He states that if a bridge is being considered, the design and estimates and cost as well as the proposed location are technical decisions, but it is properly an administrative judgment to take account of public protest about the inconvenience of the proposed location and to approve a different though practicable site even at an increased cost. To this day, therefore, the District Officer in India continues to be the principal official contact, on the spot and from day to day, between the Government and the people. The growing range and complexity of state's responsibilities and the proliferation of public departments, has not made any change in this position; if anything, it has brought the District Officer even more closely in touch with the people, symbolising in him the essential unity of administration. These functions are clearly not the domain of any public servant, however able, whose training and experience has been confined to much less diverse fields of work and much less involved with wide public relations.

Now the spheres to which the controversy of the 'generalist' vs. the 'specialist' mostly relate are two: one of the policy making posts in the Secretariat and the other of management of industrial, commercial or other business enterprises of the public sector.

So far as the Secretariat is concerned, the controversy is an old one as to whether in the final formulation of public policy, the political executive should be advised by a permanent civil servant of the generalist field or directly by the expert or the specialist in charge of the department or agency.

The bias in favour of the generalist civil service for this purpose is an inheritance from the British regime. The need for administrative experience was felt at policy making level in the law and order state of British times. The need is still greater today with the state having assumed much wider responsibilities in the field not only of welfare but social and economic planning. As Shri S. Banerjee, Deputy Secretary, Ministry of Home, Government of India, has pointed out (Indian Journal of Public Administration Vol. IX No. 2, p-202), the adoption of the federal constitution in India, coupled with the present centralisation of planning, made it imperative that the central Government should have the benefit of a pool of diverse, practical experience of field administration brought to it by the 'deputationist' from the state, so that it can be clearly advised as to the manner in which its development policies infringe upon the lives of the people it serves. On the political plane, the task of advising the Ministers is performed by party organisations and elected legislators and parliamentarians; on the administrative plane the function can be usefully discharged by the permanent civil servant who has the advantage of bringing to the counsels of policy making diverse field experience continuously refreshed and renewed. Moreover, he can tone down the sharpness and onesided view of the specialists. In effect, the Generalist—Secretary can put forward the total view of the picture in a moderate form so that it can be easily understood by the Minister, who is a non-expert. Equally strong arguments are advanced on the opposite side. The closer the involvement of the modern state with economic and social development, the wider has been the proliferation of the specialist classes in the public services. In this age of growing specialisation due to rigid technological change, the expert can tender well-informed advice to the political executive.

One finds, however, cogent and convin-

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cing reasons advanced by Shri A. K. Chanda, Shri Rajagopalachari, Shri N. V. Gadgil, why, as a general rule, an expert is less well-equipped than the general administrator in the task of the synthesis and co-ordination which public policy requires. The lay scrutiny of the generalist administrator covers a whole gamut of larger considerations and not merely the technical ones. The 'worth-whileness' and viability in the social, political and economic sense, is his focus of attention. Unlike the modern expert, he is more appreciative of social necessity. He specialises in co-ordination. One important judgment which he has to apply and can do better than the expert is to see if the proposed action is such as can be easily turned into account for the benefit of society. In this connection the recommendation of the second Pay Commission (1957-59) for Central Government employees are worth remembering, "where the work of a department at the HQ. of the Government of India is mainly technical, it is desirable, in our view, that the Secretary should be a person who, while possessing administrative ability and capable of taking a broad Government-wide view of matters, has a technical background in the particular field. In a department which has a considerable amount of technical as well as administrative work, the Secretary may be either a technical officer with proved administrative capacity or a generalist administrator. Technical officers should not be excluded from the field of choice but should be considered on merits. Further, the top technical advisers or heads of departments should have full opportunity to have their views considered by the Ministers, along with any views which the Secretary of the Department may have, for which a suitable arrangement may be a joint discussion with the Minister whenever there is unresolved difference of opinion between the technical head and the Secretary". The Generalist versus the Specialist debate has tended to put the two into mutually exclusive and anti-thetical positions so that one frequently comes by suggestions to the effect that with increasing specialisation the simple change required is the substitution of the Generalist by the expert. Their complimentary roles are often not fully appreciated. Sir James Dunett urged this point in a lecture at the Royal Inst. of Public Administration, London, in April 1961: "The higher the expert rises in his profession, the more he in turn becomes an administrator. Thus the relationship say, between the permanent Secretary of the Ministry and his Chief Engineer, is essentially a partnership" The Rowland Report (1944-45) of Bengal, The Karve Report (1948) of Bombay and the Nambudripad Report (1958) of Kerala, also are of the view that the above quarrel is irrelevant, in that both the Secretary and the Head of the Department are meant to play a complimentary role. The above reports agree that the Secretary should not tamper with the advice tendered by the Head of the Department and that it should reach the Minister as it is given. The Secretary, if the disagrees with the Specialist's advice, could record his observations in a separate note. Regarding public enterprise undertakings, most of the Chairmen, Managing Directors and other full-time top managers have been drawn, upto now, from Government Services. Moreover, quite a significant proportion of them belong to the top generalist services—the I.C.S. I.A.S. In recent years an increasing number of persons with technical or financial experience in Government organisations have also been appointed to such positions. As there is no s5ignificant example as yet of a person from within an enterprise rising upto the topmost positions outside of the older organisations like Railways, the Posts and Telegraphs, the All India Radio and Reserve Bank, there is the suggestion that a deliberate policy of developing personnel from within the undertaking for taking over top positions in the public sector should be pursued. Then, again, very few persons with experience of industrial and business management in the private sector have been appointed to top positions in the public sector. This has been the result partly of the scarcity of such personnel and partly of the disparity in remuneration between efficient and successful private concerns and public undertakings. That there is need for the general administrator to be given

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necessary background training and experience in industrial or business management has been voiced by competent authorities on the subject like Dr. H. K. Paranjape, Prof. of Economic Policy and Administration, of the Indian School of Public Administration, New Delhi (I.J.P.A. Vol. IX, No. 3 p 413).

The third important trend is the impact of Panchayati Raj on administration. Democratic decentralisation, with its three-tier pattern of popular administration, was the result of the recommendations made in 1958 by a study team of the Committee on Plan Projects headed by Shree Balvantrai Mehta. It was soon to be called Panchayati Raj to show that its base went back to the democratic village communities of earlier days. But its objectives had started to take shape on 2nd October, 1952 when the Community Development programmes were initiated. These were a natural consequence of the Five Year Plans of national development and of a realisation that for vitality and success they had to be based in the life and thought of the villages and recognised to be primarily their resposibility. As the Programme developed, purely official effort with a sprinkling of non-official advisers was felt not sufficient to enthuse the people that this was their Programme. It was decided to bring in elected representatives at various levels of the programmes to create the necessary psychological atmosphere. Generally we may say that it has been decided to have both policy decision and implementation at the Panchayat level with the elected Chairman of the Panchayat. At the other two levels of Panchayat Samiti and Zila Parishad, policy making is left to the elected representatives and the implementation is left to the official hierarchy.

(To be Continued)

THE TRAINING OF ART STUDENTS*

By Sri DEVI PRASAD ROY CHOWDHURY M.B.E.

Art students, given the passport to enter into the domain of adventure and proceed with new experiments have to be sufficiently equipped with such knowledge as would lend a sense of security and fairly correct judgment of relative values. They are necessary as a measure of protection against falling into the grip of depression and suffer agonies in the struggle for existence. One cannot lightly dismiss such an apprehension about the artist who is usually susceptible to the reaction of his moods. To start with a depressed mind is not a desirable initiative for an ambitious artist who intends to contribute his share to the cause of culture, the wealth of which is expected to be the heritage of the future generation. I have reason to be hopeful of the prospect because I have been assured of such promise by coming in contact with some original works by the students which were displayed in the last Annual Exhibition of the Government College of Arts and Crafts. I was happy to notice that some of the works bore distinct evidence of well planned composition which required a good deal of thinking and sanguine execution.

Referring to the life of an artist I should say it is not confined to physical existence only but intellectual and spiritual approaches are inseparably linked up for a progressive out-look. The two other aspects of existence constitute a vital concern to the artist, if he were to be loyal to his mission. The skill acquired in the course of training may provide an easy means of livelihood. But technical skill though indispensable, is only a means and not the end of the objective of art. Technique is only a vehicle, a medium which stands in obedience to serve a purpose and the purpose is intelligible communica-

*Inaugural address at the Convocation of the Government School of Arts and Crafts on March 13, 1964.

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tion of emotional expressions, no matter by what pattern it is released. In the circumstance even superb technical excellence may turn to be a liability if the skill failed to offer anything better than a prospect to purchase material comfort.

Giving due consideration to stern matter-of-fact reality, one has to admit that queer circumstances may compel the artist to sell to live but, if he lived only to sell then it must be concluded that the artist has departed from his mission and is heading towards an act which is nothing short of self betrayal. Wrong assessment of values is often responsible for soch disappointing results, the most deplorable of which is over-estimation of one's own worth. It is particularly so when the idea of being original gets into the head of one, who has to depend on blind following of imitation.

There is a mad race to capture fame overnight by producing unintelligible patterns and they are readily applauded by some critics who are experts in the gentle art of camouflaging ignorance behind abstruseness of language. Originality as such is not achieved by merely asking for it. The distinction is the outcome of a creative urge which is released by an irresistable force from within. It is the concern of the genius who cannot but go in his own way and is ever ready to take any amount of pains to exercise patience for achieving the goal. His formidable assets in such perilous adventure are his confidence and vast erperience of crushing failures which made him wiser to search for a path which would lead him to his goal. It is a never-ending quest. Nevertheless he wanders and wanders, as the quest itself is a source of joy to him. His feverish passion in the pursuit is inexhaustible. The energy thus harnessed is utilised to re-create the existing forms of beauty which never could have revealed its inherent quality if the artist with his penetrating vision and aesthetic hunger were not out in quest of a thing of beauty which provides the most vitalising food to his mind.

The vision of the creative artist is crystallized in dream, which tells the story of emotional reaction to the reality physically experienced. There may be different patterns and interpretations in the methods of various expressions, yet the source that provokes inspiration to the artist is always rooted in the form of nature. Even the very title of a picture in an abstract theme seeks an identification with a known form existing in nature. The resemblance may be far fetched, yet it is there. Therefore, whatever ery there may be for originality, one cannot get away from the influence of representational expression, no matter what school, style or pattern is followed.

Further, originality is an exclusive concern of a genius who is not made-to-order as a product of round the clock work in a factory, nor by a system of training as is generaly imparted in the fashionable art institutions simply for the reason that the main principle of training is set on a rigid routine and formalised syllabus, probably drawn ages ago by some disinterested but very distinguished administrative officer, who was accustomed to respect jail discipline or by anybody considered to be important in any station of life whatsoever. On the top of this there are the cultural invasions by exchange of professors who come with new ideas, each one differing from the other and each one trying desperately to impress the fact that following his point of view is the only Royal Road that leads to salvation. The students under such alarming pressures of instruction hardly get a chance to anchor on a faith of their own choice or assimilate the ideas aggressively thrown upon them in quick succession, with the result that chaos has come to stay to declare the triumph of new cultural impacts. It might be a gracious act for the missionaries of learning but the result is identical with the sport of children who rejoice by throwing stones on innocent frogs. Permit me to say here, that what is sport to one is death to others. In the circumstances the teacher also gets lost in confusion and is obliged to surrender to any idea of the dictator, since the poor man has to fill his own stomach and to look towards the employer and his agents for pity. It is a tragedy and a grim instance of the struggle for physical existence. Therefore, one has to admit that

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such a system of mechanical training, though well suited to mass education and for commercial ends is completely divorced from the desirable relationship between the teacher and the taught.

"Gurukul" system is the only answer for the problem as the latter method of training gives ample scope to establish a cordial relationship between the teacher and the taught. This is where the teacher climbs down from his exalted position to create an atmosphere of give and take. Emphasis laid on its need is intended to save the broth from being spoiled by too many cooks in the kitchen. I acquired some idea of what happens in the melting pot while I was in-charge of a similar institution.

To stand in attendance for being guided by diverse ideas and adjust controversial opinions, is not a task that is easy of performance by the head of the institution. I, however, managed to escape the plight due to the sympathetic consideration given by the higher authoritis. In the circumstances I have no hesitation to record my feeling that the Heads of such institutions should be given the fullest facilities and a free hand to exercise their considered opinion on the methods of training, and, if necessary, change the syllabus which does not fit in with their respective ideals.

When I said modern trends and the new cultural impacts in contrast to the principles underlying the training by a "Gurukul" system, I think I ought to explain in brief why the latter is given preference to the blind following of the new schools of "isms" under almost hypnotic influence. The conventional method followed by the "Gurukul" system is an adaptation of traditional ideal, technique and style of the Guru and abiding by the laws of discipline which control a well planned arrangement of composition that display the effects of sincere study of form and colour ultimately used for an expression. The idea of adaptation is not forced upon the students but it is accepted of its own accord and the process of development is not followed by curbing the individuality of respective artists.

PANCHAYATI RAJ—THEORY AND PRACTICE

Shri S. M. SHETTY

The acceptance in 1958 of the Balwantrai Mehta Committee recommendations in regard to the democratic decentralisation plan or the Panchayati Raj and the consequest introduction of the scheme by Andhra Pradesh and Rajasthan followed by all other States except Kerala and West Bengal where legislation is expected, has opened an important chapter in India's economic and political scene. It marks the beginning of our effort to rejuvenate the village life by infusing in them the democratic ideals and a spirit of self-reliance—politically, socially and economically. Though the innovation does not promise to bring forth in its wake a land of plenty and affluence, it has at least the merit of progressively identifying more intimately the people in their own upliftment.

The Conception of the Scheme

The Panchayati Raj scheme as conceived in the Third Five-Year Plan, denotes "a set of interconnected democratic and popular institutions at the village, block and district levels in which the representatives of the people in the Village Panchayats, Panchayat Samitis and Zila Parishads and co-operative organisations function with the support and assistance of the various development agencies of Government working together as a team."[1]

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Three-Tier System

The scheme envisages a three-tire system by which the devolution of power and decentralisation of responsibility will be effectively carried out. At the village level, the Village Panchayat is entrusted with the day-to-day administration of the village, empowered to collect taxes from the villagers and entrusted primarily with the task of providing village amenities, drawing up and implementing village production plans, execution of Community Development programmes and other allied activities and enthusing the people towards greater work and harnessing their energies for the upliftment of the village. The deliberations of the Village Panchayat are conducted under the leadership of the village and who in turn is assisted, on the administrative side, by the 'Vikas Adhikari' or an appointed official who acts as the secretary and on the legislative side by the various Standing Committees constituted with members from amongst the elected representatives. Immediately above the Village Panchayat, is the Panchayat Samiti at the block level under the control of a 'Pradhan' elected by the representatives of the Village Panchayats, vested with the power of general supervision and control of the member Samitis and to issue directions to them.

The Zila Parishads are at the district level under the guidance of a 'Mukhya Pradhan' entrusted largely with the responsibility of co-ordination of the working of the different Samitis and placing at the disposal of the member Samitis the expert technical guidance which it commands. Besides it has to see the implementation of the broad national objectives to be defined by the government and thus establishing a rapport between these institutions and the government. There is a statutory obligation for periodical meetings of the representatives of the different Samitis where problems of particular and mutual interest are to be discussed and the implementation of the resolutions would be reviewed.

The Role of Government

The devolution of power and decentralisation of responsibility does not, however, mean that the government has ceased to play an effective role in the village upliftment schemes. The government also, it is encouraging to note, has not displayed the careless gesture of abandoning the boy in the bath tub. Besides providing financial grants and defining national and state objectives to be implemented by these institutions and the consequent powers of general control and supervision, it has the greater responsibility of developing the institutions themselves in a tradition which is worthy of their names, because in the Directive Principles of State Policy it is laid down that "The State shall take steps to organise Village Panchayats and endow them with such powers and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as units of self-government."[2]

The Scope

These self-governing and autonomous units comprehending as they do both the democratic institutions and the extension services through which development programmes are executed, are expected to play an effective role in the future political set-up and economic planning in India because they make possible greater participation by the masses in the gigantic task of nation-building, politically or otherwise, and endow them with an expression which is distinctly local in character and intimate in relationship.

The Need

The need for developing such institutions in a democratic government is too obvious to be stated. The political philosophers have come to view society not as a centralised Nation-state within whose layers everything is merged but as distinctly federal in character. "But because society is federal" remarks Prof. H. J. Laski, "authority must be federal also" which involves "the making of decisions out by the interests which will be affected by them."[3] He further observes that "We cannot realise the full benefit of democratic government unless we begin by the admission that all

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problems are not central problems and that results of problems not central in their incidence require decision at the place, and by the persons, where and by whom the incidence is most deeply felt."[4] Viewed from this angle, the Panchayati Raj scheme, based as it is on the village as the unit of administration and development, conforms to the above principles of local government.

In India, after independence, with a stable unitary government "an insufficient development of pluralistic institutions", remarks Prof. Ram Joshi, "have made participation in political processes an experience of very limited scope for the people. Democracy in such circumstances, becomes a soulless formalism and people turn apathetic and largely apolitical. The sorry spectacle of gigantic schemes of social welfare which leave people unmoved is the direct result of the unworkability of the usual political levers which operate in modern democratic community."[5] The scheme of Panchayati Raj thus fills an important gap by providing new centres of active loyalty for the people and acting as a training ground in the art of self-government. This is a plan which allows the people to make their own decisions which affect them most.

Historical Background

Historically speaking, the scheme is not very new to our people. The existence of such democratic institutions, though not in the present form, dates as far back as recorded history itself though they gained prominence during the Mauryan domination of northern India. However, "the problem" as Prof. Joshi sees, "is not one of reviving the traditional village but of creating vigorous and pulsating new units which will function as the organic links of a developing democratic country."[6]

Economic Foundations of the Scheme

In India, the introduction of the Panchayati Raj scheme appears to have been prompted not so much due to its clear polical advantages or in response to popular demand but because of the awareness that in the absence of active participation by the people, the various development measures are in danger of yeilding much unsavoury results. It has been now increasingly recognised that the human factor plays a prominent role in the dynamics of economic growth. Accordingly our Five-Year Plans are also based on the belieif that adequate and active participation by the people will be forthcoming so as to yeild the desired results. This assumption, in turn, requires appropriate institutional arrangements for channelling the people's energies along developmental lines and this task is rendered difficult by the politcal necessity of fitting them to a democratic framework. This was, in the earlier years of the Plan period, sought to be provided for by the Community Development Projects and the National Extension Schemes. Robbed of any representative character and devoid of any administrative control and effective leadership etc., these schemes have failed to evoke sufficient enthusiasm among the people. As the Seventh Evaluation Report observed, "one gathers the impression of an inadequately co-ordinated endeavour, governmental rather than popular in character and sustained more by hope rather than achievement."[7] This state of affairs was further confirmed by the Study Team appointed by the Committee on Plan Projects and was painfully noted by the Third Five-Year Plan itself which claims that "programmes which require large-scale participation on the part of the people, such as soil conservation, made only a limited progress."[8]

Panchayati Raj, therefore, represents a revolutionary change in the operational pattern of the community development work as the scheme is designed to enable each area to realise its maximum developmental potential on the basis of local production plans to be formulated by the villagers themselves taking into consideration the local man-power and other available resources It has to provide for other locally felt needs such as education, including women's and adult education, health facilities and water supply etc.

The Panchayati Raj scheme is, therefore, at once an ideal and a method. As an ideal,

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it seeks to bring home more directly the fruits of self-government to a democratic country and as a method it attempts to improve the living conditions of the people by making possible greater economic development by harnessing the locally available resources towards that end.

Working of the Panchayati Raj: Progress

There are, so far, 12 States which have introduced the scheme and in Kerala and West Bengal which have not yet done so, legislations to this effect are expected soon. As on 31st March 1962, as many as 5,33,000 villages covering about 95% of the rural population, have been covered by the Scheme. A financial outlay of Rs. 28 crores has been provided for the exclusive development of these institutions during the Third Plan period.

It will, however, be impossible to draw a general conclusion in regard to the working of the scheme at the all-India level because, in no two States where it has been introduced, the working of the system is exactly similar. Even in regard to the State, the working of no two Panchayat Samitis is identical which renders the task of drawing a general conclusion difficult. It is, therefore, proposed to restrict the review to its working in the states of Rajasthan, Madras and Mysore and will be judged on the basis of its accomplishments in the field of agricultural production, irrigation, provision of educational and health facilities, mobilisation of man-power resources and qualities of leadership in promoting social cohesion etc.

In Rajasthan[9] within two years of the introduction of the scheme, the number of Village Panchayats has been more than doubled. The election for the Samitis appears to have aroused a great deal of interest .Though the posts of 'Sarpanch' and 'Pradhans' were keenly contested, the elections were generally peaceful, characterised by a trend towards unanimity as 80% of the 'Sarpanches' were elected unopposed. No undue importance could be attached to this as the policy of unanimous election appears to have received official encouragement and hence was not free from manouvres. It is, however, heartening to note that a large number of young people were elected for these posts. In regard to the people's participation in the development programmes, Shri Maheshwari observes that the "institutions have made good progress."[10] Some of the Samitis had prepared their own Third Plans. But the old habits of dependence does not appear to have died down completely and there is also the villagers' traditional suspicion of official authority which has still retained its attitude of superiority. The Congress M.P's Study Team also observed that some of these Samitis are not meeting regularly.

In Madras State.[11] because of this system there was recognisable improvement in the granting of loans to the farmers. In the sphere of education there have been rapid strides and the percentage of children of school-going age has increased from 48% to 98% and the midday meals scheme is better supervised. They have also intensified the agricultural programmes and Panchayats were being initiated to the techniques of urban compost. They have also made considerable progress in the provision of drinking water and the construction of roads. The villagers also felt that the union and its activities are their own and there were instances of local initiative. In most cases the election contests were along political or personal lines and only a few cases on the basis of caste.

In Mysore State,[12] however, the working of the institution was less than satisfactory compared to the previous two States and it also provides an instance of government's failure to initiate the right type of institution in this behalf. On the whole they have achieved no commendable results either in regard to the developmental programmes or in respect of welfare measures. There was a fundamental flaw in the set-up of the intsitutions and there was not intimate relationship between the Village Samitis and the Taluka Boards. According to the Special Correspondent of **'The Times of India'** "the Mysore Government did not seem to be

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purposeful in making a success of the experiment."[13]

The Panchayati Raj system thus appears to have been more or less able to rouse local interest and has certainly created enthusiasm among the people. There were no doubt some petty corruptions and other shortcomings but they are reported to be certainly on the decline. It is, however, necessary that the Samitis should work in a co-ordinated manner and strive to root out inefficiency in their working. There have also been instances of the Village Panchayats being instrumental in dividing the local population on political and caste lines and leaving bitterness amongst themselves. This is a trend which ought to be checked well in time. The financial position, generally of all the Samitis, has not been very sound so as to enable them to undertake the various development prgrammes because they were unwilling to impose local taxes. The Study Team on Panchayati Raj finances under the chairmanship of Mr. K. Santhanam had, therefore, recommended that these Samitis should be given some specific items of local taxation such as house taxes etc., and the Government should give them liberal grants.

In conclusion it may be noted that the Panchayati Raj, as a means of social and economic change, has a great role to play in the future set-up of the country. But it has a future only in a democratic society inspired by democratic ideals and dedicated to the task of upliftment of the people in a democratic way. In a totalitarian government it may undergo a pathological change from Gram Panchayats to Communes—and may thus lose its essential attribute. It is, therefore, necessary that while cherishing this ideal, the society should preserve its democratic way of life .

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MINERAL RESOURCES OF JAMMU & KASHMIR STATE

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The geological studies of the State of Jammu and Kashmir have revealed that in the mountainous terrain there are sizeable deposits of mineral resources awaiting development. Researches have been carried on by the State Mineral Survey Department (now Directorate of Geology and Mining), Geological Survey of India and Indian Bureau of Mines. It has been established that coal, lignite, gypsum, sulphur, copper, zinc, sapphire and abrasives are available in modest quantities. They are spread all over the state in an area of about 7,000 square miles. Some of them being easily accessible, have economic potentialities. The various minerals found in the state can be grouped as, (i) water, (ii) fuels, (iii) metallic minerals, (iv) non-metallic mineral, (v) building materials, and (vi) precious and semi-precious stones.

Water

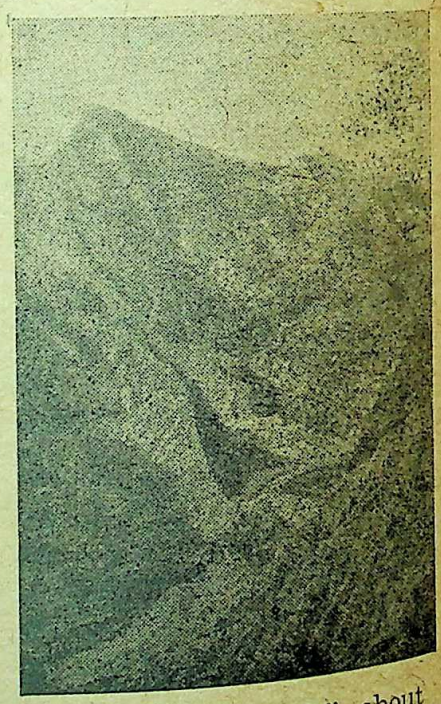
Water is required not only for drinking and household purposes but also for irrigation, agriculture and manufacturing industries. It is the concern of the geologist to locate water bearing strata and help promise water supply to urban population. For this the knowledge of the underground terrain holding the distribution of water is essential.

A large proportion of precipitation both in the form of snow and rain flows as surface, —or delayed run-off and ultimately joins the numerous streams and rivulets in the mountain areas. A very small proportion of it soaks into the ground.

In the mountainous contryside, on account of seasonal precipitation, the rainfall occasionally results in floods but the small percentage that soaks down flows underground, and, after circulation, appears as delayed run-off, in the form of springs. Springs are commonly met with in hilly areas where pervious and impervious beds come in juxtaposition with one another with gentle inclinations, folds and faults, fissures or joints. The aquifer promises the supply of water which again depends on the extent of its catchment area, rainfall and climate.

Arteisan conditions exist at certain places in the Piedmont regions of the Pir Panjal where water-bearing beds are enclosed by two impervious beds and the whole gently dipping in the form of a trough as at Verinag, Nilnag etc.

Sometimes the water-tight beds are enclosed by tongues of gravel and sand under impervious clays, at higher altitudes



The "Chenab Loop", about 7 miles from Riasi, site of Projected waterfall

In the drier regions of the State, such as **Kandi** areas of Jammu, the shortage of water supply in underground channels is a national problem. Here the water table is at a sufficient depth and in periods of draught the wells become parched up or dry. The Cen-

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tral Government has embarked upon ambitious schemes of damming up river courses in the Siwalik countryside by constructing dams of suitable sizes. Besides, these will provide avenues for irrigating the dry lands. The State Government has set up a system of mobile tanks, the function of which is to combat scarcity of water in seasons of poor rainfall, in these regions. Old tanks and wells are being renovated and new ones being built at suitable places. Stream water at various places of the state is being harnessed by engineers for irrigation and the development of dynamic power. For this, hydro-electric irrigation and reservoir projects are being constructed throughout the state.

Fuels

Coal: Coal seams of Eocene age have cropped out around the Permian limestone (Great Limestone) at roughtly 35 miles from Jammu city near Muttal, in the Udhampur District. The coal belt outcrops in a 36 mile long belt from Jungalgali in the East, to Kalakot in the extreme west including Ladda, Dhansal, Chakar, Mahogala and Metka. The reserves are estimated to be 100 million tons to a depth of about 1000′. The total reserves as estimated by C.S. Middlemiss in 1929 are approximately 100 million tons within a depth of 1000′. Occurence of two distinct horizons with more than two coal seams has been noted. The thickness of seams varies from 2 to 23 feet. Due to rock deformations on account of tectonic disturbances, the rock strata are folded and faulted thus posing special problems to the miner.

A survey of Jangalgali coalfield, the most easterly of the group, was undertaken by the Geological Survey of India in 1956.

Surface examination showed that there are two or three seams of coal 2 to 5 feet thick in the upper horizon. There is much overlapping in the beds thus concealing the coal seams in this area.

The western extremity of Ladder Valley inlier is connected with the coalfield across the Chenab Valley and appears as Sangarmarg coalfield, on the opposite side of the valley.

At Mahogala two coal horizons are separated by about 20 of shales. The upper seam is 2 feet thick. In Siro Valley there is a small elliptical inlier with a seam 2 feet thick.

Kalakot coal mines are located at a height of 2,900 to 3,250 feet above sea level. They are divided into six different blocks by J and K Minerals limited whose Headquarters are at Patlari. Metka, the biggest block is 16 miles from it and has three coal seams. The Mahogala block has three seams.

Quality of Coal: The coal is of good quality, semi-anthracitic, with a low volatile and moderate ash contents. It has high calorific value to the order of 12000 to 13000 B.T.U./S. At certain places sulphur in the form of pyrites is also noticeable in an appreciable percentage.

The future of the coal is bright. The Jammu and Kashmir Minerals Ltd., which have been made solely responsible for mining operations in the State are setting up two thermal power stations—one at Kalakot and the other at Jangalgali to utilise coal for the generation of power. Since it is a good quality coal, effective methods of its transport to the rest of the country are under study. If an efficient method of transport is developed it can compete favourably with that of Bihar-Bengal fields. It is, therefore, likely to capture adjoining markets in the future.

Lignite: The lignite deposits of the state are chiefly confined to the Kashmir Valley which was covered by a mantle of ice during the Pleistocene; by karewas, gravel and alluvium, recently. Reserves exist in the middle karewas, in Shali Ganga Ferozepur Nallah area, Nagbal, Tongmarg, Baramula, Handwara and Nichhama and Nichhama chowkibal areas. Investigations undertaken by the G.S.I. in 1955 and 57-58 have revealed 84 million tons of reserves.

Quality: The lignite contains ash from about 25 to over 50 per cent, moisture from about 20 to 35 per cent, volatiles from 15 to over 25 per cent and calorific values from 2200 to 4500 B.T.U/LB in the samples so far studied.

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Petroleum and Natural Gas

A bituminous horizon with thin veins of asphalt at various places in Jammu has been discovered. This has given the hope that possibly liquid fuel in the form of petroleum may be lying hidden in one or more suitable structures. Kotli/Nawshera, Saroinsar, Mansar are supposed to be the continuations of a tectonic trend which flanks Khaur and Dhulion domes (West Pakistan) in the West and Jawala Mukhi in the East.

Presence of an oil seepage in Maradpur near Rajauri in Rajauri-Nawshera Sector and inflammable gas seepages in the Mansar area of Jammu province are hopeful signs.

Metallic Minerals

Non-ferrous minerals are lead ores, copper, zinc, nickel, bauxite and iron ores.

Copper ore from Ramban ; Photo shows 1/8th of natural size

Lead : Galena is the chief ore of lead. It has been explored in Uri Tehsil at Buniya, in Riyasi, at Kherikot, Nigot, in Ramban Tehsil, at Ramsu, in Doda District, at Khelni and Ghaha areas. Nigot, four miles north of lower Drabi was an important mining centre in the past when lead silver ore was extracted there. The mining extended to an area about ¾ of a mile long. Specimens of pure Galena have yielded about 1% of silver. At places lead ore occurs with zinc ore.

Zinc : It occurs in lower Drabi. The veins vary in length from a few inches to as much as 150 feet and in width from a few inches to 10 feet. They occur along the Permian Limestone with Calcite as the Gangue material. The ore contains more than 76.52 per cent of zinc with traces of Cadmium.

Copper : Number of copper occurences are known to exist as loads with Quartz Gangue ore as veins in plains of Breeciation in Permian limestone. Important localities are Gainta, Red Nala in Riyasi, Sukhwal Galli, Banihal and Dul in Kishtwar in Jammu Province, Sumbhal in Lolab Valley. Kel, Buniyar, Kangan in Sind Valley; and Lashtial in Kashmir Valley and in Kargil and Zanskar in Ladakh. The deposits at Gainta are quite rich and are believed to contain even upto 5.8% copper. The vicinity of Sumbhal contains thin bedded poorly cleaved, mainly argillaceous, sometimes sandy phyllite slates with occasional calcareous partings. Copper occurs in mulple small veins, stocks and lenticular loads appearing and disappearing among slates. A quartz vein impregnated with copper ore is also there. The deposites of Ladakh are believed to be richer in content; at places large nuggets of native copper have not yet been estimated.

Bauxite : Deposits of bauxite occur along the Tertiary coal belt of Riyasi at Chakar, Sangarmarg, Salal, Panhassa, Jangalgali, Sukhwalgali. The thickness varies from 4 to 24 feet.

Quality : Alumina and Silica contents varies from 70 to 80% and 1to 5% respectively. Iron and water contents are low. The ores are very rich and can be exploited economically. The estimates are :—1st grade ore, 70-80% alumina, 1-5% silica reserves 1.8 million tons.

2nd grade ore has 60-75% alumina 6-15% silica=10 million tons.

Economic Possibilities : Reserves are many million tons. C.S. Middlemiss has estimated that there are 1.8 million tons of

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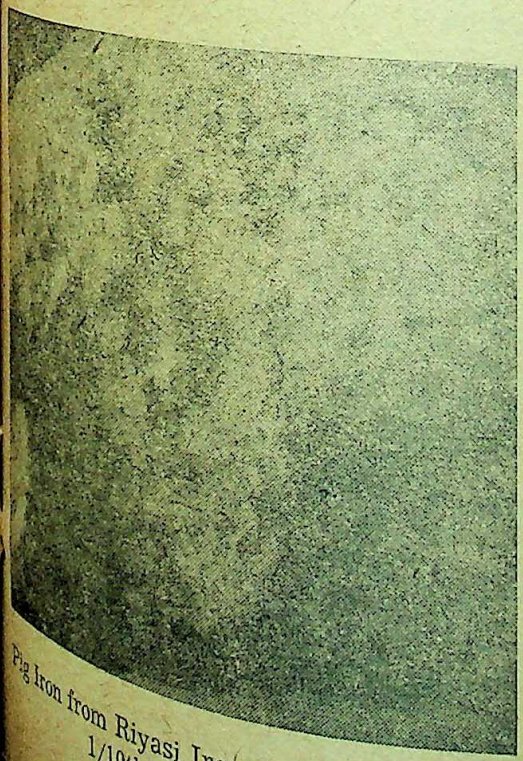
1st grade ore and ten million tons of 2nd and lower grade ores. Within three miles of this important deposit is a power site projected; Salat hydro-electric project with capacity of 100,000 K.W. Availability of cheap power and coal will make these deposits ideal for development of aluminium and ceramic industries.

Nickel: The deposits occur at Khaleri near Saphire mines at Paddar and the copper bearing areas of Riyasi in Jammu province and Buniyar in Kashmir. The small veins of Ramsu are economically unimportant.

Iron Ores: Large deposits of clay iron-stones and green Silicate of iron ore are known to occur all along the coal belt in the Jammu Province. The devastated pine forests along the coal belt blew the small hand-fired furnaces in the past to prepare munitions of war. The slag heaps nearby are also an index. Innumerable pits in the breeciated slopes of the Permian limestone exist. The author has observed large deposits of iron ore (Lunonite) between Dudu and Basantgarh areas of Ramnagar Tehsil. Ramban suspension bridge was built from the locally manufactured iron. The limestone nearby can be used as flux.



Pig Iron from Riyasi Ironstone: Photo shows 1/10th of natural size.

A 15 ft. wide bed high grade iron ore, hematite was discovered by C.S. Middlemiss in Kandli Pauni area. Iron ore deposits have also been reported from Basohli.

Iron Ore Nodub from Riyasi ; Photo shows 1/16th of natural size.

Reserves are estimated to be over 5 million tons. 60% of the iron ore can be developed if a smelter is planted at Kalakot coalfield where thermal electricity becomes available. In Kashmir, between the villages of Sop and Kothiar there used to be an industry in the past.

Chromite: Olivine-Chromite rock has been detected in Thasgam, Dras. It yields chromite.

Manganese: Manganese ore has been detected in Paddar.

Gold: Alluvial gold occurs in Ladakh District, Dras and Skordu. It is found in gravelly terraces of the Indus River. Auriferous gravels occur in rocks ranging from hard cemented conglomerates to loose crumbly materials in a 100-500 feet thick deposit. Gold washings have been carried on in Ladak since very early times. Ain-i-Akbari remarks, "since the advent of Muslim Rule Mohammedans of Kargil were encouraged to conduct gold washings and to keep the people busy ; revenue was collected in the form of alluvial gold.

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Some of the important alluvial areas have been Auriel, Sher Ali Thang, Ali Bar, Blaigo, Singkurno, and Kharmurg. Working season is middle of June to the middle of October. The rocks are agglomeratic states and limestones, quartz porphyries, serpentine rocks of upper cretaceous and pleistocene gravel deposits.

Non-Metalic Minerals

Gypsum: Deposits occur in Ramban, Batote, Assar, south of Chenab in Jammu and Uri in Kashmir. In the first three places reserves of the order of about 22 million tons of good quality have been reported. At certain places the deposits are easily accessible. These can be used in the manufacture of cement, fertilisrs and plaster of paris. Kashmir Valley reserves in Uri and Bunivar areas are estimated to be about 15 million tons upto 100 feet depth with 95% of gypsum.

Sulphur: Associated with numerous springs, sulphur occurs as encrustations in the plains of Pugga Valley about 200 miles from Leh and in Nurbra Plains. It indicates the former presence of a volcanic crater where large deposits may be lying hidden. Annual yield has sometimes been reported to be 20 to 25 tons per annum which is dependent on suitable weather.

Borax: Borax is a deposit found in a number of hot springs at Rupshu in Pugga Valley. Ladakh where it occurs as a double salt of sodium and borax in the form of white encrustations spreading over an area of about 2.56 million square feet. A layer about 2.5 feet associated with efflorescence of common salt and sulphur had been detected by Cunningham in a deposit extending to 2 or 3 miles along the banks of Pulangchu draining Pugga Valley. Annual production during the time of Dogra rulers was about 4,000 maunds which seems to be reported much too less. Borax also occurs in Nubra Plains.

Graphite: Deposits of amorphous variety of a poor quality graphite occurs in Baramulla District. The reserves are estimated to be 34 million tons. Flaky variety occurs in the Paddar and Khaleni areas.

Clay: A reserve of approximately 25 million tons has been estimated in the Wuyan area where a cement factory has recently been raised by Jammu and Kashmir Minerals Ltd. Reserves at other places have not yet been established.

Fullers Earth: is known to occur at Budhal Rajauri.

Bentonite: A bed about 1 to 1.5 feet thick has been located at Bhimber (Pak held) and Sambha.

Barytes; Soapstone and **China Clay:** These have been found at several places along with the Permian limestone and other places.

Kaolin, Ochres and **Marble** have also been found at different places.

Abrasives: Deposits of quality abrasives occur at Khunmoh and Sherkhas in Kashmir Valley. The pounded rocks can be used as an abrasive. But the reserves are very limited.

Building Materials

The State of Jammu and Kashmir has various formations of different types as well as geological age scattered over wide areas. Among these the Punjab Volcanics and Triassic Limestones of Kashmir Valley have been used in architecture since ancient times. The Triassic limestone can have fine polish and has been used in the construction of the famous Martand Temple as well as the inner designs of the Moghul Gardens. The quartzites of the Jammu Siwaliks are being rarely used in the buildings. The ancient temples of Krimchi and Babor are built of the quartzites of the locality. The old temples of Udhampur and Ramnagar are constructed of Siwalik sand stones.

Precious and semi-precious stones

Sapphire and Ruby: The sapphire mines of Paddar in Kishtwar Tehsil of Jammu Province are well known. These occur in an altitude of 14,000 feet above sea level in pegmatite rocks of Actinolite trennolteschists. The colour of sapphire ranges in tints between pale blue to rich sky blue. Several veins of corundum crystals have revealed the presence of ruby.

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Aquamarine and Beryls: Dasu mines of Skardu have been worked for aqauamarine sporadically, since 1917. The colour of crystals is light blue. Dangel, Chishote and Kachan in Paddar and Karnah are other places where aquamarine has been found. Beryl crystals can be extracted from the Pegmatites of Paddar.

Rubellite, Serpentine, Quartz, and Garnet: These are other precious and semi-precious stones which have been found at various places in the state.

The mineralized area of Riyasi district is a great national asset. With the construction of a road to Muttal in the east and its counterpart in the west upto Kalakot, has dawned a new epoch in the industrial hisory of Jammu and Kashmir State when employment to hundreds of men and women of this backward and mountainous part of India, will be provided. The projected opening up of the Salal Power Project at the bed of the Chenab at Riyasi will supply cheap electromotive power to industries.

The Future: The future of industry in Jammu and Kashmir State is reasonably bright. Without being over-optimistic the following features suggest themselves easily.

A substantial mining industry comprising aluminium, cement, iron, zinc, copper, lead, and ceramics is possible and easy to develop. Coal and coke of Jangalgali and Kalakot, will feed most of these metallurgical concerns. But the copper deposits of Sind Valley, Lushtial and Banihal are to be worked with electromitive force.

Another possibility is the distillation of lignite at Nichama and the manufacture of sulphuric acid from pyrite deposits of Dulai and Lushtial which can also be reasonably taken up.

With the advent of the above noted small industries, still smaller ones such as glass, mica, lead, etc., will crop up, automatically.

The Permian limestone can play a great part in the manufacture of magnesia.

Moreover, a large scale iron foundry can also be visualized. This is because not only coal and iron occur nearby, but limestone which can act as flux is in a near range of proximity.

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ACHARYA KAKASAHEB KALELKAR— LITERATTEUR, EDUCATIONIST, PARLIAMENTARIAN

Fifty-five Years of Public Service

By SAVYASACHI

A year before he graduated from Bombay University, with Philosophy as his special subject, young Dattatreya Balkrishna Kalelkar, who was to be known later as 'Kakasaheb', took a solemn vow that he would not rest, nor allow the British rulers to rest, until India had shaken off her shackles of foreign domination. Since that day fifty-five years ago, **Acharya** Kakasaheb Kalelkar has devoted himself exclusively to the service of the nation in diverse fields of activity. Educationist of all-India repute, he was, for eight years, Vice-Chancellor of Guparat Vidyapith, the national university founded by Mahatma Gandhi. As a journalist, he has edited periodicals in Marathi, Gujarati, English and Hindi. As a literatteur, he has written extensively in all these languages and been a Member of the Academy of Letters. He presided over the Gujarati Sahitya Parishad in 1959. As a politician, he has played an active role in the Indian National Congress, suffering five long imprisonments. He has also been a member of the All India Congress Committee. A champion for the uplift of Harijans and other backward communities, he was the Chairman of the Backward Classes Commission. A writer of wide repute, he has written over 50 books in Gujarati, Marathi, Hindi, and English. He has worked indefatigably, for the last thirty years, for the spread and recognition of Hindi as the national language of India. He believes neither in the highly Sanskritised nor in the highly Persianised form of Hindi, both of which he considers equally beyond the comprehension of the average educated Indian; he advocates a form of Hindi that would be the 'Sab ki boli' or common man's language. In 1959, he was awarded the Mahatma Gandhi Prize for his distinguished services to the cause of Hindi to whose literature he has made valuable contributions.

School and College Education

Born at Satara (Maharashtra) on 1st December, 1885, to a respectable Brahmin family, Dattatreya Balkrishna Kalelkar had his early education at whatever places his father, a trusted and respected Treasury Officer of the British Government, happened to be posted.

About the time he passed his Matriculation, he was married, at the oge of 17, to Laxmibai Shirodkar, the eldest daughter of a landlord. She died in 1929, leaving behind two young sons. Kakasaheb never married again. (The elder son, Satish, who had his higher education at Oxford, was professor for eight years in two Universities and is now in the diplomatic service of India. The younger, Dr. Bal, is a product of M.I.T. and Cornell and is the Senior Industrial Adviser (Heavy Engineering) to the Government of India.)

As as a student in Fergusson College at Poona, he came in close touch with secret political societies which believed in methods of violence for the overthrow of the British Government. His clandestine revolutionary work began in 1906, a year before he obtained his B.A. from Bombay University. The greatest influences during his college days that moulded his philosophy of life and determined his future career, were the writings of Swami Vivekananda and Lokamanya Tilak. Wishing to join the ranks of lawyers who provided active political leadership in those days, Kalelkar joined the Law College at Bombay and passed the 1st. LL.B. in 1908, but gave up further studies in order to enter public life as a full-time worker straightaway; here was a young revolutionary in a hurry!

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Apprenticeship in National Service

In 1909, he became the Head Master of Ganesh Vidyalaya, a national school at Belgaum which soon incurred the wrath of the British Government and had to be closed down. By now young Kalelkar had made a mark as a writer of articles in the Marathi journal 'Chikitsak' (Critique) and it was not surprising that he should have been invited to join the editorial staff of 'Rashtra-Mat' (Nation's Voice), a nationalist Marathi daily started under the leadership of Lokamanya Tilak, at Bombay. Under the savage governmental repression that followed the political murder of Jackson, the British administrator of Nasik district, publication of 'Rashtra-Mat' had to be stopped. Tiring of police harassment in British India, young Kalelkar then proceeded to the princely state of Baroda and became Principal of Ganganath Bharatiya Sarva Vidyalaya organised by the late Barrister Keshavrao Deshpande, an ardent nationalist and close friend of the late Sri Aurobindo. The aim of this institution was to create an army of selfless political and social workers by applying ancient as well as modern methods of education. To create an atmosphere of family life, all teachers were given affectionate names like 'Kaka', 'Mama', 'Anna', 'Appa' and so on and it was here that Kalelkar came to acquire the sobriquet, 'Kaka' (Uncle). The hopes of the organisers that a national institute would be comparatively safer in an Indian princely state were, however, shattered when the late Maharaja Sayajirao Gaekwad of Baroda himself came under a cloud of suspicion because of his refusal to walk backwards before the British royalty at the celebrated Delhi Darbar of 1911. The Maharaja was ordered to close down the 'revolutionary' Ganganath Vidyalaya.

Wanderings and Soul-Searching

By now Kaka Kalelkar's dossier in the 'Black Book' of the British Government was fairly voluminous and the constant surveillance under which he was living was beginning to be intolerable. There was also an inner conflict going on in his heart between political aspirations that urged him to employ any means for India's liberation and the spiritual values which were urging him towards renunciation. One fine morning, a month or so before his second son was born, Kakasaheb, much to the discomfiture of the secret service which was keeping a close watch, vanished from the scene and emerged, a few months later, as a bearded Sadhu in the Himalayas, where he trudged on-foot as many as 2,500 miles, seeking spiritual salvation that would lead not to the doctrine of inaction, but to Karma-yoga. These wanderings took him to all the holy places in the Himalayas including Gangotri, Jamnotri, Badrinath, Kedarnath and Amarnath; and of course to that haven of all Indian revolutionaries in those days—Nepal. Even today, whenever he happens to be in Haradwar, he makes it a point to go over to Rishikesh, cross the Ganges, and pay a visit to the region known as Swargashram where, in a little hut, he performed **tapascharya** (asceticism and meditation) over 50 years ago! During this period he was known as 'Sadhu Dattatreya', but neither his beard nor the flowing robes of the sadhu stopped him from seeking the field of education to produce social and political revolutionaries. At Haradwar he became the head of the Rishikul Vidaylaya, but severed his connections with that institute when he learnt that the organisers did not recognise the right of the untouchables to study scriptures. His wanderings then took him to another teaching post, this time to head the Sindhu Brahmacharyashram at Hyderabad (Sind). A little later, his restless spirit took him to Belur Math and then to Shantiniketan.

Shantiniketan and Meeting the Master

In the middle of 1914, he joined the teaching staff of Shantiniketan, the internationally-known institute founded by the late Rabindranath Tagore, where Gurudev affectionately gave him the name of 'Dattu Babu'. Within a few months, Mahatma Gandhi who had just returned to India after his early career as a lawyer and fighter for the rights of Indians in South Africa, came

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with his associates from there, to spend sometime at Shantiniketan and it was here that Kakasaheb met him for the first time—on 17th February 1915, he remembers distinctly. It was love at first sight on both sides, but Kakasaheb was not prepared to cast his lot with the Mahatma without unburdening his innermost conflicts and making a clean breast of all the contradictions in his own philosophy which were tormenting him throughout his three years of wanderings as a sadhu. While the political philosophy of terrorism had disillusioned him and he was prepared to accept non-violence only as an expedient method, he was not yet ripe for the acceptance of non-violence as the sheet anchor of life's philosophy. Days of long discussions with the Mahatma made Kakasaheb realise that at last he had met his guru, his Master. When Gandhiji returned to Shantiniketan a month later, Kakasaheb informed him that he was ready to join him. With his characteristic courtesy, Gandhiji requested Tagore to 'lend' Kakasaheb's services to him. In later years, Tagore used to twit Gandhiji that Dattu Babu was a loan that Gandhiji had quietly forgotten to repay!

One of "Four Gandhian Philosophers"

From that memorable year in his life, Kakasaheb became an inseparable lieutenant of Gandhiji, the association lasting for 33 years, until Gandhiji's martyrdom in 1948.

On 25th. May 1915, Gandhiji founded his Satyagraha Ashram at Kochrab on the outskirts of Ahmedabad where Kakasaheb soon joined as an inmate, bringing his 5-year old elder son Satish with him. Soon, the Ashram was shifted farther away to Sabarmati where Kakasaheb's wife and their younger son Bal also joined. The late Mahadev Desai and his wife, the late Kishorelal Mashruwala and his wife, and Acharya Vinoba Bhave, also formed part of the menage that was soon to provide guidance to every social, economic and political movement in India. All four were to be known later as the "Four Gandhian Philosophers" who could interpret Gandhian philosophy authoritatively. Like Jawaharlal Nehru who came to be recognised as the greatest political disciple of Mahatma Gandhi, these four came to be recognised as the philosophical disciples of the Mahatma. Of the four, only Acharya Kakasaheb Kalelkar and Acharya Vinoba Bhave are with us today. Students of Gandhism always look to these two for correct interpretations.

Educationist, Journalist, Literatteur

In the Ashram at Sabarmati, Gandhiji installed Kakasaheb as the head of the Ashram school which was to evolve, fifteen years later, the well-known Gandhian scheme of Basic Education. When as a part of the Non-Co-operation Movement of 1920, Gandhiji founded the Gujarat Vidyapith, the National University of Gujarat, Kakasaheb was associated with it, first as a professor and later as Vice-Chancellor for eight years.

During Gandhiji's incarceration between 1922-24, it fell to Kakasaheb to supervise and edit his two weeklies, 'Young India' (in English) and 'Navajivan' (in Gujarati). One of his articles in these weeklies brought him 'he baptism of imprisonment' as he called it, for seditious writings and for "bringing His Majesty's lawful government into contempt"! It was during this period of editorship that Kakasaheb blossomed forth as a writer of Gujarati, surprising the established writers by his mastery over a language that was not his mother-tongue. His vast output in Gujarati has become so popular that no Gujarati home with cultural and literary tastes is without his works. His works are prescribed as text-books, from Matriculation to M.A., in every university in Gujarat and other Indian Universities where Gujarati is taught. His philosophical writings showing his vast erudition, his commentary on the Gita, his essays on culture, his travelogues and especially his light and playful essays on nature and its grandeur, are extremely popular. "Oatarati Diwalo", the most widely read of his popular books, is supposed to be about his imprisonment, but it deals more with nature than with prison life! In 1960, the Government of Bombay awarded him a prize of Rs. 1000- for his "Letters to Chandan". (Chandan

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was one of his most brilliant pupils who later married his elder son, Satish. After 23 years of happy married life, she died in Washington in 1963.) A linguist of all-India repute, Kakasaheb has carved out for himself a niche in Gujarati, Hindi and Marathi literatures. In these three languages, as also in English, he has written over 50 books. He knows Bengali too and as if this was not enough, studied Kannada during his fifth and longest imprisonment (1942-46) at the time of the Quit India Movement. And of course, he is a Sanskrit scholar of deep learning.

Interpretation of Tagore

Although he has done no writing in Bengali, his knowledge of the language is so intimate that his work, "Ravindra Pratibha" which translates and interprets Tagore's poems has become equally popular in Marathi, Gujarati and Hindi. This book gives the translation of some 39 pieces from Tagore's prose-poetry contained in "Lipika", each translation followed by an extensive "niroopana" (interpretation) twice or three times the length of the original, making the heart of the piece crystal clear. The "niroopana's" themselves often show shades of Tagore inherent in the style of the interpreter. He has also elucidated Tagore's "Gitanjali" in Marathi, in three volumes, and has translated his Bengali novelette, "Malanch" into Marathi. His articles on Tagore in Gujarati were given an award by the Gujarat State Government.

Champion of Hindi

When Mahatma Gandhi shifted his headquarters from Sabarmati to Wardha, Kakasaheb went with him and was entrusted with the task of reforming the Nagari script and popularising Hindi as the national language of India. Since then Kakasaheb has done most of his writing and public-speaking in that language and has been editing the Hindi journal "Mangal Prabhat". As an advocate of the Gandhian idea of giving equal devotion to the study of Hindi and Urdu and evolving a simple style that would weave a beautiful pattern by employing both, Kakasaheb soon came into disfavour with the stalwart purists of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan who would have no truck with Urdu—except as Urdu—just to propitiate the Muslims; they would not tolerate "a hotch-potch of Hindi and Urdu" even if advocated by such a great personality as Mahatma Gandhi. But for this conflict, Kakasaheb, who is an eminent writer in Hindi, would have graced the President's chair of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, long ago. Indeed, the chaste and classical prose in Hindi that Kakasaheb writes is so totally acceptable and admired by the purists of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan that they often twit him and say: "Kakasaheb, if the style you write is Hindustani (mixture of Hindi and Urdu), we are in complete agreement with you!" No wonder, therefore, that the Rashtrabhasha Prachar Samiti of Wardha, which belongs to the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan school of thought, had no hesitation in honouring Kakasaheb by awarding him their Mahatma Gandhi Prize for 1959. Acharya Vinoba Bhave was awarded it the previous year.

"Mint Master"

As a philologist, an expert linguist who knows seven languages, Kakasaheb has given thousands of Indian equivalents for English words. In fact, the critics in Gujarat affectionately call him the 'Mint Master' who has coined thousands of words without bringing in the jaw-breaking etymological acrobatics of some of the fanatics of later years. His 'Vasari' (Vasar-Day) for 'diary' and his 'Abhayaranya' for 'Game Sanctuary' are instances in point.

Passion for Travel

A never-tiring passion for travel has led him to move extensively to all parts of India, several times. Besides this, he has travelled extensively all over the world, giving us on each occasion, an analytical picture of the country visited. His "Impressions of Japan" have already won him a literary prize and his "Our Nert Shore

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Neighbours" (in English), a book about his visit to East Africa, is about to go into third edition.

Since Independence

As one extremely averse to the hurly-burly of electioneering, Kakasaheb has never sought any elective political office. He came to be an M.P. only when the President, on the advice of the Prime Minister, nominated him to the Rajya Sabha in 1952, as a distinguished man of letters, for a period of six years. At the end of that period the President was pleased to re-nominate him for a further period of six years. He retired from Parliament in April 1964.

The Report of the Backward Classes Commission, of which he was appointed the Chairman, has not found favour with the Government, but Kakasaheb was shackled from the start when, after being appointed the Chairman, he was given no say in the selection of members to serve on the Commission. It would have been a strange spectacle indeed if the Chairman of the Commission had written a Minute of Dissent! Kakasaheb had to remain content with the writing of a Foreward to make his own position clear.

Award of Padma Vibhushan

In the Republic Day Honours List of 1964, the President conferred on Kakasaheb the honour of Padma Vibhushan (which is next only to Bharat Ratna), in recognition of his distinguished services to education and literature for over half a century. Among the awards of 1964, Kakasaheb's was the highest award. His only comment on the occasion was, "That it was given to me to follow Gandhiji and see India free within my life time, was reward enough; I did not need any other reward, really."

Folding the Wings

In the 79th. year of his life, Kakasaheb still works for 14 hours a day, but is gradually withdrawing from all organizations and institutions "to make room for the younger workers". Over a phased programme that has gone on for the last five years, he has relinquished the presidentship of the All India Basic Education Board, the Hindustani Prachar Sabha, the Gandhi Vichar Parishad and the directorship of the Gandhi Memorial Museum. He wants to devote the closing years of life to the establishment of the 'familyhood' of all religions and emotional integration of all sections of the Indian community.

In the evening of his life, when he looks back at his chequered career, he feels a certain degree of satisfaction that, born and brought up as a Hindu, he has realised the essential unity of all religions and developed respect and reverence for all of them. He is happy that starting from intense nationalism, he has grown into a humanist with equally deep love for all nations, with special concern for the under-developed countries and races. He is fully convinced that inter-communal, inter-racial and international understanding and goodwill can best result from an implicit belief in non-violence and peaceful co-existence.

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RAJA BIRBAL

By S. N. QANUNGO

The Age of Akbar makes an attractive gallery of portraits from the life. An illiterate villager may not be familiar with all the 'Nine Jewels' of Akbar's court; but the memory of Raja Birbal is delightfully and warmly alive in his mind. It should occasion no surprise as Birbal is considered the joyous epitome of wit and laughter. Birbal's stories we hear many times and even now they provide much robust enjoyment to their hearers. But Birbal was not merely a light-hearted jester. He was an intellectual with a progressive outlook, a poet of merit, an expert musician, a consummate diplomat, an officer with a sense of responsibility and executive ability, a brave commander and a man with a rare combination of idealism and realism. Above all Birbal was the 'spiritual companion' of Akbar (Akbarnamah, III, p. 732).

Prof. Hodivala traces the name of Birbal' to 'Birbara' of Vetal Panch-vimsati who offered to sacrifice his life in service of King Vikramaditya. Birbal's real name was different. Prof. Hodivala suggests that Akbar might have conferred this title on him for his faithful services (Studies in Indo-Muslim History, p. 555). Grierson holds that in his earlier days Birbal was known as Mahesh Das (Literature of Hindustan, p. 34). Badayuni, a contemporary of Birbal, writes his name as Brahma Das (Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol. II, p. 161). There is also some controversy about the place where Birbal was born. According to Smith he was born at Kalpi in 1528 A.D. It is significant to note that Shivraj Bhushan mentions Trivakrampur in the district of Kanpur, Uttar Pradesh, as the ancestral place of Birbal.

On authentic sources we know little about Birbal's early life. His father Ganga Das was a poor Brahmana of the Bhat or minstrel class. Not having been born in the purple, Birbal had to make his way in life through adversity. The struggles of his early years compelled him to come into contact with people of various walks of life and made him an acute observer of men and things. Birbal began his career as an ordinary versifier. Raja Ramchandra of Bhatha near Allahabad granted him an audience and received him with favour. He must have attained some frame as we find him after sometime in the court of Raja Bhagwan Das of Amber. But it was in the court of Akbar that Birbal came into limelight. Akbar conferred on him the title of Kaviraj and granted him the Jagir of Nagarkot in Punjab. Subsequently he was also given the title of Raja Birbal and the Jagir of Kalinjar in Bundelkhand. Chhitswami, one of the five notorious Chaube 'Gundas' of Mathura, was the 'Guru' of Birbal (Hari Awadh, 296). Birbal was a poet of no ordinary merit. He was, however, a writer of isolated pads and his poems do not embody any philosophic concept or delicacy of distinction. He wrote on the usual theme of love between Krishna and Radha. His poems were written in **Braj** dialect under the pen name of Brahman (Hari Awadh, p. 300). The language is characterised by simplicity, colour and romantic sweetness. Birbal was fabulously charitable to poets. Once he rewarded Keshav Das with a present of six lakhs of rupees.

Birbal made a profound mark on Akbar's life. The Emperor was fond of his company as he was an accomplished conversationalist full of ready wit and humour. Though immediately entertaining, Akbar liked Birbal for his essential goodness, generosity, goodwill towards all, devotion to duty, love of justice and uncommon power of observation. According to Badayuni, Birbal was instrumental in initiating the Emperor to the tenets and practices of Hinduism. He persuaded Akbar to adopt the Brahmanical thread and worship the

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Sun, fire and stars (Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, II, pp. 203-205 ; p. 312). Though Badayuni's assertion is unconvincing there is no doubt that Birbal exercised much influence on Akbar.

The note of rancour against Birbal becomes tiresome in Badayuni's Muntakhab-ut-tawarikh. He refers to Birbal as 'hellish dog' (Vol. II, p. 335) and casts the most disgraceful aspersion on him that he had incest with his own daughter (Ibid., p. 312). We should not lose sight of the important fact that Badayuni was a 'sun-dried Mulla' (Ain, Blochmann, p. 104, N. 2). Birbal was jovial, frank and buoyant in spirit. But if tradition is to be believed he was not a polygamous husband and was never known for his excesses. His private life was marked by a standard of morality that was rare in that age.

Akbar had Birbal constantly near him. According to Abul Fazl, Akbar built a two-domed palace for Birbal standing in the north-west corner of the royal edifices of Fatehpur Sikri (Akarnamah, Vol. III, 397). In January, 1583, Akbar honoured Birbal with a visit to his residence and the latter gave a grand feast to commemorate the event (Ibid., p. 438). On October 8, 1583, the Emperor celebrated **Id-ul-Fitr** by holding a splendid banquet and a polo match. At this match Birbal fell down from his horse and became senseless. Akbar himself went to Birbal and graciously relieved him by his breathings (Akbarnamah, III, 414). Once Akbar saved Birbal from the attack of a ferocious elephant.

Birbal was a consummate diplomat and he could well appreciate the significance of political events. Raja Ramchandra of Bhatha recognised the suzerainty of Akbar as early as in 1563 A.D., but he had not personally attended the court. His son represented that his father would surely attend Akbar's court if a friendly noble were sent to bring him. Accordingly, Birbal and Zain Khan Koka were sent. Birbal's diplomatic mission was successful. Ramchandra personally presented the Emperor many valuable articles and 120 elephants. Akbar confirmed the restoration of Ramchandra's fort and 101 horses (Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, II, 335; Akbarnamah, III, 426-427 ; Tabaqat-i-Akbari, II, 391). It is also said that Akbar imposed a fine of a crore of **dams** on Raja Bir Singh Bundela for the reluctance of the later's unwedded wife Pravin Rai to appear in his court. According to the tradition the fine was written off at the intercession of Birbal (Sukhdev Bihari Misra, Hindi Sahitya aur Itihasa, p. 182). There is no doubt that Birbal played a significant part in Akbar's diplomatic relations with the Hindu Rajas.

Birbal never lacked sense of responsibility and he acquired experience of administration, war and diplomacy. He always acted honestly and diligently. Birbal held the mansabdari of 2000 (Tabaqat-i-Akbari, II, p. 446). In 1582 he worked in the Finance department and was put in charge of purchase and sale of certain commodities (Akbarnamah, III, 390). In 1583 he was placed in charge of the administration of justice at the royal court. Later on Birbal was appointed the head of the department of civil justice and Abul Fazl was attached to his office. He was sympathetic to the common people and his justice was tempered with mercy. Once he proposed to Akbar that able and impartial officers be posted at all important places to report the cases of the oppressed (Akbarnamah, III, 380-381). He wanted an understanding between the rulers and the ruled.

In an age immersed in dark superstition Birbal was surprisingly progressive in his outlook. It is significant that he was the only Hindu member of Din-i-Ilahi. His breadth of vision increased with his association with Akbar. Birbal showed remarkable intellectual maturity whereas Bhagwan Das, Man Singh and others opposed Akbar's scheme of Din-i-Ilahi.

Birbal was not entirely devoid of military genius. Though he lacked that sort of ability which makes a good commander Birbal displayed qualities of courage and an adventurous spirit. In 1585, he was sent along with Zain Khan Koka and Hakim Abul Fateh against the turbulent Yusufzais in the hilly tract of Swat and Bajaur. On February 12, 1586, they inflicted a defeat near the Karkar Pass and made thousands

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of the enemy prisoners. Zain Khan urged Birbal to stay there as the route was full of hills and defiles. But Birbal did not listen to him. His ambition to create a spectacular effect made him indifferent to prudence. At the top of a narrow pass in a dark night the Afghan tribesmen made a surprise attack and killed 8000 of the Mughal army. Birbal was killed in action and Zain Khan and Abul Fateh managed to escape.

Akbar was disconsolate at the death of Birbal. He did not touch food for two days and nights (Akbarnamah, III, p. 732). According to Badayuni, Akbar never experienced such grief a tthe death of any amir as he did at that of Birbal (Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, II, 350). Rumours got currency that Birbal was alive in the guise of a barber. Akbar sent an **Ahadi** (gentleman trooper) to bring him. The Ahadi did not find him at Nagarkot or Kalpi and had an innocent man killed on his way. The officer was punished and Akbar went into a second mourning.

Akbar cherished the loving memory of Birbal and gave vent to the agony of his soul in verse thus:

दीन देखि सब दीन, एक न दिन्हीं दुसह दुख ।
सो अब हम कँह दीन, कछुक न राख्यो वीरवर ॥

[Having found me always humble, he never inflicted a single unbearable pain. So, now I say as a distressed one, nothing has been left for me by Birbal].

A NOTE ON THE TECHNIQUE OF EVALUATION

By Prof. T. V. SETHURAMAN,
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1. Technique of Evaluation

The community development programme in India was started in October 1952 and it serves over 55,000 development blocks with a coverage of 5,70,000 villages. The total outlay under the first Plans has been of the order of Rs. 240 crores and the Third Plan provides for a total outlay of Rs. 294 crores. It is fully recognised now that the basic problem of rebuilding rural India rests mainly in the proper organisation of agricultural effort at the village level. It is in this context that the evaluation work of our rural development projects assumes importance since it can serve as a guide for future action. Evaluation therefore may be understood as an aid to policy. It may be considered as a branch of research intended primarily to the needs of an action programme, and is necessary if one wants to feel the pulse of a programme. It may be defined as a process of analysis which throws light on the relative merits and deficiencies of persons, programmes, situations, methods and processes. The apparatus of evaluation to be an aid to policy, should be mounted with a spectrum of techniques. An attempt is made in this paper to bring to limelight some salient features of the technique and the problems, thereform.

The term itself has been derived from the Latin term "Valeo" which means value. There are various considerations which a good technique of evaluation may be expected to take note of. viz. customs, religious beliefs, authority, personal experience, scientific enquiry etc. Evaluation is only one of the five essential processes which a rural development programme is expected to go through. The other phases are as follows:

(a) Analysis of the situation, problems and needs.
(b) Preparation of a programme of plan for action for attaining the set objectives.
(c) Programme execution and
(d) Reconsideration of the phases in the light of evaluation, Evaluation as a stage here precedes reconsideration.

The evaluation of a programme has to be taken only in terms of the objectives of the programme and such a process can be undertaken at three different stages. It may be undertaken (a) before the programme is implemented to

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establish, a "bench mark," (b) while the programme is in actuatl operation (may be serveral times) and (c) after the completion of the programme. The ultimate aim of a rural survey being the evaluation of a rural plan, it is essential that evaluation should be free from personal or policy prejudices. Sometihes evaluation work may be undertaken directly by persons connected with the project. The demerit of such an assesment is that it may be bias ridden. To safeguard against this it becomes necessary that evaluation work should be undertaken by an agency independent of the programme itself.

2. Methods of Collecting data

In general there are two methods of collection of data: (a) The census method and (b) the sample method. The former denotes surveying of all the units in an area as for instance, collection of population statistics every ten years, collection of live-stock statistics every five years etc. It is quite possible that in such cases the cost involved will be greater than that of a sample method; in spite of the higher cost involved in the use of this method, complete enumeration may be recommended in certain cases. In contrast to this the sampling method consists of surveying some selected units only. The success of conducting such experiments has led to the increased use of this method of collecting data. Selection of the sample is a crucial stage under this mthod and it may be either random sampling method or purposive selection method. Under the former method all the units of the population are enumerated out of which a portion is selected by random methods giving equal chance to each unit. The great advantage under such a method is that one can always be sure of the degree of accuracy with which one is working and this can be obtained by a suitable variation of the number of units selected for study.

The purposive method on the other hand is known as the representative method. The underlying idea in this method is that some particular units are taken on the basis that they will be typical or representative of the whole. The main advantage of this method is that it can be applied practically to every field of research. It is not possible here to draw a comparison between these two methods to find out the relative superiority of one over the other. Such a thing depends wholly upon the nature of the study undertaken and the object of the survey.

3. Measuring Intangible Evidences

Community Development programme and National Extension Service are expected to bring about a silent revolution. How are we to ascertain whether the expected change is taking place or not? How are we to measure such evidences of change? Evidences like increase in population, increase in employment, output on farms and rural industries etc. and (b) intangible evidences like improvement in skill, knowledge, attitude of the people etc. So far, evaluators were giving major consideration to the measurement of tangible evidences only. But it is essential that the importance of intangible benefits also should be properly assessed. But the intangible items cannot be estimated in terms of cost benefit ratios or input output relationships. They should be clearly expressed and if possible related to such quantitative factors as the number of people trained, extent of people's contribution in terms of money, labour etc. Some of the devices which are used to measure intangible benefits are as follows:

(i) Value scale: to determine the value people place on things, as to what people think important etc.,

(ii) Attitude scale: to find out people's feelings towards certain things,—whether they are for or against certain problems,

(iii) Knowledge and comprehension test; to understand whether a person is able to apply the acquired skill or knowledge in a given situation,

(iv) Interest checks: to find out in what problems people are interested—the level of interest being checked by what are termed as paired lists of activities or topics, (v) Skills or performance ratings: to determine the amount of skill attained, (vi) The adoption test: to find out whether a certain recommended practice is being followed or not.* (vii) Case history: undertaken to study the problem of an individual family.

* It may be recalled here that the Programme Evaluation Organisation in India, adopted the Acceptance of Practice Enquiry in 1957 to analyse the following three aspects:

(i) Adoption, reversion and non adoption of agricultural practices

(ii) The people's participation in community work and

(iii) Membership of village institutions.

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These are only some examples and similar techniques can be thought of to suit individual requirements. Since almost all the above mentioned methods are based on personal judgements, it is quite likely that errors in evaluation may creep in. A more practical and reliable method will be to make an assessment by means of surveys, interviews, questionnarines etc.

4. Tests of Applicability

Whatever be the method of technique followed, it is necessary that it should satisfy certain fundamental principles. The following may be listed as the most important among such principles or tests.

(i) *The Principle of Validity* : The data collected should be valid in the sense taht it should provide ample evidence to the problem an evaluator has undertaken. The evaluator should pose himself the question "Is it the truth ?"

(ii) *The Principle of Reliability* : The tools and techniques used should be such that when the test is applied several times, the results obtained should be the same, without much variation. One specific example is in regard to the selection of the sample. The sample taken should be such that it should be representative and warrant conclusions regarding the universe.

(iii) This principle relates to the fact that the device used should be free from bias. Ultimately this boils down to the fact that the results obtained should not vary much when adopted by different persons.

(iv) *The Principle of Practicability* : This principle for use should be within the realm of possibilities in terms of resources of time and money.

(v) *The Principle of Simplicity* : Simplicity here does not denote brevity. It only means that the technique adopted should be easy to use, readily understood by the respondents and easily capable of tabulation.

5. Error in Evaluation

Sometimes error or errors may creep in and the magnitude or the degree of error in the assessment of a programme depends upon a number of factors, such as the nature of results measured, quality and type of tools used etc. Also it may depend upon the training given to the evaluator, his experience and judgment. It is impossible to rule out or eliminate altogether the chances of error. Though it may be remarked, that a certain degree of error is pardonable, hence justifiable, nevertheless it is not possible to name any figure as "tolerable error" in the evaluation or assessment of a programme.

STUDIES IN MOTHER MONTESSORI'S PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION

By LEENA NANDI, M.A., B.T.

The purpose of this paper is to consider the nature of exercises of practical life, which Mother Montessori considered irresistible to the children of the age group of two and two years and a half.

The child develops. It is a long-drawn process and a favourable environment has got to be created for the child. Mother Montessori thinks that the exercises of practical life, in course of development of the child, when introduced in 'the house of children' make the child self-conscious. The practical exercises, as she sees them being done in the household, inspires in the child an impelling force to make some adjustment with the environment and that too in the line of the adults. Naturally the child likes to work and respond to the environmental stimulus in a way akin to the adults. Hence the necessity for the introduction of the exercises of practical life in 'the house of children' arose. When they are so introduced the

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child becomes conscious of its environment which is a step towards the consciousness of objects as such. This, in turn, helps the growth and development of self-consciousness in the child. When it becomes aware of itself, naturally it distinguishes itself from the 'other' and this leads to social-consciousness.

This self-consciousness of the child gives it a sense of independence and all exercises of practical life point to this independence. The child does not like to depend on anybody and that is why it takes up all forms of practical exercises on itself. If prevented or deterred in the execution of the these exercises the sense of independence in the child suffers awfully. This spells a stop to the development of human life. The need of the environment is a challenge thrown to the cild and the child, while accepting such challenges, devotes to the evercises of practical life, which in turn, help them to develop into adults. This may be considered to be the direct end to which the exercises of practical life are committed.

The exercises of practical life indirectly help the child to place confidence in its environment. While it could so trust its environment, naturally a sense of security grows and there is a growing belief in the child that there is no conflict between the child and its environment. These practical exercises help the child to develop its muscles and brawns and thus a well-built adult is seen in the offing as a consequence. The exercises of practical life provide scope for the development of the child's intelligence, power of, movement and will. These powers were latent in the child when he was born. The 'second environment' as thought of by Mother Montessori, gave ample opportunity for the development of these faculties latent in the child. The child growing psychologically and biologically needs a second environment of its own. It is dissatisfied with its environment in which it is born. It wants to recreate its environment. This inspires creative activity in the child undeterred. So, if exercises of practical life are allowed the child could be master of the situation and thus its intelligence, will and mobility are co-ordinated. This co-ordination in due course helps the child grow and develop an integrated personality. The foundation stone of a 'future person' is laid there in the child and one is tempted to observe that Metaphysician Bradley's famous ethical exhortation 'Be a person' finds sustenance in Mother Montessori's Philosophy of education.

The independent development of these three powers in the child if allowed, and if there be no co-ordination between them, the resultant effect is the lack of co-ordinated personality. But the introduction of the exercises of practical life in the 'second environment' helps the child to co-ordinate these three faculties. Intelligence, will and movement converge into one and thus co-ordinated, they give better results and in consequence we have the integrated personality of the child. As soon as the child intelligently grasps of understands the nature of the exercises of practical life, its will works. It immediately chooses the activity it intelligently understands and the movement concurrently starts. In short, intelligence urges the will and the will in its turn directs the muscles to act in a particular way. These three powers as explained above are characteristic of man and their co-ordination would lead to the making of a better adult.

The environment of the child becomes pleasant when the child could effect its desired changes in it through intelligent understanding and work. When the child is free and works there to its entire satisfaction, undeterred and unchallenged, naturally it loves its environment. The co-ordinated working of intelligence, will and movement on the part of the child creates a better environment for it. It brushes the shoes and dusts the doorsteps and scrubs the floor. The joy of work is there to enliven the whole situation. We have found children bringing in buckets of sand and pouring them on the well-polished floor in order to find new work for them. This is does being prompted by inner needs. The exercises of practical life moreover make the child conscious of the dignity of labour. When it works from the very childhood, i.e. from 2 to 2½ years, it can never develop any apathy to manual labour in future life. Thus exercises of practical life make the

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children conscious of the dignity of labour and help them develop a flaire for making their environment clean and pleasant. In future life they could perform the work with pleasant association.

If the child is denied these opportunities for the exercises of practical life, its development suffers. It will get bored and will be a source of constant irritation to others. There will be faculties viz., intelligence, will and power. Suppose will works and intelligence lies dormant, the child would grow obstinate. And if will refuses to work, intelligence will be absolutely helpless. Suppose, the child works without intelligence; in that case we get nothing better than a ship without anybody at the helm. All these states are undesirable. As such the child needs a co-ordination of its faculties through the exercices of proctical life.

In this context of the 'house of children' we must define and determine our responsibility. We must remember that the children have their own imagination, will and movement and as such we the adults must respect them. We should not ignore or underrate the value of their needs. It is the adult's sacred duty to help create the proper environment. The adult's responsibility is fourfold:

First, we will have to provide for materials or tools with which the children could do the exercises of practical life i.e., work. The child should be shown as to how it should handle the materials. The adult should wisely select the exercises of practical life to be introduced in the house of children, keeping in view the social environment of respective children. Thus the adult should wisely prepare the environment wherein the child would find materials suitable for its second environment.

The second duty of the adult, as already hinted at above, is to help the child handle the tools and materials provided for by the adult in the house of children. The materials so selected by the adult have both an inner and an outer purpose, the outer purpose being to effect some change in the environment and the inner purpose being the co-ordination of movement. The child should be helped to have a proper appraisal of both these purposes. The adult must make the child conscious of this inner purpose as well as the outer. The adult, further, should help the child to make right use of the materials so chosen by the adult.

Let us now consider how the adult would prepare the materials for the child to use in the house of children. Size of the material would be proportionate to the physical proportion of the child. Naturally all the materials would be sized in proportion to the children of the prescribed age-group. The child's exercises of practical life would naturally demand the right type of materials to perform a specific piece of work. We are not so much concerned with the result. We care for the performance only for, such performances on the part of the child would help it grow and develop. For example, let the child dust the table although there is no dust on it. The child's development needs this dusting and so let it dust. Another important point to be borne in mind by the adult is to find familiar materials for the child; local conditions, availability of materials in the local market, all these are to be taken into consideration at the time the adult chooses the materials for the child. Moreover, each activity of the child should have independent material to be used; no single material should be used for more than one purpose. We will have to make the child understand the different purposes for which the different materials would be used. These materials would be very simple, as simple as possible but it must fulfil the purpose for which it is designed. No material would be introduced whose purpose could not be easily ascertained and the use of mechanical gadgets is discouraged in the house of children. These materials should be attractive in shape and colour as to invite the child to use them. Materials, moreover, must be kept clean. They should be infact, decorative and reflect their real value. They should also have a proper display so that the child could pick and choose. The child must have easy access to the materials. The materials should have a fixed place and rather a permanent sort of place.

The adult's duty is to present the differ-

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ent types of activities to the child. The aim of presentation is to make the child derive benefit from the activity by its own performances. Presentation is not demonstration, it is meant to help the child to do the activity all by itself. By presentation the adult makes the child understand the whole performance. We will have to show the child the different parts of the activity by analysing different movements. Thus the child understands what movements it required to undertake for a particular activity. So, analysis of movement is considered to be the most important part of presentation. The child's attention should be drawn to a particular movement by the adult and as such the presentation should be brief. After presentation by the adult, the child would naturally do the work and the child should be encouraged to judge its own work. It should be its own critic.

The adult must give the child freedom to choose the activities and to repeat them until the child is satisfied. Freedom for children means a free choice of materials and a suitable activity. Once the child chooses the activity and the appropriate materials, the adult must see that it is performed. The child must perform the desired activity at least once. Herein we have an element of determination imposed by the adult in the 'house of children' where freedom for the child reigns supreme. This element as introduced by Mother Montessori reminds us of Swami Vivekananda's idea regarding the role of teachers as moral guides who at times introduce an element of compulsion in the child's realm of education. Thus she came very close to Swami Vivekananda in the formulation of this part of her celebrated theory. But one feels constrained to observe that Mother Montessori's concept of the activities of practical life as applied to the house of children smacks of anachronism. She might be accused of committing naturalistic fallacy as well. Mother Montessori gave a new name to the age-old play theory. The child ignorant of the special significance of the exercises of practical life, may be taken as merely toying with the activities of the adults. The child's imagination gets into the old rut of imitation when it works on the observed behaviour patterns of the elders. We know that imitation is initially handicapping in matters of character-building and initiating healthy tendencies in children. So introduction of the exercises of practical life in Mother Montessori's 'house of children' should not be taken very seriously. Her over-emphasis on the trimming of these activities by the 'adult' will not be very helpful for the taught as we all know that children resent intererence. If interference is introduced even while they play (in the words of Mother Montessori, when they do the exercises of practical life), that will not help the growth of a rounded personality in the child. We will do well to remember what Avanindranath Tagore observed although in a different context. He distinguished between 'Lila' and 'Khela' and said that 'Lila' had to be preferred, for it suggested no element of purposiveness and compulsion. Mother Montessori's scheme of helping the children in the performance of the exercises of practical life certainly entails an element of determination, which on all accounts is repugnant to the concept of a free and liberal education for childern.*

* Read at the Chandigarh session of the Indian Philosophical Congress in December 1963.

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THE RISE AND FALL OF THE RADHANAGARI

By Prof. PRAFULLA C. SARKAR

I have never seen any specimen of muslin, that all-silencing marvel which flourished in Bengal during the pre-British era. But if any one asks me which single work of our ancestors in India fascinates me most I shall forget all the finest works of our poets and painters, of our saints and philosophers and shall unhesitatingly name muslin. Yet economists or historians of this century have remained poles apart while interpreting the coming and the going of the finest ever-known cotton fabric. The main reason why this is so is that our ancestors cared little to write history or contemporary records or wrote few novels in the matter-of-fact contemporary setting. But the still more regrettable reason is that the few economic historians whom we found in our midst during this century, have not all given adequate care to the selection of the right kind of method in establishing the truth. Added to this was the unrestricted temptation of the scholar to explain any phenomenon anywhere in the vast country in terms of the situation that prevailed in the scholar's own district or province. If, over and above, the scholar works for a research degree in a university where authorities might not relish the bare truth, any undertaking to undress the same is likely to remain uninspired.

Thus writing about the state of muslin during the first half of the nineteenth century one eminent Indian economist arrived at a startling conclusion. Muslin, he says, "was an industry which depended entirely on the existence of a court, rich and luxurious." This discovery of the eminent Indian scholar explained why he felt it not necessary even to make a passing reference to the well-known exposition of Ramesh Chandra Dutt.

Even a casual reading of the economic history of a few European countries will impress the most unhistorically-minded that if two commodities were imported in the remotest village muslin come next to salt. This was so because the ladies of the houses of noble men or their like could not afford to do without the muslin. Numerous English, French and Russian novels can be cited to show how all fashionable ladies of the west yearned for the Indian muslin which as a veil of the face completed the most discreet dress of the European woman during the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries.

If the Englishman in India remained even indifferent to the muslin, mankind would not have been denied this invaluable gift which was perfected in India through centuries and we in Bengal a pride while travelling abroad of hailing from a land that manufactured muslin. In his anxiety to instal Manchester he pursued savage policies to push the muslin out of existence. Little did he realise that muslin and Manchester could ultimately co-exist.

The case of the muslin is lost for ever and can not be re-opened. In what follows some attention is focussed on a very ordinary craft now heading towards extinction. Yet this extinction can be prevented.

Another conclusion of the learned Indian economist whose view on muslin I criticize above is: "Indeed, except in the artistic wares—which were produced in the towns—there was no localization of industry in India" during the first half of the nineteenth century. In a foot-note, however, he provided for "a slight exception" in case of weaving for some centres which were famous in sorrounding tracts for their specialized products. This over-simplification of the state of rural industry in India does not apply to riverine Bengal. Craftsmen sold their merchandise far beyond the surrounding areas even in case of weaving.

This fact came to my notice when I was travelling on my own in a group of villages near the birth-place of Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar to watch the impact of development plans on the village economies. Weaving was firmly localised during the early

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nineteenth century in a cluster of villages under the leadership of Radhanagar and the output of the weavers sold far and away. This was made possible because these villages are located on the bank of the Shilai which is connected with the Ganga through the Rupanarayana.

Radhanagar as it stands now is nearly destitute of weavers. But a history of more than a hundred years ago verbally handed down from one generation to the next is fondly preserved by the existing generation of the village population. There was not a single family which did not take to weaving. Weavers worked round the clock and even at the dead of night shuttles sounded and resounded in every house without rest rendering the sleep of the visitors impossible. This industrial noise must have been the reason why the mahajans who financed weaving in this group of villages made sure that weavers lived separately and away from them. There were, therefore, three plausible causes of localisation of weaving in Radhanagar namely, the presence of a band of efficient weavers, mahajans' anxiety to keep them all together and a very good river transport facility to market all the output produced.

The extent of the market Radhanagar served and its sources of raw materials in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries cannot be precisely determined without a thorough scrutiny. What can be said with certainty is that products of Radhanagar reached far beyond the boundaries of the Midnapore district during the first half of the nineteenth century. The famines of the sixties and seventies of the last century forced the weavers to leave the village in search of food. The new factory industry in India gradually restricted Radhanagar's market and the capitalists refused to reduce their extractions. The remaining weavers were improverished. The last band of weavers could not even marry and thus Radhanagar was cleared of its weavers.

After the weavers' evacuation of Radhanagar, weaving continued in other villages of the Radhanagar group. It is not clear when the Sari made in the Radhanagar group of villages made its incursion into the Gujarat market. It is probable that the establishment of railways between Bengal and Gujarat facilitated the process. But for many decades the weavers of these villages of the Ghatal Sub-Division of the Midnapore district produced solely to cater to the needs of Gujarati women. The available evidence suggests that the Radhanagar Sari sold in Gujarat even in the early part of the railway eara. If, therefore, the Radhanagari did not reach the hands of Gujarati customers before the coming of the railways it is difficult to rule out the possibility that it went at least half the way using any water-route.

The Radhanagari Sari is still produced, and still sold in Gujarat. But its importance has declined. If the Bengali customer outside Radhanagar has remained unaware of the Radhanagari the reason is that it has been throughout made to suit the local costume style of Gujarati women and could not be sold to Bengalis.

There are principally two reasons for the recent decline of the Radhanagari. In the first place, some other states have developed a fine system of hand-loom products and now offer strong competition to the Radhanagari. Secondly, the mahajana system of, or influence on, financing, purchasing and marketing has proved outmoded. The muslin in India was destroyed by the British. The Radhanagari is approaching a similar fate because of our inability to evolve a right kind of policy towards it.

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ART AND ARTIST IN ANCIENT INDIA

By Prof. C. V. RAMACHANDRA RAO, M.A.
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The gods, the ancient gods, I mean, are dead everywhere else on the face of this earth, except in the land of the Hindus. They died in Greece; they died in Egypt; they died in Sumer, Babylon, Mesopotamia, Assyria and Persia; and recently they died behind the Bamboo Curtain in China. In all these places, they fell from their Olympian heights, or were driven out of their magnificent temple-palaces, to become finally museum-pieces. They no more strike awe, or engender love or devotion in the hearts of men. Nowhere else except in India, the land of the Hindus, are they loved, revered and worshipped at this date. For the past five thousand years, since the days of the Indus Valley Civilisation, they have inspired and still continue to inspire, the mythology, the philosophy, the religion, the poetry, the songs and the very ideals and aspirations of life in this vast subcontinent of India. Above everything else, they inspired a great art, one of the greatest in the world. As Munshi puts it, viewed in continuous time and in concrete terms, Indian sculpture is the saga of Shiva and Shakti (Saga of Indian Sculpture by K. M. Munshi—P. 41; Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan; Bombay, 1957). Of all the ancient civilisations, the civilisation of the Hindus only is seen today in flesh and blood, with an unbroken life of nearly five thousand years behind it.

2

We, the moderns, have learned to assess the greatness of a civilisation by the measure of its artistic products; certainly, no other aspect of civilisation than its arts, is capable of revealing so certainly, so profoundly, so intimately and so immediately the soul of a race. A Saranath Buddha or a Phidian Zeus will more immediately convey to us the meaning of Buddhism or the spirit of the Greeks than the three Baskets of Bhuddist literature (The Buddhist Pali Canon consists of three sections called 'Pitakas' or baskets), or a thousand pages of Homer. The Kailas temple at Ellora or the Parthenon on the Acropolis will more intimately inform us the magnificence of the Hindus or the greatness of the Greeks, than the erudite mouthings of a thousand scholars. Art is the surest feeler to know the heart-beats of a race.

3

As with all ancient peoples, so with the Indians, art was intimately connected with religion. In India, art was the handmaiden of religion. It was religious; but not other-worldly, as the European art of the middle ages was. That it was not other-worldly can be seen from the fact that all Indian sculpture, Hindu, Bhuddhist and Jaina alike, had made full use of the nude or scantily dressed female from as a decorative motif. At the same time it was not secular in the sense that its aim was not mere aesthetic pleasure. The idea, 'Art for art's sake' was something which the ancient Indian artist did not conceive of; for, art in India always served some social or religious purpose, and was not meant to reflect the personal idiosyncrasies of the artist. The genius of the artist was measured by the extent to which he could successfully convert these socio-religious experiences of the people as a whole into artistic terms. Such innovations as occur in Indian art from time to time in the course of its history, reflect the changes brought in the socio-religious experience of the race and not the genius of the artist. And, innovations constantly occur in Indian art, without the conscious effort of the artist. For, in India tradition is a living thing. The artist could project his personality only in the way of rendering a theme; the theme belonged to the whole race; even then, he remained anonymous for he conveyed a measage which transcended him and where

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personal identity was a matter of little importance. Thus Indian art for the most part is anonymous. We are familiar with the names of famous Greek artists like, 'Miran,' 'Phidias,' and 'Praxiteles,' but the names of the creators of the Saranath Buddha, the Elephanta Mahesa or the Kailasanath temple are not known to us. As Coomaraswamy has very aptly put it, "The names and peculiarities of individual artists, even if we could recover them would not enlighten us : nothing depends upon genius or requires the knowledge of an individual psychology for its interpreation. To understand at all, we must understand experiences common to all men of the time and in which a given work was produced." (Introduction to Indian Art ; P. vi ; Theosophical Publishing House, Madras, 1923). Here we are afforded a parallel in the art of Europe. We do not know the names of the architects of St. Sophia at Constantinople, and of the lovely Byzantine Churches of the sixth century. We do not know the names of the builders of the churches and the cathedrals of the middle ages, and of those artists who set the mosaics at Ravenna.

At the same time, the themes of Indian art were so all embracing of world and life, that they gave scope for the artist to express himself in a thousand and one ways. Only he should have the ability to render, and he need not feel stifled for want of choice of a subject, an idea or an emotion or a feeling. There is hardly any emotion, feeling, idea or subject in the realms of the mind, matter or spirit that Indian art had not portrayed. It has portrayed the highest philosphical realisations of God and Truth as efficiently as the commonest joys and sorrows of man. No other art of the world has succeeded so well in rendering into plastic expression the highest philosophical concepts—of Truth, of God, of Reaslisation.—as the art of India. But this did not prevent the Indian artists from depicting such scenes of life, which the modern censors of morals would assign for nothing less than a holocaust—scenes of graceful men and women 'in coitu,' and that in all conceivable poses. In India, either in life, literature or art, nothing was taboo.

4

In India art was never conceived apart from life. It was never something to be viewed in museum gallaries on week-end days. It was a part of the daily life of the people, supposed to inspire and guide them in their day to day activities of life. Even to-day one cannot fully know of Indian art, by a visit to the museums. The museums preserve only that part of it, which became the victim of the ravages of time and iconoclasm. To know Indian art in all its living glory, one has to go to the temple, where men and women gather for their daily worship. In India, temples are the treasure-houses of the arts. They are the abodes of living gods. A temple is not the fortress of a priest or the monastery of an ascetic. It is the physical core as well as the soul of the community. It is meant to be visited by every man and woman, every boy and girl, as often as possible, or at lest once in a day. It is meant to instruct man in the greatness of his race and elevate his soul in the pursuit of Good. Every temple in India is a definite architectural piece. It is full of exquisite sculptures or paintings that depict scenes from the story of the race. They are meant to instruct man in the duties of this world, just as in the presence of the image of God in the sanctum sanctorum, he is to forget everything in the contemplation of the Supreme. Thus art in India is, "the statement of a racial experience, and serves the purposes of life, like daily bread." (ibid., p. v.).

Thus in India, the artist was constantly under the public gaze, and his creations always subject to its criticism. Not that the people were trained to be connoisseurs of art; but, in so far as they expected the artist to satisfy their cravings for beauty and their spiritual yearnings, latent in all men, they became the best judges of art, and put the artist under exacting standards. A modern artist can afford to be irresponsible; he may dab some colour on a canvas, bend a wire into half a dozen twists, make a few indentures on a stone or a marble, and say that he has portrayed a weeping woman or a dancing girl (probably he giggled behind your back). If a man fails to see there a weeping woman or a dancing girl, it is his fault, or lack of vision ; for the artist will say his art is cubist and if the figure is far more unintelligible, surrealist. But the ancient artist had no such advantages (!) or excuses, we may say ; he had to make himself completely understood, and at the same time was expected to instruct and elevate. This he could not achieve without undergoing a discipline.

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5

Unlike the artist in the West, the Indian artist, when he shaped gods or men, had no models before him. The artist in the West, the Greek artist, made gods in the image of men ; the Indian artist made them in his own mental image. Even his men were idealised and generalised types and had no physical likenesses. To conceive gods in the mental plane, and to render them into plastic terms in all their divinity, is a stupendous task that could be achieved only after a long and arduous mental and physical discipline. This the Indian artist did undergo. He generally belonged to a guild of craftsmen. He put himself to apprentice under a master for a long number of years, and perfected himself in the ins and outs of his craft. Besides he had to study many other subjects, such as mythology, geometry, and philosophy which had a bearing on his craft. Thereafter, he was left to his own inner resources, for the delineation of gods or men. To draw out on these inner resources, he had to develop powers of concentration and self-control by way of meditation. The Samarangana Sutradhara, an ancient authority on art regards the following as the indispensable qualities, which a good artist should acquire : (1) powers of intuitive contemplation or mediatation (prajna), (2) powers of careful observation, (3) technical skill of the hand through long practice, (4) learning particularly the science of metre or balance, (5) anatomy of men and animals, both in movement and at rest and under the influence of diverse passions, (6) ready intelligence (pratyutpanna matitva) and (7) self-control and character.

Of course, the Indian artist was not left completely in the lurch. Very early in the course of the history of art, laws were framed to guide the artist. In the delineation of men or gods, the artist was helped by these laws, which are found in a number of inconographical and canonical texts. These texts give a detailed account of the attributes and identification marks (lakshanas and lanchhanas) of each major god and all the important minor gods. They also help him with with ideal mathematical proportions of the different parts of the body. This proportion or measurce is known as 'tala.' The Indian artist used the measurement of the hand as the standard measure. The proportion that each particular limb, the hands, the feet, the fingers, the ears, the nose, bore to the standard length of the head is given in detail in the "Vishnudharmottara purana." How this ratio should change with the movements and the differnt postures of the body is described in detail in the 'Chitrasutra'. There are various other texts which discuss these points at length. But the artist is never expected to rigidly conform to these rules. He is always free to make such changes as are necessary to impart the utmost beauty and grace to his creations.

6

In India, the art of painting and sculpture was closely related to the art of dancing. The Indians developed a complete language of art in their treatises on dance, such as Bharata's 'Natya Sastra', Nandikesvara's 'Abhinayadarpana' etc. These texts recount at length various kinds of glances to suggest different expressions of the mind. They also describe various gestures of the body, postures of the hands, the position of the fingers and the inclinations of the hands and the feet to coincide with various moods of the mind ; and it is possible by an assemblage of these different glances, gestures, poses and postures, to give an outward expression to the inner feelings of man. Indian painting and sculpture have made plentiful use of this language of dance. In fact, Indian sculpture, and painting also, very often depict scenes from dancing. (It is common knowledge, that in the Nataraja temple at Chidambaram, all the dance poses expounded by Bharata are sculpturally represented). Even otherwise, these arts make use of the language of dance, to give expression to particular moods of the mind in the depiction of gods and men.

Of all this symbolic language of dance, Indian sculpture, as well as painting, has made the most use of the gestures of hand and fingers, otherwise called 'mudras.' The artists were conversant with the various forms of these gestures, and they were also familiar with their meaning and significance. Generally the facial gesture, and the gesture of the body were just made to synchronise with the gestures of the fingers, which blossomed out of the body like little flowers. Each of these gestures of the fingers is associated with a particular mental attitude and invite comparsion with the expression of the face, eyes and the general posture of the body, with which it stands in close relationship. Therefore, a knowledge of a few of these important gestures will equip the student with a better appreciation of the nuances of Indian art.

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KHADI—THE LAST OPPORTUNITY

By SURESH RAM,
Editor *Bhoodan Yajna*

"Browning has said :

'I have ever been a fighter,
So one fight more,
The last and the best.'

Likewise, I think that *Khadi* has to make its final effort, 'the last and the best.' Thereafter Khadi would either be crowned as a king or disappear. It cannot survive in any third capacity."—Vinoba.

Khadi is now completing about four decades and a half of its existence. It was meant to serve three purposes: (i) as a relief to the poor, (ii) as a means of making our economy self-reliant and strong, and (iii) as a symbol of the power of non-violence. Khadi has made wonderful progress during these forty-five years, first as a livery of the freedom struggle, and then as a support of the rural folk. The Government of India set up the Khadi & Village Industries Board in 1952 and the Khadi & Village Industries Commission in 1957. Also it has been offering a rebate of twenty per cent on Khadi sales. Beginning from absolute zero, Khadi production reached 70,05,473 sq. yds. (worth Rs. 1,11,95,131) in 1946-47 and 896,12,000 sq. yds. (worth Rs. 21,21,56,000) in 1962-63. Khadi work is spread over about one lakh villages, giving employment to about eighteen lakhs of people. There is no other industry in India, State-run or otherwise, which supports so many people with so little capital.

But it cannot be gainsaid that the prestige of Khadi has not grown with its production. It has even lost its former moral command in society. Nor has it been accepted by the village people in their life. True that the helpless lady-spinner plies the wheel, yet she always uses the mill-product as her wear. As regards Khadi's role in generating the power of non-violence after Swaraj, the less said the better. In short, Khadi production has been going up with a simultaneous decline in Khadi spirit. Unfortunately, for some time past, the amount of stock has been piling up in Khadi shops for want of buyers, Govrnment rebate notwithstanding.

How long can this process continue ? If Khadi sales cannot be pushed up even with Government aid how will Khadi face the future ? Were Khadi to remain a fad of a few, how will its fulfill its claim of non-violence ? We had no answer to these riddles. Time and again, one sentence of Gandhiji, uttered in September 1944, on his return from the Aga Khan jail flashed across the mind :

"Spin, spin intelligently ; those who spin should wear *khaddar* and those who wear must spin."

But there was no solution. However, Vinobaji who has identified himself with the Khadi movement from its very inception, came forward with a suggestion. Addressing a gathering of Khadi workers at Nabadwipdham (West Bengal) in February 1963, he said :

"Thinking about Khadi it occurred to my mind that we must get twelve yards of Khadi woven free every year for every man, woman and child of the country. . . . In consultation with friends I have dropped this twelve-yard proposal and am now in favour of total free weaving."

This idea was accepted by the Khadi & Village Industries Commission. The Government also gave its approval. And at Sri Jawaharlal Nehru's instance, it was decided to incorporate it into practice from April 6, 1964. Vinoba inaugurated the new campaign at Sewagram last month.

Khadi now enters a new stage. There will be no rebate on sales, but the Government will be granting subsidy for weaving. Thus the urban customer will not have to suffer. Here are the details about a metre of shirting :

	During the rebate period	In the new system
Price of cotton	0-34	0-34
Carding charges	0-10	0-10
Spinning charges	0-41	0-41
Weaving charges	0-28	0-00
Transport	0-03	0-03
Establishment	0-23	0-23
Total :	1-39	1-11
Less Rebate :	0-28	0-00
Net price :	1-11	1-11

This is only one aspect of the scheme. What is more important is that it is likely to produce a tremendous influence in the countryside. As a glance at the above table will show, the same cloth will cost Rs. 0-44 a metre for the self-spinner, Rs. 0-34 a metre for the self carder-cum-spinner, and almost nothing for those spinners who produce their own cotton. In other

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words, as those who grow grain get their own food, those who grow cotton will now get their own cloth free of cost. It is well-known that clothing forms the heaviest item of expenditure in our rural households and makes their fortune fortunate with the vicissitudes of the market. Under the new arrangement, everybody who it prepared to spin will obtain his cloth almost at the price of cotton. It will also enable our villages to stand on their own feet and grow according to their genius. The vast masses of India will now be able to feel the thrill of Swaraj.

But it is not an easy task. Here comes the responsibility of the Khadi or Sarvodaya workers. They have to reach every village, convey the new message of Khadi to every home, and persuade the people to grow cotton and spin. Selling Khadi on the city-counter or purchasing yarn at the village-centre has been the main pre-occupation of the Khadi worker, essentially a mechanical job, having little to do with the propagation of non-violence or village self-reliance. In fact, ever since the advent of Swaraj, Khadi has been maintaining the worker. Now the role has to be reversed and the worker has to show what he can do and how far he can suffer to maintain Khadi. He is to serve both as an educationist and propagandist in the best sense of the term. He has to come out of his old mental grooves and institutional ruts and give a real fight. This is why Vinoba calls it 'the last and the best' battle for Khadi—for Khadi of Gandhiji's dreams.

Will Khadi or Sarvodaya workers meet the new challenge ?

BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

Reviews and notices of books in Gujrati :

Authors and publishers of Gujrati books, desirous of having them noticed or reviewed in *The Modern Review*, should send them direct to, Shri Rangildas Kapadia : Gandevi, Dist. Surat, instead of sending them to the Editor, *The Modern Review*.

CHANDERNAGOR ET DUPLEIX (in French) By Prof. K. C. Kormocar of Chandernagore College and Post Graduate Department in French, University of Calcutta, Published by Science News, 62/6, Beadon Street, Calcutta-6. Price Rs. 8/-.

Professor Kormocar had the honour of getting the India Government Foreign Language Scholarship (French) in the year 1955-56 and he thus visited France and the rich collections of books and manuscripts at the Bibliothéque Nationale and other Archives of France. So he managed to bring back to India some rare documents, e.g., Augustin Aussaint's French-Bengali Dictionary compiled in the Fort William New Jail in 1781 long before the vernacular studies of William Carey and other scholars of the British Baptist Mission. Professor Kormocar also made the first publication from Chandernagore of a documentary study on the historic Governor Joseph-Francois Dupleix (1697-1763) whose portrait has been excellently drawn by his student, Sri Hari Narayan Das, a local artist, which forms an admirable woodblock frontispiece of Dupleix whose death bi-centenary was worthily celebrated by this book under review. It contains from page 7 to page 117 original French records on the socio-economic conditions of Bengal and the French East India Company, rarely remembered by Indian or British scholars treating the history of the British East India Company which led to the foundation of the British Empire in India. To help the general readers, a complete bibliography of the French books and documents together with

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an alphabetical index and rare maps of the Fort of Orleans and other historical sites of Chandernagore have also been given. This valuable documentary study of Prof. Kormocar has fittingly drawn the admiration of His Excellency the Ambassador of France, Jean-Paul Garnier, who writes among other things : "Having had knowledge of your previous studies on the relations between Europe and India and on Anquetil Duperron, I can appreciate the solidity of your information and your qualities as a historian."

We hope that Prof. Kormocar will continue to edit and publish other books and documents demonstrating the close cultural collaboration between India and France. We recommend the book to all libraries of colleges and universities of India.

Kalidas Nag

DEVELOPMENT OF MORAL PHILOSOPHY IN INDIA : By Dr. Surama Dasgupta. Orient Longmans. Price Rupees Twenty-five only. pp. 226+XVI.

Study of morals in its growth and development is interesting and at times fascinating ; specially more so when it is traced against a background of thousand of years. We have an old history and this history is replete with the formulation and description of lofty ideas for which people lived and died for scores of centuries. Like all other civilized races of the past, we lived in well-defined societies where Varnasrama ruled and accomodated many contrary inclinations, natural to man. In order to be moral, men must live in a society. Man is not a moral Melchizedek. He must live, move and have his being in society. So the study of morals has a necessary reference to sociological aspects of man's existence. Naturally, the study of morals becomes complicated as it can not be divorced from sociological references. Again, morals have a reference to man's religious life. God is considered by some to be a postulate of moral judgment. If any ideal is taken to be the goal of moral life and if the ideal is a big one, certainly it will need many lives for the realisation of this ideal. An individual can not possibly realise this ideal in the span of one life. Hence postulation of a series of lives and immortality was considered essential for a healthy moral life.

Phychologically speaking, moral life must take cognisance of the true character of voluntary actions, which from the pivot of moral evaluation. Analysis of the voluntary act and an analysis of the situation in which the individual acts are equally essential for a proper evaluation of the act. Reference to the situation in which the individual acts is necessary as it determines the amount of freedom the individual enjoys while performing the act in question. Freedom is a very important presupposition. The concept of Adrista is intimately connected with the idea of freedom in the contact of moral evaluation and this adrista has a necessary reference to Karma-vada or the theory of karma. The role of the fruits of antenatal acts is very important in so far as it determines the station and the lineage of the individual.

All these problems have been discussed thread-bare with specific reference to the texts of ancient Indian philosophy. The Vedas, the Upanisads, the six systems of Indian philosophy, the Gita and the Pancaratna and the Smritis have been referred to again and again and we find in the Book under review a detailed discussion of relevant problems as have been taken up by the orthodox and non-orthodox schools of Indian philosophy in their recognised texts and bhasyas.

The author is a reputed scholar and it will be enough to say that she has lived upto the reputation she so steadily built up in course of the last decade, by her scholarship displayed in the work under review.

The orient Longmans, her publishers deserve a word of praise for the neat production.

(Dr.) S. K. Nandi

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Indian Periodicals

An Act of God in Lok Sabha

Writing editorially under the above caption what **The Commerce** has to say on amendments of the Indian Constitution will, we feel, find popular endorsement :

It is encouraging to find that the callous manner in which the Congress Party, under the leadership of Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, has been amending the Constitution, as if it were a piece of ordinary law, has met with successful opposition this week, forcing the Government to restrain its hands. Most of the amendments to the Constitution have been made to nullify the decisions of the Supreme Court and High Courts holding several laws passed by Parliament and State legislatures **ultra vires** the Constitution. This has given rise to the impression that the Government has been subverting the highest tribunal in the country and treating the sacred Constitution as a mere scrap of paper. The seventeenth and eighteenth amendments to the Constitution mooted at an interval of less than a year are the latest actions of the Government that have brought, deservingly, of course, much discredit to it. Both have now been thrown out, though in different ways. Both represented a slap, as it were, to the judiciary and contempt for the Constitution. The seventeenth amendment, introduced in May last year, sought to legalise scores of exporpriatory land laws enacted by State legislatures, laws that had failed to stand the test at High Courts and the Supreme Court when challenged by the aggrieved owners of land.

Even as this amendment was on the anvil, the Government brought in the eighteenth amendment late last week (on 24th April), with the object of obtaining immunity for itself against any claims for damages for detentions under the Defence of India Rules. Following a recent decision of the Supreme Court in regard to the fundamental rights conferred by Part III of the Constitution, the Government found that it might be confronted with a large number of claims for wrongful detention, etc., once the emergency came to an end. The Government wanted to cover its position by amending Article 359 (which empowers the President to make an order suspending the right to move any court for the enforcement of rights conferred by Part III when a proclamation of emergency is in operation) with retrospective effect. The Government's contention is that, "when remedies are barred during an emergency, the rights for the exercise of which the remedies are barred must also be deemed to be suspended." This amendment is, in fact, less dangerous than its predecessor, for the worst sufferers of the proposed abridgement of the freedoms conferred by Part III will be the Communists and the extreme leftists. Yet all Opposition parties joined hands and severely protested against it, and staged a walk out when the Bill was introduced in the Lok Sabha, with the help of the votes of the majority party. But some of the top Congress leaders themselves were opposed to this move and, when there was a serious threat of opposition from the members of the ruling party itself, better counsel prevailed with the Government and a decision was taken to withdraw the amendment Bill. Apparently even Congressmen thought that the removal of protection in question (given by Part III of the Constitution) might one day recoil on themselves. But what is significant about this episode is that it is a reflection, though a faint one, of the growing aversion to any further watering down of the rights guaranteed to individuals in the Constitution. The people are undoubtedly getting tired of the Congress Party's frequent attempts to tamper with the Constitution and circumvent the inconvenient decisions of the Supreme Court.

While the eighteenth amendment was

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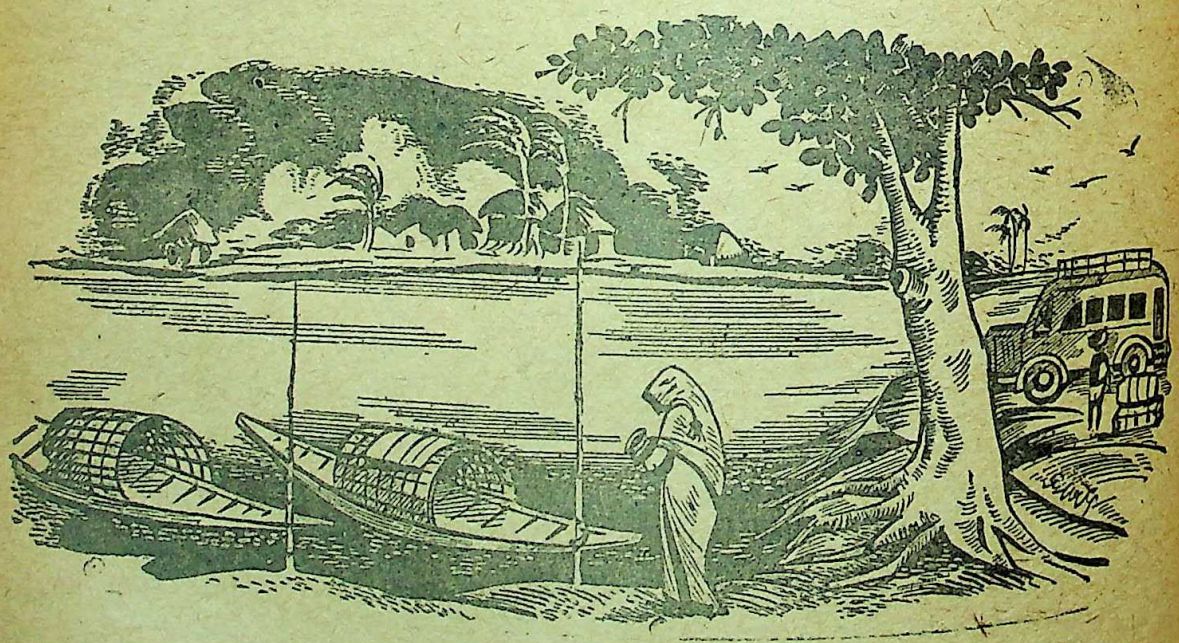
withdrawn after deliberation and in recognition of the old adage that "discretion is the better part of valour," the seventeenth amendment failed just before its adoption through an accident. But this accident looks like an act of God, for an accident of this nature seldom happens. Incidentally, a similar one had occurred nine long years ago when the seventh amendment to the Constitution pertaining to reorganisation of States (on linguistic lines) was under consideration. Every one who had reasoned against the seventeenth amendment had given up hope, as it was certain that the Congress Party, with its large majority and the support of Communists and extreme Socialists, would get the Bill through. The time for voting, however, came when the attendance in the House was thin, with a large number of Congressmen otherwise busy in the lobbies. The electric bell, intended to alert the members on voting, failed to ring. The automatic device for recording of votes also failed to function and had to be abandoned in favour of voting by ballot. The result was that 206 votes were for and 19 against the amendment, but the majority was insufficient by 50 votes to fulfil the first condition for amending the Constitution—namely, a simple majority of the total (510) membership of the House—though it was sufficient to satisfy the second condition, namely, a majority of two-thirds of the members of the House present and voting. Accordingly, the Speaker declared that the motion was not carried. Why did the bell and the mechanical contrivance refuse to function? It is, of course, purely sentimental to say that Providence willed it that way. But it is quite a popular sentiment in this country.

The technical, and purely accidental defeat is however, unlikely to deter the Government from reintroducing the Bill after a time. Although quite a few members of the Congress Party itself are critical of the measure, they do not have that courage of conviction to vote against their party. The Communists and Socialists are all for it.



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Foreign Periodicals

A Rendezvous with Pegasus

The following story about the last exploit of the little known Italian poet Lauro de Bosis published in the **Saturday Review** should be of unusual interest to our readers:

History has a distressing way of upgrading mediocrities while downgrading truly brilliant and significant personalities.

Thus Mata Hari, a slim talent at best, won fame because she happened to get caught in the glare of the headlights when World War I came thundering along. Yet the supremely gifted and heroic Italian poet Lauro de Bosis is today unsung, largely because his remarkable exploits took place off-camera and out of season, so to speak, and caught the journalists and the historians looking the other way.

Lauro de Bosis was an adornment of the Italian literary scene in the Twenties. The son of a prominent poet, Adolfo de Bosis, and of a New England-bred American mother, he was reared in the best traditions of the Risorgimento and U.S.-style democracy.

While still in his twenties, he had already lectured at Harvard on Italian literature, translated Frazer's **Golden Bough** into Italian, compiled an anthology of Italian poetry, and written a verse-play, **Icaro.** The play was based on a theme that had long absorbed de Bosis, the Greek legend of Icarus, who flew so close to the sun that his man-made wings of wax and feathers melted, plunging him into the sea.

In 1930 de Bosis and his circle, appalled by Mussolini's ham-handed police-state tactics, founded the National Alliance, an anti-Fascist, anti-Communist group that circulated newsletters and petitions calling for a return to Italy's traditional freedoms.

Their activities soon caused anti-Blackshirt rumblings on a wide front, and in the summer of 1931 Mussolini's police seized de Bosis's mother and imprisoned and tortured his associates. Fortunately, the young poet was in France on a visit, and escaped arrest.

Since return meant imprisonment and probably death, de Bosis stayed on in Paris, supporting himself by doing menial work in a hotel that in happier days had been the scene of his many romantic escapades.

Oppressed by shame at being free while his mother and friends were in prison, he now made a fateful decision. Since the Blackshirt regime was vulnerable to blunt truths, he would buy a plane, learn to pilot it, then fly it over Rome, dropping anti-Mussolini leaflets on the evening crowds in the streets.

Putting aside money from his porter's pay, he took flying lessons, bought a shaky old plane, packed it with 400,000 leaflets, and by mid-October, 1931, was ready to take off for Rome. In the words of **Icaro,** "Behold him: he seizes the wings with his strong hands. He prepares for flight and compels his fate."

De Bosis had, of course, no illusions about what that fate would be. "My aeroplane," he wrote, "only flies at 150 kilometres an hour, whereas those of Mussolini can do 300. There are 900 of them and they have all received the order to bring down . . . . with machine-gun fire, any suspicious aeroplane . . . . they are there waiting for me. So much the better; I shall be wroth more dead than alive."

But before taking off, he had one more chore to complete. He wrote and mailed off to a close friend a remarkable document, "The Story of My Death," which was to be his newspaper obituary if he did not return.

"Tomorrow at three o'clock," the obituary began, ". . . . I have a rendezvous with Pegasus . . . . my aeroplane. It has a russet body and white wings; and though it is as strong as eighty horses, it is as slim as a swallow. Drunk with petrol, it leaps through the sky like its brother of old . . . .

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we are not going in search of chimeras, but to bear a message of liberty across the sea to a people that is in chains."

Taking off on October 13, 1931, from an airport outside Marseilles, de Bosis crossed the Tyrrhenian Sea at 20,000 feet, then came in low over Rome in the early evening.

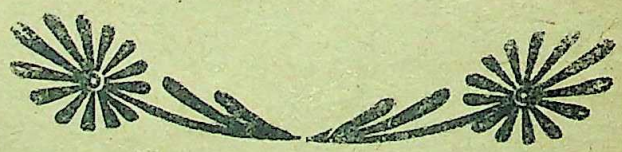
Soon after he began his run, dropping a snowstorm of leaflets on the astonished citizenry, swarms of pursuit ships dived on him, but were unable to fire because of the crowds. Unperturbed, de Bosis dropped his plane below roof-level, and snaked in and out of Rome's avenues, showering down not only leaflets but books attacking Fascism. ("As one throws bread on a starving city," his obituary says wryly, "one must throw books on Rome.")

At one point a volley of broadsides from **Pegasus** cascaded down and scored a direct hit on an audience watching an outdoor movie. At another point, **Pegasus** swooped so low over the Spanish Steps that a spectator later said, "He seemed to be mounting them."

In the end, his daring mission completed, de Bosis flew out over the Tyrrhenian Sea, and was last seen climbing steeply, his white wings aglow with the setting sun, as he tried to avoid his pursuers. The presumption is that he was riddled with bullets at some point during his climb and plunged, like his idol Icarus, into the sea. At any rate, he was never seen again.

Though Rome was shaken by his exploit, the flight was little noted abroad. If it had taken place on the eve of World War II, or in the full glare of some other historic event, Lauro de Bosis might today be a folk hero of sorts among the world's freedom-loving people. Instead, his act proved a lonely but effective existential gesture, made on behalf of a world that did not yet realize fully who Mussolini was.

Thus Lauro de Bosis joined that company of perfervid but anonymous spirits who lie buried in history's interstices, awaiting that new generation of scholars who will resurrect them and hail their accomplishments.



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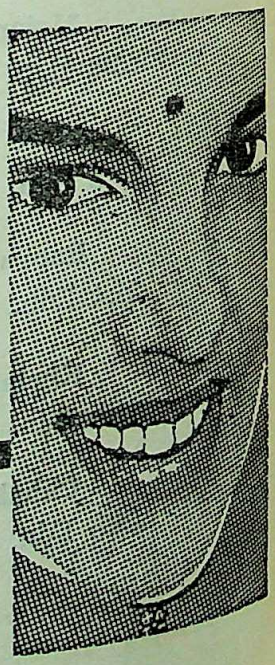

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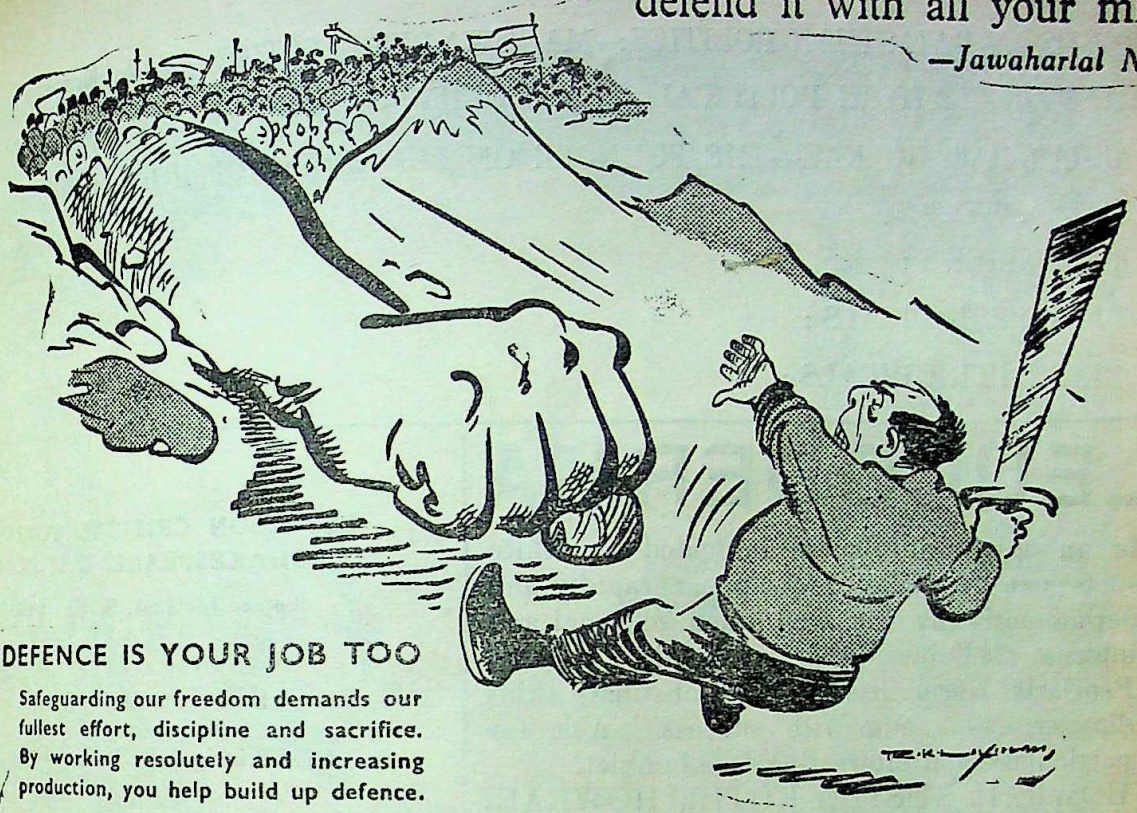

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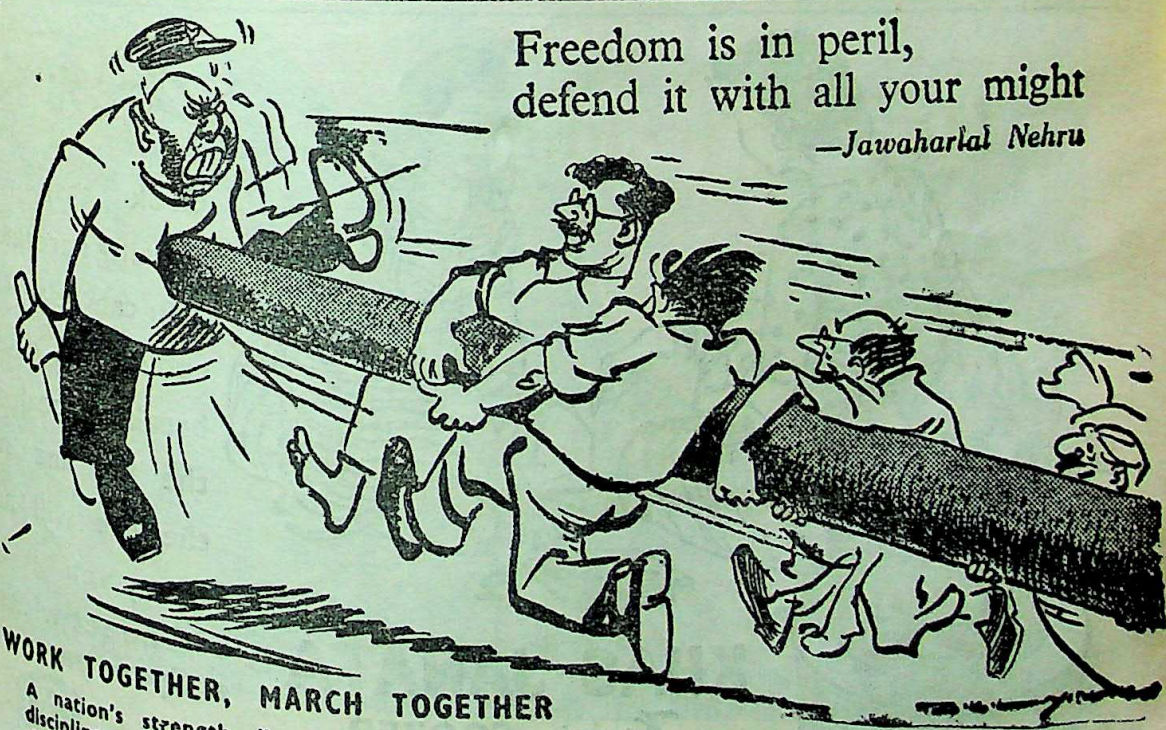

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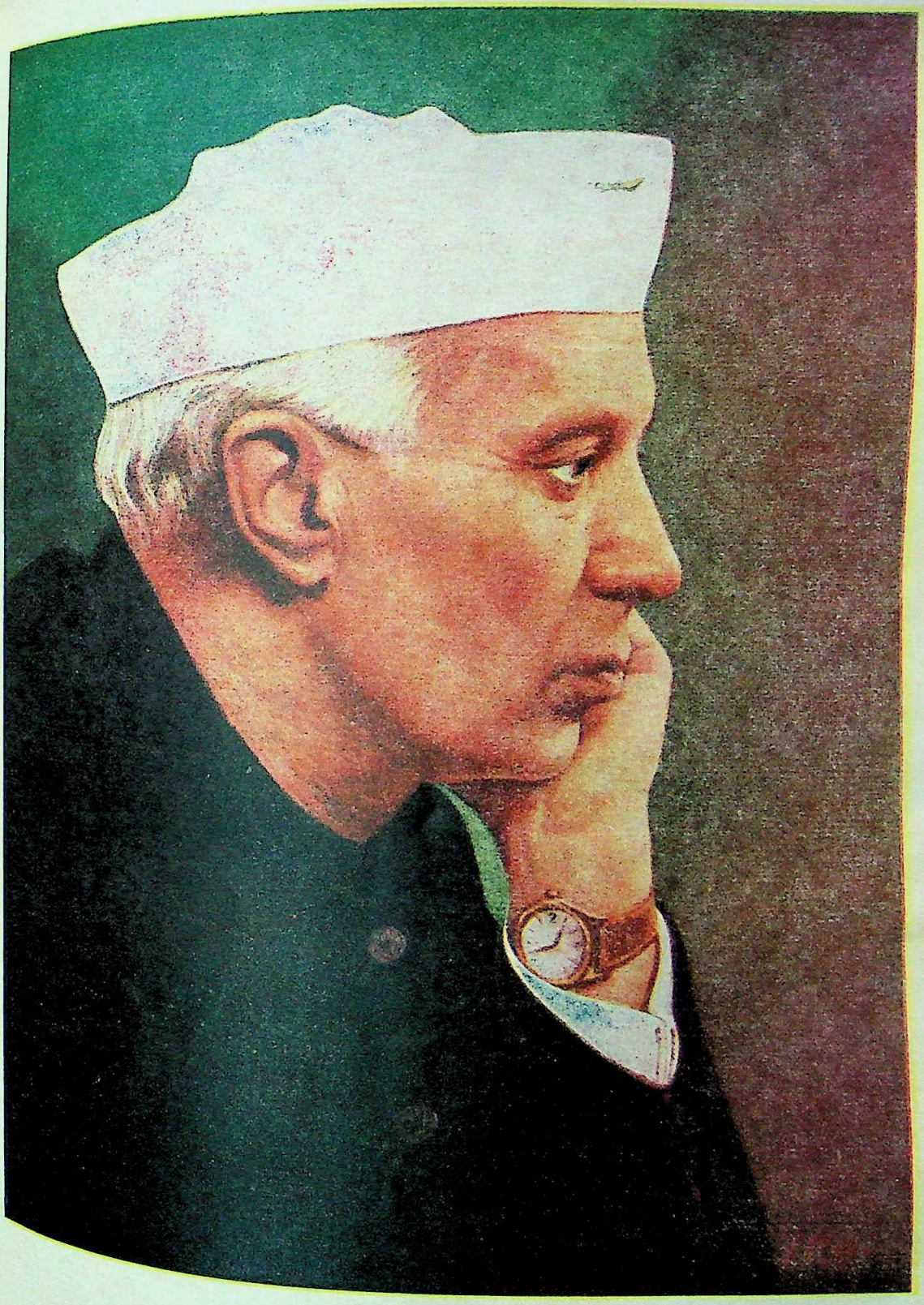

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THE MODERN REVIEW

JUNE 1964

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NOTES

The World

Some significant moves have been made by those in power over dependent peoples, which indicate that Colonialism in all its aspects, quasi-benevolent, solely concerned with exploitation regardless of consequences to the exploited, or intensely malevolent, is as yet far from being on the way-out.

In the small British Colony of British Guiana, where there was a leftist ministry in charge until recently, large-scale riots have been taking place recently. Although the majority of the population are of "East Indian" origin as evinced by the typically Hindustani name of the majority leader and ex-Premier Cheddi Jagan, the British authorities have made the police force 90% Negro, in a typically British colonial method. As a result the police have actively enhanced the racial strife and sabotaged all the moves of the ministry to restore law and order to the Colony. Persecution of the East-Indian majority has been allowed to mount by this tacit approval and surreptitious aid from the police.

All these troubles started with the demand by Premier Jagan of independence from British rule and calling for a general strike of the workers in the sugar mills and cane-fields—sugar being the main-stay of the country's finances. The Negro workers demurred and quarrels that led to a flare-up were the result. We who remember such incidents during the labour troubles in India of British days, know only too well how the employment of agent-provocateurs and police-aided black-legs helped the deliberate stirring up of communal strife in the furtherance of British interests. There is no reason why the use of similar political methods by the British authorities should be ruled out, although British and U.S. news put the responsibility solely on Cheddi Jagan and the Communist tactics of his Chicago born American wife. In any case the result has been the suspending of the Constitution and the assumption of all executive powers by the British Governor. It is reported that ex-Premier Cheddi Jagan has reported this to the U.N.

In the U.N. itself the concerted move by the Afro-Asian group in the Security Council to impose an economic embargo against South Africa as the last peaceful effort to force the South African Government to give-up apartheid, was defeated by the counter-moves of Britain and U.S.A. The culmination of the apartheid debate in the Security Council is reported thus in the **Hindusthan Standard**:

New York, June 15.—Outright rejection of any idea of imposing economic sanctions against South Africa by the British representative, Sir Patrick Dean, and a scathing attack by the Soviet representative, Dr. Nikolai Fedorenko on Western Powers for carrying on "shameful trade" with the

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"slave drivers" of South Africa, marked today's debate on apartheid in the Security Council.

The British view simply is that apartheid, however objectionable, does not threaten international peace and consequently is outside the scope of sanctions.

Prospects at long last for positive United Nations actions after 16 years of procrastination were further dimmed by a diversionary Norwegian proposal to appoint yet another committee—Sir Patrick rejected the findings of the committee of experts appointed by the Secretary-General in December on instruction from the Security Council—to make "technical and practical study of the feasibility and effectiveness and implications of the measures which can be taken under the Charter."

Arsene Usher of Ivory Cost, this month's President of the Council, reiterated the strong Afro-Asian view that unless bloody suppression of 13 million blacks is stopped, this suppression would lead to race war that could hardly be confined to South Africa's borders and which thereby would seriously threaten international peace.

He pointedly asked the U.K., the U.S.A. and France to suggest a better way if they rejected economic embargo as the last peaceful attempt to force South Africa to mend its ways.

Meanwhile, he asked, was it right that they should enrich themselves by helping the white racist minority to exploit the blacks and was that the reason why they were opposed to economic sanctions?

In his statement Dr. Fedorenko brought out a mass of facts and figures with respect to Western firms and banks such as General Motors, Ford, Chrysler, Firestone, International Harvester from the U.S.A. and Rio Tinto, Imperial Chemicals, Standard Bank, Barclays Bank, from the U.K. which were rapidly expanding their investments and making fabulous profits in South Africa.

In South Africa itself the intensely racial and atavistic government led by Premier Verwoerd is calmly contemplating the futile protests of the world outside against the inhuman sentences of life imprisonment passed on Nelson Mandela and seven others in the Pretoria trials. The trials were a mockery and a deliberate travesty of justice. The supporters of the Boer dominated Verwoerd Government are confident that so long the British, U.S., and French financiers can count on fabulous returns on their investments, there will be no effective and concerted world move against this negation of all humane considerations by them, where Africans and Asiatics are concerned. We can understand the British and French attitudes as the history of both these countries are tarnished with myriad acts of brutal colonialism, but the attitude of the U.S. officials is somewhat inexplicable, since within their own country the conscience of the Americans seems to be roused and actively excercised over the injustice meted out to their own coloured population in the matter of Civil Rights. The apparent contradictions involved in their support of the British moves to defeat the Afro-Asian anti-apartheid move in the Security Council, would further lower U.S. prestige in Africa and Asia.

In Europe the recent treaty between East Germany and the U.S.S.R. has had—and is still having repercussions in the Western Bloc. The clear indication that neither the Soviets nor East Germany would regard West Berlin as a part of West Germany is having strong reactions in West Germany.

In Cyprus there seems to be a state of stalemate, which as yet has not been broken by the U.N. negotiations. The main trouble seems to be the intransigent attitude of the President, Archbishop Makarios, who seems to be unable to accept any step that would make a compromise feasible and possible.

In Africa the Congo is again in the picture, as the old tribal animosities have been fomented by the emissaries of Red China. Trained by Chinese experts in guerrilla warfare, who have films showing guerrilla technique in action and incited by witch doctors of the jungle areas who have assured the rebels that they are immune against rifle and gun fire, the rebels are now breaking into and occupying major places like Albertville and committing atrocities of the most horrible type. The last

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3000 members of the U.N. force are due to leave the Congo by the 30th of June and the Government of Premier Cyrille Adoula will be on its own to quell rebellions and maintain law and order in this strife torn African State.

It would be cogent to remark in connection with the ending of the U.N. Military Mission to Congo that the task faced by the U.N. needed besides the 19400 U.N. troops peace force, a considerable amount of skilful manoeuvring by the Secretary General and his staff amongst the officials and highest executives of the Governments of the U.S.A., Britain and France to counteract the villainous propaganda let loose by the news hounds of those three countries. The Unione Miniere organization had been looting the mineral wealth of the Katanga region of the Congo, and the financiers of all those countries had considerable interests in the company, in conjunction with the Belgians. They were keen in keeping the mining areas out of the Congo union and for that they paid immense sums of money not only to the secessionist government of Katanga but also spent large sums through skilled press and publicity agents placed in New York, Washington, London and Paris. Vicious propaganda was let loose against the U.N. peace troops and it took an official declaration at Washington that the U.S. State Department disapproved of the movements of these agents of the Unione Miniere who were splashing money for the publication of fake reports and crooked news in the U.S. press, to awaken the gullible public of those countries to the realities of the situation.

In passing it is worthy of record that the most far-reaching Civil Rights bill in U.S. history has passed the second stage towards being enacted into law. This bill is a legacy from President Kennedy, who was murdered because he was campaigning for the right of the American born Negro for equality in all the freedoms that were his birth-right. President Johnson took up the unfinished work and it was decided by him to press for the passing of the bill as a memorial to Kennedy. In February last the House of Representatives passed the bill with a vote of 290 to 130. It is also worthy of note that the Opposition voted more solidly having regard to their strength, than the party in power for the bill. The voting in the House as analysed later gave 152 Democrats (the majority party) for the bill and 96 against. Whereas 138 Republicans (the Opposition) voted for the bill and only 34 against.

The second stage meant the passing of the bill in the Senate. And here the opponents of the bill fought the inevitable passage by a long campaign of speeches—called a filibuster in the U.S.—in an attempt to stall it till the end of the session. This was stopped in the last recource by the use of the "cloture" a guillotine move to stop further discussions by asking for a vote on the motion for the closure of the debate. On the cloture being invoked—for the first time in U.S. history against a civil rights filibuster—by the presiding officer by bringing down his gavel and asking the question "Is it the sense of the Senate that the debate shall be brought to a close," the voting started. When the tally clerk announced that the tally stood at 71 for the cloture and 29 against it meant that all the 100 senators had taken their stand and had cleared the way for the certain passage of the bill. It is beyond all doubt now that the conscience of the Americans was aroused—as was re marked by our President Radha Krishnan during his visit to the U.S.—and the American way of life is going to be cleared of its greatest blemish.

The war-clouds that have overhung South-East Asia, particularly concerned the area that was formerly known as French Indo-China and Malayasia. The latest news indicate that the peace mission of the Phillippine envoy Lopez, is progressing. The preliminary talks have gone on satisfactorily and the summit talks are on the way.

But the position in the disturbed areas of South Vietnam and Laos is anything but satisfactory. The Chinese and the Russians are no longer in agreement in the areas of conflict, particularly in Laos. But they are either not in a position to influence events that are moving in a direction which Moscow does not like or else they have not as yet taken a decision over the course they should

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take. In any case the Chinese seem to be free in directing the strategy of the Communist take-over, in piece-meal fashion of the entire area. **The New York Times** international edition of May, 24 and May 31, define the situation in the following editorial comments. On May 24, the following summary was published:

The spreading American involvement is a response to the growing Communist challenge in a crucial arena of struggle. Immediately involved are the 39 million people and 307,000 square miles of the former French colonies of Indo-China. Beyond are the hundreds of millions and the vast expanses of all southern Asia—enormous prizes for the winning side.

There were three main thrusts to the intensifying Communist challenge last week.

In Laos heavy Communist attacks, made possible by North Vietnamese support and guided by Communist China, raised large questions about whether the accords neutralizing the country had been scrapped.

In South Vietnam the Communists kept up intense pressures on the Government and its American supporters—pressures that seemed likely to be compounded by the new threats in Laos and Cambodia.

In Cambodia a government increasingly oriented toward the Communists appeared to be turning the country into a haven and supply route for the Communist Vietcong fighting in South Vietnam.

For the United States all this underscores the fundamental problem of how Southeast Asia could be kept out of Communist hands without escalating the struggle to a major war.

Southeast Asia has known no real peace in a generation—since the day, four months before Pearl Harbor, when the Japanese fell upon the Indochinese colonies of a defeated France. It was not long after their return at the end of World War II that the French found themselves in the struggle against Communist-led guerrillas—and on the road to the disaster at Dienbienphu in 1954.

The major powers of East and West recognized that Indochina had become a potential tinderbox of major war. Thus there followed the multilateral agreement, in Geneva, that Indochina should be neutralized. The accord recognized the three colonies—Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia—as independent states. Vietnam was partitioned into a Communist north and an anti-Communist south, eventually to be unified in free elections. Three-power International Control Commissions (Poland, India, Canada) were created to oversee ceasefires in the three states. That arrangement proved unworkable, largely because the commissions' decisions had to be unanimous.

Thus in Vietnam there came, instead of unification, the fierce war in the south into which the United States now pours money (at the rate of $1.5 million a day) and men (now totaling 16,000) in support of the South Vietnamese Government. Despite the American effort, the Vietcong has been making headway. The week before last Secretary of Defense McNamara, back from his fourth visit to Saigon in seven months, said a greater effort was necessary to turn the tide.

In Laos, too, there was conflict—among armed factions of Communists, rightists and neutralists. In 1962 the Big Powers agreed on a new attempt at neutralization. An agreement among 14 nations at Geneva established a tripartite coalition government for Laos, headed by the neutralist Souvanna Phouma. But the coalition has not functioned for a year, and the three forces in effect have partitioned the country. Then last month a new round in the conflict began when a rightist junta seized power and the rightists and neutralists then joined against the Communists. Nine days ago the Communists struck at the neutralists in a major attack and sent them reeling.

As for Cambodia her supposedly neutralist ruler Prince Norodom Sihanouk has followed an increasingly anti-Western course in recent years. Apparently he has concluded that Communist victory in Southeast Asia is inevitable and it is wiser to be on the winning side.

The situation, at the end of May, is described as follows in the May 31st issue of **The N. Y. Times**:

In Laos North Vietnamese evidently are taking part in the attacks by the Laotian leftist force, the Pathet Lao. There seems

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no longer to be any doubt that the Communist purpose is to upset the 1962 Geneva pact under which the neutralization of Laos was established with the installation of a tripartite coalition government under the neutralist Premier Souvanna Phouma.

As for South Vietnam, it has long been apparent that the North Vietnamese have trained and supplied the guerrillas operating in the South, by way of jungle trails through eastern Laos. More recently the Communists have been using Cambodia as a supply route and haven. This has provoked South Vietnamese and Americans to "hot pursuit" of the guerrillas and Cambodia has charged in the U.N. Security Council that both countries have violated her borders. Cambodia's own policy has leaned increasingly pro-Communist as her ruler, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, has become convinced that Peking's dominance in the Far East is inevitable.

India After Nehru

Despite the gloomy forebodings of those at home who could not or would not believe that India was politically more mature than it was at the time of independence, the passing of Nehru did not throw the country into the maelstrom of political chaos as was predicted. On the contrary, the appalling shock that the news of Nehru's death gave to the peoples of the nation, who were almost all in ignorance regarding the extent of physical deterioration of their beloved leader, brought on an immense surge of popular determination to stand for the continuity of Nehru's plans for the future of the Union. Those who were eager to seize the moment of political uncertainty for the furtherance of their own particular schemes for taking over the controls of the Government of India, were faced not only by the firm attitude of the Congress President and his powerful supporters in the Congress Executive Committee, but also by the rising tide of popular emotions which indicated in unmistakable terms that no schismatic move would be tolerated by the masses who had closed in solid ranks behind those who were known to be Nehru's beloved and trusted colleagues.

Dissidents inside the ranks of the Congress could read the presages. They knew that democracy had taken firm roots in the soil of India under the care of those who were trained and conditioned by the Father of the Nation and led by Jawaharlal Nehru. They knew that any move for a schism inside the ranks would inevitably result in disastrous consequences for the movers. And lastly, it must be held to the credit of the top-ranking dissidents, the rigid discipline imposed by the Code of Conduct for the Congress High Command held fast, inducing them to bow gracefully to the directives of the Congress majority leaders under Kamaraj.

Outside India the succession problem, on which depended the future of India, caused some amount of uneasiness at the centres of world politics. "The political and economic foundations of modern India were still unstable; a struggle for succession could wreck a job only half done," was the trend of thought of most Western commentators. And there was genuine concern in all the world capitals that were aware that chaos in India would have major repercussions all over Asia which would involve, later on, the whole world. The following paragraphs, taken from the editorial, captioned "What for India," in the **New York Times** of May 31, substantially reflects the more sober and informed opinion in the West:

India has known two great leaders in this century. Mohandas Gandhi guided her to independence with a light so bright that he was enshrined, after his assassination in 1948, as a saint. Jawaharlal Nehru started her along the road of modern nationhood—urging and goading her, praising and cursing her, but always loving her and being loved in return.

The passing of the Nehru era poses severe tests for India under her new leaders—and possibly for Asia as well. Domestically, a fundamental question is whether the Westernizing and unifying institutions built by a generation of British-trained Indians will hold firm, now that the one voice that was obeyed the length and breadth of a land more diverse than Europe is gone, or whe-

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ther India's old divisive religious, linguistic and regional forces will reassert themselves.

If they do, India could be fragmented again, her new and still precarious sense of nationhood lost. Short of that, danger of turmoil comes from fanatic and obscurantist movements posing as opposition parties of the right, and from a small but influential Communist party. Within the Congress party itself there are feuds and schisms of right, left and center.

Despite the gravity of these problems, U.S. officials feel there is a better than even chance that India's new leaders will master the situation and carry on—probably concentrating more exclusively on domestic concerns, with less interest than Mr. Nehru in world diplomacy. As to how India felt, observers noted that the multitudes lining Mr. Nehru's funeral procession were much more composed than those who mourned when Gandhi died. Then the country was torn and anguished, unsure of tomorrow; now Indians had had 17 years of their own government and could face the future with less fear. And they owed it, they felt, to Chacha (Uncle) Nehru.

The election of Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, "with dignity and decorum" as commented by a leading British paper, allayed these misgivings to a considerable extent, coming as it did within such a short interval after the demise of India's beloved leader. There are still some speculations about the future but they are much more limited in scope. **The New York Times** comment, after the election, reflects the trend of foreign opinion correctly. It said: "Whether the party—and the country—would hold together in the months ahead remained an open question. The consensus after the first week of transition, however, was that they probably would. It was also expected that the Government would be more collective than under Mr. Nehru and that some changes were in store."

The changes forecast, have been limited to reallocation of portfolios, with some regroupings under Cabinet Ministers, uptil the time of writing these. The original announcement of the names and portfolios of the Cabinet Ministers of State was as follows:

Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri, Prime Minister—Foreign Affairs and Atomic Energy.

Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda—Home Affairs.

Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari—Finance.

Mrs. Indira Gandhi—Information and Broadcasting.

Sardar Swaran Singh—Industry (including Heavy Engineering and Technical Development).

Mr. S. K. Patil—Railways.

Mr. Asoke Kumar Sen—Law and Communications.

Mr. Y. B. Chavan—Defence.

Mr. Sanjeeva Reddy—Steel and Mines.

Mr. C. Subramaniam—Food and Agriculture.

Mr. Humayun Kabir—Petroleum and Chemicals.

Mr. Satya Narayan Sinha—Parliamentary Affairs and Civil Aviation.

Mr. H. C. Dasappa—Irrigation and Power.

Mr. M. C. Chagla—Education.

Mr. D. Sanjivayya—Labour and employment.

Mr. Mahabir Tyagi—Rehabilitation.

Ministers of State

The following are the Ministers of State:

Mr. Mehr Chand Khanna—Works and Housing.

Mr. Manubhai Shah—Commerce (including Textiles and Jute).

Mr. Nityanand Kanungo—Cultural Affairs.

Mr. Raj Bahadur—Transport (excluding Civil Aviation).

Mr. S. K. Dey—Community Development and Co-operation.

Dr. Sushila Nayar—Minister of Health.

Mr. Jaisukh Lal Hathi—Home Affairs.

Mrs. Lakshmi Menon—Foreign Affairs.

Mr. K. Raghuramaiah—Labour and Employment.

Mr. O. V. Alagesan—Petroleum and Chemicals.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh—Social Security and Cottage Industries.

Mr. R. M. Hajarnavis—Supply.

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Dr. K. L. Rao—Irrigation and Power.
Mr. B. R. Bhagat—Planning.
Mr. A. M. Thomas—Food and Agriculture.

It is a Cabinet in which the majority belong to the centre of the road in politics, with Shri Shastri in the lead. Two, possibly three, Shri Gulzarilal Nanda, Shrimati Gandhi and Shri Sanjivayya are strongly inclined to the left. Shri A. K. Sen and Professor Kabir are also socialists. Two, Shri Krishnamachari and Shri S. K. Patil are rightists.

The Cabinet, as it is constituted at present consists of experienced men and one lady who, though a newcomer where ministries are concerned, is by no means a tyro in politics as she has been in close contact with politics and politicians practically all her adult years and on level terms with the leading world politicians for the last twelve years or so. There is no reason why the entire ministry should not work in close co-ordination as a team despite divergences in political view-points. Trouble may develop later, however, from the machinations of the group that tried to challenge the election of Lal Bahadur Shastri as the Premier. But that also is not likely in the immediate present though insidious attempts to discredit the Shastri Ministry cannot be ruled out even now. And there are problems galore awaiting immediate decision and firm action.

The most urgent problems are in the economic sphere and here firm and drastic action is called for. There has been rampant corruption in high places, because of which profiteering, black-marketing and food adulteration has become rife all over the country. Bureaucracy and corruption has brought down the administration to the levels reached during the days when the British and the Moslem League working in concert were destroying the integrity and discipline of the administration to serve their political ends, letting in the floods of corruption through deliberately made breaches.

The tackling of the vital problems of soaring prices and artificially created shortages has to be done with mailed fists. No amount of sermonizing or gentle persuasion will do. Indeed ministers who still use "persuasive talks" when dealing with such problems may justifiably be suspected to have substantial personal interests in following this palpably dishonest policy of **laissez faire** while dealing with such criminal anti-social activities. Crooked party bosses and their following in the Parliament and the State Legislatures should be either exposed and purged or else deprived of all privileges. It is only then that corruption can be rooted out from the administration.

The Chinese are still on our soil in the Himalayas. The Government and the Congress Party are calling on the peoples of the nation to stand in solid ranks behind the Government to resist aggression. And these very people are having their life-blood sucked by these bloated profiteers who are now parading as the patrons of the Party!

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Current Affairs

By KARUNA K. NANDI

A NATION HELD TO RANSOM

We have been discussing the mounting crisis occasioned by the continuing and increasingly accelerating price spiral often enough in these columns. If we are obliged to revert to the subject once again so soon, it is because of the increasingly apparent reason that Government and people alike seem to have grown completely helpless and impotent in the face of a situation where all initiative would appear to have passed on to a comparatively small community of wholly conscienceless and anti-social traders and shopkeepers who appear to have been holding an entire nation and their Government to ransom! Prices have been on the rampage throughout the period of development planning but assumed alarming proportions during the Second Plan which, according to Sri Gulzarilal Nanda, then in charge of the Planning portfolio in the Central Cabinet, had correspondingly attenuated the achievements of the Plan, but what with inadequate implementation during the first three years of the current Third Plan, they have further and alarmingly aggravated the situation. According to official admissions, the index of wholesale prices envinced an upward rise by as much as 8 per cent in 1962-63 over that of the preceding year and, according to an inadequate official index, it has risen further by as much as 9.3 per cent over the year between 1962-63 and 1963-64. But what would seem to have been further aggravating a situation which had already become well nigh insupportable is that the corresponding rises in retail prices have been far higher in proportion and, especially so in the essential edible sectors of the market and nowhere has this been of the downright critical level as it is in West Bengal.

Government of West Bengal

The Government of West Bengal, it would seem, to have been especially inept in their handling of the situation with the inevitable result that the concerned trade in the State both at the wholesale and retail levels have grown so obstreperous in their dealings with the people and the Government alike that they have, whenever their nefarious wishes have been sought to be countered by official decisions and action, to completely dislocate suplies, especially of such essential edibles as rice, pulses, mustard oil, fish and other commodities. The essential weakness, almost complete helplessness of the Government of the State to deal with the trade's obstreperousness has been all too apparent in the fact that every time such occasions have arisen, they have climbed down in about every single instance to meet the trade's demands atleast half way. Even more. When the rice market in West Bengal last September suddenly evinced a fresh and daily steeply mounting price spurt, all that the Chief Minister of West Bengal, who has the food portfolio of his Government under his personal control, could think of doing for a whole week, was to issue statements from day's end to day's end which were merely designed to find all sorts of excuses and justifications for the trade's profiteering enterprise just in the same manner as a publicity agent of the trade could be expected to do in the circumstances! It was not until the people of Calcutta and suburbs, in obvious desparation, took a vigorous hand in the game by frankly extra-legal measures to breakdown the trade's unholly unjustifiable obstreperousness, that some relief eventuated from the insupportable price pressures that had, in the meanwhile, been generated. The

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results, if the people's action were allowed to be sustained for a longer period, might have proved to be possibly far more salutory than they had been if, obviously alarmed by this passing of the initiative completely out of their hands, the Government, who euphemistically described the people's action as "Consumer resistance", had not intervened at this stage and the Chief Minister had not concluded what he called a "gentlemen's agreement" with the trade and fixed a ceiling price of rice at Rs. 35 per maund for all varieties except 'fine' and 'superfine.'

The New Harvest

Later in the year the new harvest, which according to the statistical calculations of the State's Agriculture Department, was said to have yielded a **bumper** crop of 5.4 million tonnes of **aman** in terms of rice, with additional expectations of a further 450,000 tonnes from the **aus** crop, seemed to relieve, temporarily at least, the heavy pressure on rice prices for the time being and the Government took the opportunity of promulgating an Order in February this year fixing prices of paddy and rice of all varieties and at all stages, ex-mill, wholesale and retail. The Government went even further and the Order contained also a threat that if the prices fixed were not maintained in actual transactions, they would, with the onset of the lean season, be obliged to further reduce the ceiling with a view to compel the trade to behave. Although on the face of it the prices fixed allowed for a fair margin of profit to the trade at all its stages, there were inevitable grumblings and veiled threats that they could not be sustained. But the State Government were apparently satisfied that what with the bumper harvest and the additional supplies promised by Orissa and from Central Government stocks, they were apparently well set to compel the trade to behave. According to a recent statement by a Food Dept., official of the State Govt., the monthly consumption of rice in West Bengal aggregates roughly 400,000 tonnes. So that even with the revised harvest estimates placing the yield of the aman crop at 4.8 million tonnes instead of 5.4 millions as earlier publicized, there should not be any shortage in supplies, and certainly no scarcity. Imports from Orissa and Central Government subventions would, in addition, provide a comfortable buffer. The decision of the State Government to have imports from Orissa routed not through Government to Government channels but on the normal trade account, however, caused a great deal of criticism, wholly justified as later events have amply proved but which, unhappily, still seems destined to continue in spite of the sad experience that had in the meanwhile seemed to supervene. The State Government might well have utilized the Orissa imports to substantially augment the buffer stocks at their disposal and which might then have proved an effective deterrant against the all too frequent recrudescence of aberrations in the State's rice markets. As it is, the State Government, at the end of May, this year, according to an official statement recently released, appeared to have in its stocks a matter of only 150,000 tons of rice, which is only about 37.5 per cent of the State's monthly consumption offtake and would just about cover the requirements of Calcutta, industrial and other urban areas for just about a month. The reason why supplies to modified ration and fair price shops from Government godowns had been very substantially cut down to no more than merely a trickle following the harvest and until the current month, has been explained as having been conditioned by the Government's desire to further build up the stocks at their disposal against the later lean season of the year which, together with the trade's knowledge about the comparatively inadequate quantities in Government's buffer stocks, provided far greater strength to the trade's elbows to play up the free rice market to suit their own particular nefarious ends.

Other Edibles

Truly, as the West Bengal Price Inquiry Committee have averred in their recently released report (and commented upon in these columns in our last issue), rice plays a pivotal role in the State's price structure and with the new rampage in rice prices

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beginning from the end of April this year, other essential edibles soon followed suit. Dal—pulses and granmmes—the only edible yielding a small measure of proteinous contents in the poor man's daily diet, has registered an average 20/25 per cent increase in prices during the corresponding period. Mustard oil, which was selling at Rs. 2.50 per Kg. until about the third week of April, suddenly jumped up to Rs. 3.20 per Kg. overnight or roughly by 28 per cent. Government intervened to fix the price at Rs. 3.00 per Kg. or at a price higher by 16.6 per cent than previously ruling which had the only effect of driving the commodity completely out of market. The latest published agreement between Government and the mustard oil trade has caused a further revision of the fixed retail price to Rs. 3.25 per Kg. or at a level 30% higher than what used to rule in April! The excuse for this price rampage is that seed prices had steeply risen.West Bengal consumes about 6 million maunds of mustard seed to produce 4.5 million maunds of oil and is by far the largest single market in the country for mustard seeds,—West Bengal producing within the State only about 20 per cent of her requirements, the balance being imported more overwhelmingly from Uttar Pradesh and the rest from the Punjab. Considering the vital importance of the West Bengal market to mustard seed exporters from the U.P. and Punjab, it should be easily possible to ensure a more wholesome and legitimate price agreement and there is no reason why West Bengal oil millers should be allowed to exploit the situation to the detriment of the consumers alone. But the State Goverment, judging by their repeated concessions to the concerned trades all along the essential edibles sectors, is apparently too weak and too helpless to enforce more legitimate measures. The price pressure has, likewise, communicated itself as forcibly on other edible consumables in the market and even potato prices have risen steeply by some 60 per cent from 56 nP. per Kg. to 90 nP. per Kg. It is usual for potato prices to rise substantially with the onset of the monsoons, but with pre-neonsoon prices already ruling at 90 nP. per Kg., it is quite well within probabilities that by about mid-monsoon, potato prices will go up by another 100 per cent or thereabouts then.

Measures To Combat Price Pressures

The mounting price spiral appears to have concerned Government somewhat but apparently not quite as seriously as it would ordinarily seem to call for. In its broader aspects the price problem is a national problem although there is apparent variations in its expression and intensity from region to region. That shortfalls in agricultural production, especially in the essential edibles sectors, have been playing a crucial role in the varying symptoms of the disease is generally agreed. Remedies are sought to be devised in initiating crash programmes of agricultural development enunciated by Working Groups of the Planning Commission and by the Central and State's Food and Agriculture ministries. Results of such programmes, if any at all—there is reason for the gravest doubt if these programmes can really yield the desired results—will necessarily be slow in coming. In the meanwhile marginal shortages, where they exist, are being exploited by designing and wholly conscienceless manipulators to create conditions of acute scarcity and where there are marginal surpluses as, for instance, in respect of rice in West Bengal this year, manipulators have been busy creating conditions of artificial scarcity to the detriment of the consumers and the national economy. Government have only been dallying with the situation and have been constantly revising their policies as regards measures which might really be effective in combating the situation without, however, yet actually applying any definite measures towards this end. And their apparently helpless impotence is being exploited to the fullest extent to virtually hold, as we have already averred earlier in this discussion. our impotent Government, both at the Centre and in the States, especially the Government of West Bengal, to ransom! Government's bluster notwithstanding, it is they who seem to have been at the mercy of that handful of anti-social price-racketeers and the inevitable victim is the hapless and wholly bewildered consumer.

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Union Finance Minister T. T. Krishnamachari, only a few weeks before he was re-drafted into the Central Council of Ministers by the late Mr. Nehru as Minister Without Portfolio, was reported to have vigorously canvassed for the imposition of physical controls as the only possible corrective to the continuously and steeply mounting price spiral, deprecated the very measures he had pleaded for earlier soon after he reassumed the Union Finance Portfolio as being virtually beyond the resources, administrative and otherwise, of the Central and State Governments and promised such fiscal measures as would be calculated to serve the same end with much less complication and trouble. During his last Budget speech earlier this year, he reiterated the same decision and claimed that he had provided for such necessary fiscal measures in his current Budget as would be bound to induce a stability in price levels even if they were unable to actually bring them down. All the fiscal measures we were able to read into his actual Budget structure, is the proposed reduction in the quantum of deficit financing while in certain others of the Budget proposals, at the same time, especially in so far as they related to substantial tax concessions to big business on the plea of incentives to development and investments, distinct and substantial inflationary potentials were quite visibly discernible. In any case, almost immediately following the presentation to Parliament of the current Budget, prices have again been on the rampage and, as could be expected, the more overwhelmingly and disproportionately so in the essential edibles sectors, although prices, generally, albeit comparatively slowly and somewhat less steeply, have continued to rise all along the line. So far as food was concerned—and this must be acknowledget as quite pivotal in the process of price rises—even as early as May 3 last, Sardar Swaran Singh, then Union Food and Agriculture Minister, blustered that he (1) would make it **impossible** for food dealers to manipulate prices at will; that (2) if the trade did not co-operate "other methods" (meaning, obviously, the introduction of State trading) would have to be found; and that (3) Government will not allow a big difference between harvest prices and those in lean seasons. Two days later he claimed, with what authentic justification it is not at all clear—that prices had not gone up and wheat prices had actually fallen, although only two further days later Bombay reports that indigenously produced wheat had been steadily disappearing from the market and that prices which ruled at below Rs. 30 only a week ago had already risen to Rs. 40 and, at places, to even Rs. 45. Apparently, the cordoning off of the seven wheat and food zones by the Government, which would appear to have been as foolish a brainwave as it was inane, has been mainly responsible for the steadily aggravating wheat position. Action initiated by Government in West Bengal to combat the daily and alarmingly deteriorating food situation, which has never had the slightest beneficial impact on either prices or supplies so far, would appear to have been even more clumsily conceived and inanely applied. At long last Union Finance Minister Krishnamachari appears to have reconciled himself to the inescapable need for the imposition of physical controls. Some indication of his thinking in this direction was already available last month when he averred that "the public must be prepared to accept some measure of discipline" by which he apparently meant that the Government had no alternative but to think of price controls and rationing. Such controls and rationing, judging from past experience, would be bound to prove highly unpopular and the most pertinent question that would need to be asked and answered in this connection is whether the Government, both at the Centre and in the States, have been able to develop the administrative resources, in terms of both efficiency and rectitude in the meanwhile—the absence of which had been earlier deprecated by Mr. Krishnamachari,—to enable the application of controls and rationing to be at all wholesomely feasible. From indications available, it would seem that controls and rationing to which the Union Finance Minister appears now to have fully reconciled himself—according to his latest stalement in this connection it is now only pending the States' Chief Ministers who are

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already due for conference at the Capital as we write, to agree, before rationing is actually reimposed on the country.

Cause And Effect

But even rationing, if it is at all finally decided to be imposed, can at best, and in its most wholesome aspects (if wholesome application can at all be hoped for in the circumstances), be a temporary palliative and will not be likely, as far as we are able to visualize, to be materially helpful in solving the price problem on an enduring basis. Indeed, the results that are, conceivably likely to flow from rationing in view of the inevitable administrative inefficiency and worse, prospects would seem to be highly unattractive and even higher prices, in retrospect, would seem to be a lesser evil. But while speaking about "some measure of discipline" on the public, Mr. Krishnamachari cannot, however, absolve himself and his Government of their responsibility for maintaining the price level through **other methods**, especially by **imposing some measure of discipline on themselves.** Expansion of Government's total outlays has, so far, **at no stage**, been adjusted to the state of demand or the real **resources of the economy.** The total outlays of the Central and State Governments together on Plan implementation have gone up from just over Rs. 2,800 crores in 1961-62 (the first year of the current Plan) to well over Rs. 4,500 crores in the current year, although the national output has been growing at a much slower rate and our capacity to import more has not **visibly** grown (we introduce the word "visibly" with the fullest sense of its implications for we are aware and we cannot believe that the Government are wholly unaware of the fact that a great deal of invisible, extra-legal and wholly unaccunted for imports, especialyy of precious foreign exchange, has been going on unabated through devious channels despite all the deterrants that Government may have devised to prevent this). It is difficult also to believe that what passes for Plan outlay is the irreducible minimum. Progress on innumerable projects have been unconscionably slow—this is borne out by the very substantial amounts of unused foreign aid. The impressive Budgetary provision of Rs. 1994 crores in the current year can hardly evoke any very great enthusiasm. It is quite late in the day when Government, imposing some discipline on themselves, endeavoured to create the necessary condition for bringing demand into more wholesome balance with supply.

Then also there is the question of regulation of credits. Selective and rather rigorously applied restrictions on credit, a policy initiated by Mr. Krishnamachari's predecessor in the Union Government, if maintained at an even pressure over a sufficiently long period of time, might gradually induce a trend towards price stabilization. Effects would be necessarily slow and gradual spread over a long period of time but when late last year Mr. Krishnamachari decided to materially relax restrictions in this behalf for the avowed purpose of creating a favourable climate for increased investments for development, we visualized the posibility in these columns that the always alert market might end by exploiing these relaxations to create inimical speculative pressures upon the price structure. The fact that Government have recently been obliged to prevail upon the Reserve Bank to withdraw these relaxations in substantial measure, is indication enough that our apprehensions in this behalf must have proved all too realistic.

But the heavily speculative pressure on the price strucure must, we are afraid, be ascribed to credit sources which are beyond the purview of the organized credit market and are, therefore, generally beyond the restrictive influences of official credit policies and fiscal disciplines. Successive Union Finance Ministers, including Mr. Krishnamachari have acknowledged the existence of such a behind-the-curtains credit market in the country of very large proportions—Mr. Krishnamachari once tentatively placed the size of aggregate credits at the resources of this unregulated sector as being almost as large as those of the organized credit market in the country—and unless effective and expeditious measures can be devised to force these sources of large credits out into the

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open, it will always be impossible to eliminate speculative pressures upon essential supplies, thereby causing demand to correspondingly intensify and raise 'price levels.' It is, indeed, a difficult feat to achieve but with all the powers at the disposal of Government, especially the blanket powers under the emergency at present prevailing, it should not be wholly impossible an end to achieve, given the determination and brains to do so.

Finally, there is the present taxation structure in he country, which with over 74 per cent of the gross revenue derived from indirect taxes, a very large proportion of it in the shape of excise and similar other imposts upon a variety of essential consumables, has inhererent in itself, a high inflationary potential, we have, again and again, discussed this aspect of our wholly **eccentric** taxation sructure and pleaded the urgent need for a thorough revision in this behalf in these columns. Mr. Krishnamachari conceded in his last Budget speech the need for a better balance between direct and indirect taxation but has done nothing to correct the prevailing imbalance or even to initiate a thorough investigation into the matter.

What would appear to be the principal prevailing cause of the price malady in the country is either that the Government, at the policy making levels, have not got brains enough to realistically correlate cause and effect or,—and this is not quite an impossible supposition in view of known circumstances —they are unwilling or unable to face decisions that would be likely to adversely affect those large vested interests in the country, known and unknown, who have, through successive general elections, been financing them into their seat of power. In any case, that they are **not honest** so far as the expedients they have so far applied or are thinking of applying to combat the price situation, is all too apparent to be held in the least doubt!

CONCENTRATION AND MONOPOLIES

A great deal of confusion would seem to inform the thinking of even senior members of the Union Council of Ministers as regards the actual connotation of the words "concentration of economic power" and "monopoly" enterprises. It would appear that the two terms have often been and are being used as synonimous. Thus speaking to the Lok Sabha recently, Union Finance Minister T. T. Krishnamachari was reported to have averred that there was no law against monopolies in the country as such and the recently appointed Monopolies Commission would prepare draft legislation on the subject besides also investigating the growth of monopolies, preparing a precise definition of monopolies and determining the categories that should be abolished and those which should be merely "modified." In the Rajya Sabha, however, the Minister of State for Finance and Planning, Shre M. R. Bhagat, stated that the Government were fully aware of the dangers of concentration of economic power in a few individual hands and the Monopolies Commission had been appointed to suggest measures including drafting necessary legislation to check this trend. These explanations, instead of helping to clear the confusion obtaining in this regard would appear, on the contrary, to have worse confounded them. And although the deadline for the Commission has been set at October, 1965, it has yet to get down to work.

What, after all, is meant by the word "monopoly" in this connection?—would appear to be a legitimate question, but is one which does not seem to have been either asked or answered. For a "monopoly" in the sense of exclusive control over the supply of a particular product or commodity or a one-firm industry is hardly known in this country yet. Its incidence, in the small measure it used to obtain in such industries as cement, aluminium, rubber, metal containers etc., has been demonstrably reduced very substantially over the last one decade or so. So far as characteristic monopolistic practices like, for instance, collusion in price fixation, regulating output or entry in any particular industry, price leadership, discriminatory trade agreements etc., are concerned, it should be realised that even if these prevail in some measure and in certain situations, they are generally overlaid and underwritten by Government policies and

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the continuance of a seller's market. Even the latter, in a measure, may be said to derive from current Government policies, fiscal and those relating to industry, and it would be both pertinent and legitimate to hold that so far as tendencies towards the growth of monopolies properly so called are concerned, they derive more from the policies of Government that have been fostering exclusive public jurisdiction of certain key-sector industries and the elimination of free-market competition in large measures from the private sector under a system of regulations and controls some of which, at least, can be claimed to have been really ill conceived. The unholy mixture that is the functional face of our present "mixed economy", which automatically fosters the growth of price cartels of one sort or another, is the principal **raison de etre** of the trends towards monopoly practices which Government now seem to be so anxious to eliminate.

However that may be, the problem of monopolies as such is, patently not the same as that of concentration of economic power in a few hands. This is not to say that the two symptoms are wholly unrelated with each other. Virtual monopoly advantages enjoyed by certain industries in the private sector may be an important contributory factor in the increasing concentration of economic power but it cannot, in any case be the sole one in the process. It would seem to derive mainly from price spirals and tax evasions, the doors to both being opened wide by Government's industrial and fiscal policies, which have been indefinitely fostering a daily intensifying condition of scarcity, with supplies chronically out of balance with demand. This is inevitable when new entries in industry are regulated to conform to plan targets and pricing policies handled by Government in almost all essential industries.

Investigating these related factors and practices would, of course, be of keen academic interest but collection, collation and analyses of data for the perpose of such an investigation would take years to complete and by the time logical recommendations based upon these findings could be formulated, it is very probable that they would already have become out of date and infructuous. The entire economic pattern may have changed and market situations may have undergone radical transformation. The possible labours of the Monopolies Commission may, in such a view of the matter, prove a sheer waste of money and effort and, in any case, the good that may, in some measure, yet be derived from its recommendations, would be likely to prove too inadequate to justify the outlay. This, however, is not to say that the Commission, within its present terms of reference, could not still do a very useful piece of work. Its labours might prove very wholesomely productive, if it were, for instance, to primarily concentrate on such basic problems as, for instannce, the industrial licensing policy which, as we see it, is one of the most crucial links between monopoly in a particular industry and concentration of economic power within a few favoured groups in the private sector as a whole.

It would be interesting to review in this connection how the licensing policy has been functioning. It is the exclusive jurisdiction of the Development Wing who, after arriving at an appreciation of the economies of scale, license excess capacity upto 10 per cent over the target and there its responsibilities would seem to come to an end unless, of course, as they frequently do, something goes wrong some where. The manner of arriving at an appreciation of the scale, not wholly clear, would seem to be a curious amalgam of part directives, part inspiration and intuition and perhaps, also in part a certain measure of techno-economic expertise. There must, it seems to us, be a more rational and scientific way of distributing licenses, but that would seem hardly to be in use. From excessive fragmentation of capacity, that used to be the case until, at least, the end of the Second Plan period, there appears to have been a swing, during the current Plan, especially over the last two years, towards the opposite extreme of excessive concentration, although not invariably where it might have been most useful or necessary. Conceivably an independent body like the Monopolies Commission would

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be ideally suited to assess the economies of scale and to assess to which the technical and financial diseconomies of small-scale could be effectively offset by vigorous management within a competitive framework.

So far as excessive concentration of economic power in a few hands is concerned, the Commission might fruitfully concentrate its labours into two principal lines of inquiry; first, to assess the number of those business groups other than the few largest and most well known ones who have been able or can be relied upon to implement projects of a specified capital base,—it might be safe to take this as between Rs. 5 crores and Rs. 10 crores—and then measure if their number is large enough to rely upon them to build countervalling power against the known and fewer largest groups. Secondly, the Commission might also usefully evaluate the need and the justification for the continuance of the managing agency system which not merely perpetuates dynastic control over management, nor also that it is an expensive form of management, but also because it has been proved beyond any shadow of doubt that the system is nationally wasteful in that it often gives undue precedence to mediocrity in preference to brilliance in management talents.

If the Commission, on the other hand, allows itself to be bogged down merely in an investigation of restrictive trade practices, its report is likely to be no more valuable or useful than that of the Mahalanobis Committee on income and wealth distribution. So far as the latter is concerned, it has even failed to evince any genuine academic interest!

Healers And Teachers

The long continuing controversy as to whether there should be any restrictions imposed upon private practice by members the medical profession who are attached to teaching hospitals or to medical schools and colleges, appears now destined to be resolved at long last one way or the other. Two opposite views have long prevailed on the question, one favouring the complete isolation of the teaching medico by completely debarring him from private practice, while the other favoured the removal of any restrictive regulations that may have been imposed in the meanwhile. The Government of West Bengal appear now to have arrived at the tentative decision,—although it will be some time before final confirmation will be available—to separate the teaching wing and what for lack of a more adequate expression may be described as the healing wing of the profession from each other and to make the teaching wing wholly non-practising. The teachers will get a scale of emoluments at Rs. 500 p.m. at the bottom of the scale and upto Rs. 3000 p.m. at the topmost rung.

The matter, in its ultimate analysis, is one of pure economics. When one climbs to the top, Rs. 30000|- p.m. may prove to be ample compensation to one especially endowed with a vocation for teaching, but with living costs being what they are, a gross emoluments of Rs. 500|- p.m. may prove, we are afraid, quite a deterrant for the talented young who may have a distinct vocation for teaching. Yet it is about as far as the Government may be expected to go having regard to the fact that even as it is, it is estimated to place a net additional burden of Rs. 12 lakhs a month on resources. The result may be that many a talented young potential teacher of medicine in its different branches may be altogether lost to the profession, a possibility which one does not visualize with equanimity when one regards the fact that there is never an abundance of talented teachers at any time. An obvious remedy may be to continue the opportunities of a limited practice. The obvious difficulty, however, is to enforce the limit.

Exit Kairon And The Aftermath

Union Home Minister Shri Gulzarilal Nanda deserves to be congratulated upon his instant decision to relieve Sardar Pratap Singh Kairon of his responsibilities as caretaker Chief Minister of the Punjab simultaneously with the publication of the Das Commission's report, finding the former Chief Minister of the State as having conceived at illegal and improper amassing of wealth by his sons and relatives. Together

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with the ex-Chief Minister his second in command and principal supporter and lieutenant, Mr. Mohan Lal, Home Minister in the erstwhile Kairon Cabinet, has also had to go. Some other former Ministers such as Shri Suraj Mal in charge of the P.W.D., Sardar Niranjan Sing Talib, his Deputy Minister and the veteran Akali leader, Giani Kartar Singh, who was a former Revenue Minister in the Kairon Cabinet, have all been mentioned by the Das Commission as having been found to have used their authority or abused the influences of their office to help Sardar Kairon's sons and other relatives to illegally and improperly amass wealth.

That Kairon was a powerful factor in Punjab Congress politics, is entirely without question and in spite of a very substantial section of opinion having been violently opposed to him both within and outside the Party in the Legislature, he continued to weild almost absolute power over the Government of the State. There have been complaints and accusations within the Party in the past and once the Congress High Command was even obliged to depute former Congress President, Shri U. N. Dhebar, to investigate the complaints and report. The Dhebar report was frankly an indictment of the conduct of the former Punjab Chief Minister. Nevertheless Kairon not merely continued to survive in his office, but continued to weild almost absolute power over Party and State; such was the powerful support he was able to gather both within the Party High Command and the Central Government. It is doubtful if any other leader would have survived in public life, let alone in the highest State office, after having faced the accusations and the indictments that came his way.

It clearly called for unusual courage and conviction on the part of Shri Nanda to have this person removed from office. But even out of the powers and privileges of office, Kairon seems to have been creating a great deal of mischief. The battle for succession which has been raging and of which, as we write, no solution appears to have yet been found, would seem to have created a most embarassing, if not quite a difficult situation. It clearly seems to have been of the making of the majority section in the Congress legislature party in the Punjab Legislative Assembly who seem to have been creatures and puppets of Kairon. Thus although fallen, Kairon would still seem to be far from vanquished. To allow him to continue to influence the politics of the ruling party even after having been banished to the outer wilderness on grounds of illegal and improper abuse of the privileges of his office, Shri Nanda must realise, is not a very encouraging augery for the weeding out of corruption from the administration. If Kairon's supporters in the legislature prove too intractable, other and more determined measures would seem to be needed.

Another necessary measure, we feel, should be follow ups of the Das Commission's findings through necessary judicial proceedings. Any softness in this regard would be bound to attenuate much of the good that would appear to have so far followed the Das Inquiry. We are a little disappointed to note, therefore, that legal opinion sought by Government, according to a news report, is said to have held that on the findings of the Das Commission it would not be possible to sustain any judicial prosecution of the former Punjab Chief Minister although action against certain officials mentioned in the Commission's report has been held to be tenable. One is reminded of the Mundhra Inquiry and the action that followed. Action against only certain high officials were initiated while the Minister concerned was held sacrosanct and, as it was bound to be, the whole thing failed. Similar may be the fate of prosecutions that may possibly be launched against the officials concerned in the present case. If the Das report by itself may not be held sufficient for a prosecution, further judicial investigations, if necessary, should not be evaded. In any case, unless all possible avenues for bringing the principal actor to book are explored, Commissions of Inquiry, such as the Das Commission, would evoke little fear or public confidence and one of the very initial steps towards the eradication of corruption and nepotism from the administration would prove to be a very wobbly one.

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ON THE KHADI PROGRAMME

By VAIKUNTH L. MEHTA

Member, Khadi and Village Industries Board

The submission to Parliament at the end of February of the Report of the Public Accounts Committee on the accounts of the Khadi and Village Industries Commission has provided an occasion for comments on the programme for the development of khadi and other village industries for the carrying out of which this statutory body has been created. To the extent that these comments arise out of the observations and findings of the Public Accounts Committee they have been dealt with separately by the Commission itself. This article is confined to an examination of the other issues that have been raised in the course of the articles that have appeared recently in certain daily and weekly journals. Taking advantage of this opportunity, it will be as well to attempt to deal with each one of these issues individually.

One of the points raised is "why the habitual use of the home spun article (namely khadi) enjoined on members of a political party should be a charge on public funds." Apparently, the impression is that the bulk of the customers of khadi are those who are or wish to become members of the Indian National Congress. It is true that before Independence the development of khadi was part of the Congress programme, after the nation accepted Mahatma Gandhi as the leader in the fight for swaraj. Khadi is, however, no longer any organic part of the Congress programme. Neither in the Avadi Resolution indicating the goal of a socialistic pattern of society nor in the Bhubaneswar resolution on democratic socialism do we find any mention of the word 'khadi.' In the last ten years, khadi has attracted ten times as many customers as it ever had in the past. Of these large numbers, customers who buy khadi to join the Congress or to continue their membership will be only a small proportion. It is not on their support that sales of khadi depend.

Social and Economic Significance

A similar point is raised when it is queried why the tax-payer should be called upon "to pay for somebody's fads." The programme for the development of khadi was not accepted by the nation in the pre-Independence era as merely a fad of Mahatma Gandhi's. It was not the political implications that attracted to the programme the most trusted of its political leaders such as Rajaji, the Sardar, Jawaharlalji, Kripalaniji and others but its social and economic significance. It is the same considerations that have weighed with the Planning Commission, ever since its creation, in including the development of khadi and other village industries as an integral part of our series of five-year plans. Persons like the late Shri V. T. Krishnamachari, Shri C. D. Deshmukh, Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis to name a few among its members who were never politicians of the Congress or other variety have been party to the decision, which surely they would not have favoured if it were merely "somebody's fad."

Should the Commission be Wound Up?

The view is expressed that since after the efforts of the last ten years khadi has not become a people's movement, which is the avowed aim of its protagonists, a definite time-limit of say three years, should be placed "for it to deliver (*sic*) some progress or wind up its affairs." Earlier in the same article the (All India) Khadi and Village Industries Board is asked, "in all honesty to wind itself up." The law certainly provides for the dissolution of the Khadi and Village Industries Commission under the orders of the Central Government. If they or the Planning Commission consider that the Commission has out-lived its utility, that step may undoubtedly be taken any time. But before the authorities do so they will examine the achievements of the Commission and its advisory board. These consist, principally, in adding to the quantum of production of essential consumer goods by diffusing employment in such productive work over nearly two million people spread out in a hundred thousand villages. Critics of the programme may well ask themselves whether there is any other sector in

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our economy where during the corresponding period work has been found in productive activities for equally large numbers.

Re-orientation of Programme

The critics, however, lay stress on an aspect of the khadi programme which never weighed with the Central Government or the Planning Commission when they gave their imprimatur to it. No test was laid down by either that khadi should be a basis for "influencing the course of the rural economy" or "making it a people's movement" as is suggested by the critics. It is those associated with the Board and the Commission, the old stalwarts of the All India Spinners Association and the ardent spirits in the Sarva Seva Sangh, who have set a higher aim for the khadi and village industries movement, namely, making it an instrument for bringing about a transformation of the rural society. In their view, it is the rural community that should take charge of the movement, which it will do once the conviction dawns that though the main purpose of the programme is to provide work for some who are unemployed or underemployed, if pursued as an integral part of a scheme of agro-industrial developments, it can have a far-reaching effect on the rural economy in particular and on rural life in general. It is from this point of view that a re-orientation of the scheme of working was considered necessary by the Commission so as to generate among rural communities initiative interest and enthusiasm.

Connotation of Self-sufficiency

In another set of comments the gravamen of the charge is that the khadi industry is not likely to become self-sufficient in the next few years. The exact connotation of the word 'self-sufficient' in this context is not clear. However, one may inquire whether there are not countries in different parts of the world where even the primary industry of agriculture has to be kept alive in the national interest with the aid of subsidies or the grant of fiscal protection. Again, there are countries—some highly industrialized, where certain types of large-scale industries have to be subsidized or protected from foreign competition in the national interest. Crafts which keep alive the skills of the people and provide a useful occupation also come in for various forms of aid. If khadi is part of the national plans it is not because cotton cloth is produced of the value of rupees 20 crores but because this form of production serves a valuable social purpose. The word 'self-sufficient' has no significance in this context.

Appeal for Swadeshi

The allegation that the programme "is inherently unsound," has thus to be examined in the light of the social purpose which it serves and not because the industry "can never hope to stand on its own legs." Those eminent leaders of the nation who preached the gospel of swadeshi in the early days of the century did not call upon the people of the country to support indigenous industries and patronize the products of such industries only until they were able to stand on their own legs. It was the duty of the people, they urged, to confine their purchases to the products of such industries even at a sacrifice, that is even though the prices might be higher or the quality inferior. It is not in the interest of investors and entrepreneurs that this appeal was addressed to the people, but because the caues of national progress would be furthered with the diversification of the economy, the generation of employment and the reduction of pressure on the land. Despite planning for industrialization, the malaise of poverty still persists mainly in the shape of the stagnant conditions that pervade the economy of the countryside.

Although both consumers' goods and some producers' goods are being manufactured in increasing volume in our country, it will be a bold, if not a rash, student of public affairs who will assert that there is reduction of dependence on the land for their sole means of livelihood for the bulk of the rural population or that there has been a diminution in the volume of unemployment or underemployment in rural areas or that there is a diversification of the rural economy. The State has accepted the khadi programme because it has the responsibility for eradication of these evil features of the economy and it takes the view that the production of consumer goods through village and cottage industries is one of the most suitable methods of doing so.

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Displacement of Labour

Not the staunchest supporter of the khadi movement has ever claimed that it is an industry the products of which can enter into competition with mill-made cloth. Hence it is hardly fair to condemn the movement for its failure to lower the costs of khadi to the level of the cost of production in textile mills. The replacement of a handloom by a powerloom displaces nearly half a dozen persons; that of spinning wheels by a spinning frame displace some 25 to 30 workers. Those who install spinning frames or powerlooms in textile mills are indifferent to what happens to the persons who lose their means of livelihood. They engage labour on wages, which may be higher than those earned by those who spin or weave with their hands, but which in no event are high enough to be equivalent to the aggregate earnings of the persons who are thrown out of work.

It is the payment of wages to these persons who are likely to be displaced by the process of transformation from manually operated to power-driven spindles and looms that accounts, principally, for the wide disparity that exists between the costs of mill production and that of khadi production. Since the displacement is of a smaller order when the handloom using mill yarn is replaced by a power-driven loom, the disparity between the prices of handloom cloth and mill cloth is smaller. However, for certain varieties of handloom cloth and of coarse khadi the differences are small. Besides, there are some special features of the texture of khadi fabrics or of handloom cloth that possess special attraction for customers. If this had not been the case it is extremely unlikely that the custom for khadi should have gone up ten times as it has done during the last ten years. It is not the rebate of 20 naye paise that alone has induced shrewd customers in towns and cities to purchase khadi not just once, but as habitual buyers.

Components of Cost

Inasmuch as the wage component of the cost of production is the main factor in determining the cost of khadi production, it is argued by critics that if any effort is made to increase the present woefully low wages" it will have the effect of raising the price of khadi, making it even less marketable in competition with mill-made cloth than is now the case. In their programme, those in charge have aimed at reducing all other costs, such as in respect of securing the supply of raw materials, in organising the marketing of the finished products or in making credit available free of interest or at low rates. As a result the price of khadi has remained almost the same during the last ten years for most varieties despite the very considerable increase that has taken place in the price of cotton. No one having knowledge of textile production need be told that it is on the quality of cotton that its success very largely depends. In this respect the producer of khadi cloth has suffered grievously in recent years. There has been a brisk switchover from the shorter staple cotton to medium and long staple and the sorts suitable for handspining are either scarce or are unavailable. This has added to the cost of production, inasmuch as cotton has to be purchased at higher cost, even for the coarser types of khadi.

When Mahatma Gandhi offered a prize of Rs. 1 lakh for an improved charkha, his intention was twofold: (i) to enable the spinner to earn more and (ii) by raising the productivity to lower the cost of spinning. Even on the traditional charkha he sought to raise the level of efficiency so that the spinner might get better wages. The ambar charkha, although it is a costlier and a little more complicated tool than the traditional charkha, holds out the prospect of securing the twofold object Gandhiji had in view. The earnings of spinners have increased, weaving costs have been slightly brounght down, certain varieties of cloth have been produced where the disparity between the prices of khadi and mill cloth have been somewhat narrowed down. But with the increase that has taken place in the price of cotton, no worthwhile reduction in the price of khadi has been found posible.

Implications of Use of Power

The offer of a prize for an improved charkha that was made a few years back by the Khadi and Village Industries Commission and its recent decision to introduce a spinning wheel capable of yielding a minimum daily wage of Re. 1 indicate that workers in the khadi movement are alive to the need for technological progress. If they do

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not think in terms of decentralized spinning with the aid of power, their attitude is understandable. The bulk of khadi production takes place in small villages. The vast majority of these are not likely to be served by electric power for years to come. A nationwide programme can be conceived of only in terms of the resources that are available. What is available today is abundant manpower. When the supreme need is to make fuller use of it khadi workers can scarcely be expected to switch over to the use of electric power especially since only a few villages are likely to be electrified. Besides, the paramount consideration with them will be to ensure that the resort to electric power does not render idle manpower already at work in the handspinning industry. In case alternative channels of employment were open, their attitude might have been different.

Production of Cloth

A new possibility has opened out with the introduction of the ambar charkha. It comes within the range of possibility for a rural community to produce enough cloth for its own requirements without every adult contributing his or her share in the shape of self-spun yarn. To aim at self-sufficiency in clothing for a village or a group of villages or a block area, becomes a feasible proposition, especially in tracts where cotton is or can be grown. This was the ideal to which Mahatma Gandhi looked forward and which Acharya Vinoba Bhave cherishes. There is involved in our economic system a twofold drain on the slender resources of a rural community where in the old days handspinning was an important subsidiary industry. What was earned through the pursuit of this subsidiary occupation was lost to the rural community. On the top of this, it had to find the cash for the purchase of cloth manufactured elsewhere in the production of which commodity the rural community had no share. Hence Vinobaji considers that for the rehabilitation of the rural economy the revival of handspinning and weaving as a basic industry should be an essential part, along with a programme for the more equitable distribution of the lands of the village.

Profitable use of Manpower

Just as for the latter purpose, what is needed according to him, is a campaign for khadi, the voluntary equitable distribution of land, similarly for imparting an industrial bias to the economy, there should be the provision of free weaving service for all who spin yarn. The rural community will get the cloth it needs for the cost of the spinning, plus the little actual overheads involved. The self-spinners do not have to bear even these charges. The effect of such a step will be three fold. In the first place it may induce larger numbers to spin yarn for their own use; secondly, it will widen the offtake of cloth locally and, lastly, it will enable the rural community to organise productive work for numbers who are without work for several months in a year or for most of the time in a working day. The use of manpower fully can then be undertaken profitably by rural communities, thus cutting at the root of enforced idleness which is a corrosive force in the social system. The benefit of subsidized weaving will thus be direct on spinners and weavers and indirect for the rest of the community.

The grant of the subsidy at the stage of production replaces the existing rebate on sales. But the effect of the subsidy on costs will be such as to reduce the price at which the cloth will be marketed, with all other charges remaning the same. Hence the urban customers will get khadi at the same rate as heretofore and there need be no reduction in the volume of sales on that ground since there is no increase in the price of khadi. Moreover, there will be no additional demand made on the public exchequer for larger grants for the quantum of assistance required is estimated to be of the same order as at present. Expansion of production may, of course, involve an additional outlay.

There is not much substance in the fear entertained in some quarters that subsidization at the stage of production will open wide the gates of corruption. It is true that the number of centres where the subsidy will be payable will be larger than the number of centres where khadi is sold. It will not, however, be any more difficult to control the payment of subsidy or to check accounts than is the case at present.

A Social Security Measure

All that has preceded is intended to present the rationale of a khadi programme reoriented in the manner now proposed by the Khadi and Village Industries Coommission. No longer is it a mere "ritual," as suggested in the

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columns of one journal, or, as another phrases it, "a wasteful and unproductive programme in which the taxpayers' money is being frittered away." The achievements recorded during the last ten years—apart from the valuable services rendered by the All-India Spinners' Association in years past—are a testimony to the contribution that khadi has made towards the progress of the nation by keeping alive and reinvigorating a basic industry of the countryside which suffered grievously from the fiscal policies of our foreign rulers and under the impact of unregulated industrialization.

The problem of underemployment and unemployment is even more acute than it was when Mahatma Gandhi formulated the programme for the revival of the khadi industry 45 years ago. Other countries have undertaken costly schemes for the relief of such unemployment. We have no scheme of social security covering relief of unemployment except to a limited extent for organised labour in ndustries. In the absence of a full-fledged scheme of social security, funds devoted to the furtherance of this movement should therefore be looked upon as those spent on an alternative form of social security covering a large vulnerable section of the population, which should be all the more welcome because it provides work for people instead of helping them with doles.

WAGE-OUTPUT RELATION IN SMALL INDUSTRY

By Miss BELA BOSE, M.A.

Exploitation of consumers is a latest development of the take off stage in most of the newly developing countries. India is not an exception to this general trend. Labour, an essential ingredient of expanding economy, succeeds in taking out the maximum from capital by all possible means. Capital, on the other hand, is compelled to concede to the demands of labour. The two vital parties of production function are thus satisfied and the Government is also relieved. The outcome of the truce is soaring prices and the crucification of the consumers, the most unknown, most disrespected and unorganised party in the production truce.

To maintain economic stability and particularly to maintain the tempo of growth abated, this trend in developing and expanding industries needs immediate repression. Reduction of price for the benefit of consumers is the most perplexing question. What is the solution? Industrial truce or labour legislation would not appease unscrupulous capital or labour. Neither enhancement of dearness allowances is the solution. A change in the industrial structure is the only way to bring lasting results. Dispersal of labour and management may stop this onslaught on consumers. An analysis of production functions in firms of different size groups clearly reveals the myth of high price mechanism, and this analysis emphasises that truce between labour and management should be broken and dispersed in the interest of consumers and producers alike and also for the healthy development of the economy.

In this paper an analysis of labour productivity in different firms is made on the basis of data furnished by the census of Manufactures of India for 28 industries. In measuring labour productivity, it is economically more scientific to measure output in terms of money expenses made for labour instead of physical output. Physical productivity of labour i.e., output per unit of labour employed, depends on a variety of factors of which labour is not an independent and isolated item. Apart from that, to an individual proprietor it is not the physical volume of labour, and the physical volume of output which is important. He is more interested in the money expenses he is to make for employing a unit of labour and the value he gets in return. His object is to maximise his output or income and to minimise the expenses on factors, including labour. His calculation in employing one unit of addi-

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tional labour will be determined by the marginal productivity of labour and the current wage at which he could have engaged the man. Hence from the entrepreneur's standpoint to be economic and efficient, the firm must spend less on labour. It is therefore essential, that wage/output relation should be assessed to estimate the level of efficiency of a firm. This may be regarded as a more realistic approach to the measurement of productivity of a firm, as it will give an indication of the competitive strength of different units. Wage/output ratios indicate how much in money value is added to the firm spending one unit of money on labour.

Wage here is used to mean payments made to labour as wages and salaries and other benefits in money terms. This includes the total expenses incurred by the employer or the firm on the total employees, both workers as well as persons other than workers. This however does not include fringe benefits granted by the firms to the workers. Output on the other hand refers to gross output raised by the labour. This is also the money value of the physical volume of output and is deflated by the wholesale price index based on 1950 price level. Wage/output ratio in firms of different size groups determined on the basis of numbers of workers is compared with the normal standard. That is, the wage/output ratio in a particular industry as a whole is taken to be the normal standard under existing economic conditions of the country. This standard, however, may not be very promising in comparison to other countries. But for Indian industries it is this normal level which all units should aspire to attain. The ratio of individual firms is to be compared with this normal levels. The following Table gives in details the output raised per unit of money wage paid in different enterprises of different size groups. Here the average of five years from 1953 to 1957 is given. (Please see table on next page.)

The analysis of the table shows that small units in general produce maximum amount of output in return for one unit of money wage in the majority of the industries. Except in 7 cases the small units produce more than the normal level or the level of the industry as a whole. These are starch, soap, glass and glass wares, ceramics, bicycle, electric lamps and electric fans. Only in 4 cases out of 27, large units produce more tham small units and they are soap, glass and glass wares, plywood and electric fans. Out of 27 industries only in 7 cases the medium units produce more than the small. This medium group however is nearer to the levels of small groups than the larger units. The difference between large and small units is far greater. The first position in respect of wage/output is scored by small units followed by the medium and the last place goes to large units. Thus there exists some definite correlation between size and wage/output ratio. A regular trend is observed in this respect. As size increases the wage/output ratio diminishes. That is, the output per unit of wage diminishes in almost all the industries when the size increases.

This trend unmistakably proves that small units spend minimum but raise maximum which appears to be paradoxical when labour productivity in physical terms is low in small units. But this analysis shows that to an entrepreneur the small enterprise is not at all unremunerative as it pays him unexpectantly high money income. This income, however, does not imply profit which is a function of different sorts of factors. This lower productivity per unit of physical labour is not at all uneconomic to the proprietor of small units as he gets more than what he pays. Here, perhaps, lies the sustaining strength of small units and thus gives an explanation of the persistence of small units even in these days of giganto-phobia. The entrepreneur is not at all in disadvantage in maintaining the structure of his firm small. Labour if engaged in large units would have got more in exchange of their effort. To raise a particular amount of output the management in large units would have to pay more in wages. The cost of production would have automatically been high. The incidence of this high cost is undoubtedly on the consumers as they have no other alternatives in these days of planning and import restrictions. At the cost of consumers labour and capital are being benefited.

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Labour and capital thus jointly exploit the consumers. This is the significance of rising prices. This analysis of wage/output relation in small units reveals that by employing labour in small units more output may be raised at lower cost and hence be a boon to consumers through lower prices. Breakdown of industrial structure in small units is the only tentative solution to this new problem of consumer exploitation. It may be argued that entrepreneurs in small units are exploiting labour by giving them less than their marginal productivity. One thing must be remembered that entrepreneurs must pay the current wage rate to employ a unit of labour and that wage must have been sufficient to maintain labour. Labour is getting less than their marginal productivity but not less than the current money wage and this is quite a normal phenomenon of the capitalistic system of production. Management in large firms on the other hand is exploiting the consumers. They are compelled to pay high wages and, therefore, raise the price but still earn higher profits. Thus the entrepreneurs in large firms squeeze the consumers to satisfy their lust for high profit. The interest of consumers is jeopardised for the benefit of the capitalist and a small group of industrial labourers. Employment of labour in small units eliminates this evil of modern capitalistic production. And if labour-management be regarded as a standard of efficiency, then this wage/output analysis of small units definitely proves that small units are efficient.

Table

Wage/output ratio in different times in relation to Normal level: (in Rs.)

Industry:	Normal level	Small: Below 20	Small: 20/49	Small: 50/90	Medium: 100/249	Medium: 250/499	Large: 500/999	Large: 1000/1999	Large: 2000/4999	Large: 5000/above
1. Wheat	3.4	44.2	4.6	41.4	33.6	40.6	39.6	..	..	..
2. Rice Milling	30.6	23.2	34.4	30.2	26.4	24.6	..	..	..	..
3. Biscuit	8.0	7.0	8.4	9.0	8.6	8.6	7.3	..	..	..
4. Fruit processing	8.8	12.4	9.2	6.6	11.4	8.0	..	..	..	..
5. Sugar	9.6	21.4	10.0	5.0	4.4	13.0	9.8	9.8	8.0	
6. Distilleries	5.8	3.4	8.0	6.0	5.8	5.0	..	..	..	..
7. Starch	16.4	9.0	12.8	12.6	12.0	17.4	6.8	..	..	..
8A. Vegetable oils	8.0	33.8	44.4	41.4	34.0	34.8	11.4	..	..	..
8B. Edible oils hydrogeneted	29.8		16.6	29.2	33.0	35.6	22.0	..	..	..
9. Paints	10.6	10.2	11.2	9.4	8.0	9.2	8.4	5.3		
10. Soap	13.8	8.8	10.4	10.0	5.4	8.8	11.2	15.8		
11. Tanning	11.8	9.0	12.4	16.4	12.6	7.6	5.2	..	..	..
12. Cement	8.2				6.6	9.4	7.8	1.2		
13. Glass	3.0	1.2	2.8	2.2	2.6	3.2	3.2	2.4		
14. Ceramics	2.0	1.2	1.6	2.8	2.2	2.2	2.0	1.8	2.0	..
15. Plywood	6.4	6.8	6.0	6.0	6.4	4.8	8.3	..	..	..
16. Paper	6.0	4.0	6.8	6.8	6.6	4.4	5.6	6.4	6.0	
17. Match	3.0	1.2	2.4	5.8	6.2	4.8	5.0	3.2	3.0	
18. Cotton textiles	3.8	4.0	5.8	6.2	6.6	6.0	5.8	3.8	3.6	3.0
19. Woollen textiles	6.6	7.0	14.4	9.8	13.6	9.2	6.8	5.2	4.2	
20. Jute textiles	3.8				6.4	3.3	4.0	4.0	3.8	10.8
21. Chemicals	7.2	18.2	8.6	8.8	7.8	7.0	8.0	4.8	6.0	6.8
22. Aluminium	10.0	9.0	10.0	10.2	11.4	10.2	10.2	10.6	6.8	
23. Iron and Steel	4.4	9.2	10.2	8.6	9.2	6.2	7.0	7.0	4.4	4.4
24. Bicycle	6.0	4.2	5.4	5.4	5.0	8.0	7.6	5.2	..	..
25. Sewing machine	2.8	5.6	5.2	3.8	3.4	..	..	..	2.6	
26. Electric lamp	4.4	4.0	2.2	3.6	6.0	5.8	3.6	..	..	..
27. Electric fans	3.4	1.8	2.2	4.0	4.2	3.6	3.6	3.6		

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SWAMI VIVEKANANDA

By A FRENCHWOMAN

OUR great poet Victor Hugo once said, in answer to some critics accusing him of talking too much about himself: "When I speak of myself, I speak of yourselves, because there is no difference between you and I."

This answer is truly admirable, and has a vedantic ring, though it is doubtful if Victor Hugo ever read the Upanishads. It enables one to speak freely of one's experiences, because, indeed, they are, or may be, happening to any one among us.—"Nothing that is human can be foreign to me"—as said a Latin philosopher more than two thousand years ago.

That is why I feel at liberty to speak of Swami Vivekananda as I understand him, being fully convinced that the story of my love for him, though personal, will reach every Indian heart.

My first contact with this sublime personality came through a book written by Romain Rolland whose name is famous in France because he had the great honour to be the first to write the "Life of Ramakrishna" (published in 1928), whch met with a tremendous success. His "Life of Vivekananda" not only covers the episodes of the Swami's life, but contains as well a very accurate, though brief, description of Indian thought and Indian metaphysics. I was then immersed in my University studies in English literature, and though rather thrilled, I did not then give the book more than a passing interest. India was so far, and seemed so very strange!

It was years later, fifteen years I think, that I fell ill of a very dreadful disease, which led me to death's door. I underwent an operation, and it was while I lay weak and rather morose on a clinic bed, that a benevolent friend brought me as a solace against worry "The Yogas" of Vivekananda: *Karma—Bhakti*—and *Raja*. Though suffering very much, I opened the book and began my reading with the "Raja Yoga." I was all alone, in my little white room, after the customary visits of relatives and friends, and I will never forget the shock it gave me. I had no sooner read a few pages of this truly extraordinary text, that I felt as if, out of a blue sky, a thunderbolt had crashed down into the silence of the establishment. Ceiling, walls, and window seemed to disappear in a kind of hazy whirl, leaving me panting for breath, while the inmost recesses of my soul were laid bare and trembling. I remember I heard myself gasping: "At last I have found! At last, I have found the Truth!"

I do not know how long this crisis lasted. The book lay open on my bed, and I seemed to look upon vistas and vistas of luminous white clouds, upon which my soul rode with a majestic freedom, as if it had at last found the Harbour where there is only Peace. Then, all of a sudden, out of this indescribable Nothing, a Being came out. He was turbaned, and he had in his hand a bunch of strange flowers. I had never seen a portait of Vivekananda (as far as I could remember), but I recognized him immediately, as I recognized the flowers as being lotus-flowers, though they do not grow in our climate and I had never even seen a drawing of them.

Vivekananda was laughing, with a kind of boyish laughter, and his face seemed to me one of the most beautiful human faces I had ever looked upon. He radiated strength, but I could see his heart, in the light emanating from him. Strange to say, this heart was bleeding, and had bled during his life-time, for all the sufferings of mankind. He offered at once to me the most extraordinary energy and the most marvellous love. But he was laughing, laughing, and waving before me the golden lotus-flowers, as if they too had a significance unknown to me. I now know that they represented Wisdom, so that the vision was complete: Force—Love—and Wisdom.

All the while, my poor lacerated body was making its claims on my attention, and I felt acutely my weakness, my loneliness, anl my sufferings. With all the energy left in me, I cried with the voice of the soul: "O Swami Vivekananda, why do you laugh like that? Don't you see how very hard is my lot? I have just been operated. I may die, and still you seem to laugh at me!"—

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With a sonorors voice which rolled in my subtle ears like a gong, he answered : "You are not weak ! You are not ill ! Be strong, rise, and work, for you have many things to do before you die !"

Then slowly, slowly, he lisappeared, still waving the golden lotuses, still transported with his heavenly bliss, and the clinic walls and windows took back their ordnary appearance, in the failing grey light of a January twilight in Paris.

That was my first contact with Vivekananda. I recovered—more or less—exactly as he had foretold, and I read, and re-read, and read again, all his works, from the "Yogas" to his "Letters," from the "Inspired talks" to his "Jnana." What, at twenty, I had not understood under the pen of Romain Rolland, appeared to me clearer and clearer when expressed in the Swami's style. His way of writing suits exactly western students : the prose is clear, the sentences short, and he uses no high-flown words, no long-winded sentences, nothing of this heavy and ponderous phrasing which used to distress and confuse me during my year of "Philosophy" at the Secondary School. Under his tuition (and even if I had not meanwhile met my Guru, it would have been the same), the whole Indian thought revealed itself to me, as a traveller discovers from a height the cupolas and towers of a wonderful city in the glory of the sunset. The centuries rolled back, and conjured up by Vivekananda's simple and powerful eloquence, the Rishis came forth, the forest hermitages appeared into view, the Sages smiled at me, and I came at last into my legitimate inheritance : the right to Know the Truth.

I remember as if it were yesterday, though thirteen other years have passed over my head, the keen joy I derived from the studies of the Yogas. So there existed on the earth a people who had made of Religion a Science, who had codified, marked down, and carefully measured the different paths man can take in order to reach God !—It was to me as beautiful as the Greek Parthenon, as rigorous and harmonious as an Euclid propositon, and naturally far more important, since it quenched my thirst and appeased my soul's hunger ! Impelled by this incredible discovery, I procured later on the "Upanishads", and I made of the "Gita" my favourite reading. I dipped in the wonderful adventures of Sri Rama, or in the magnificent teachings of Sri Ramana Maharshi. But where was I, if I had not begun earlier by the works of Swami Vivekananda ? For a Western mind, nourished in the lap of the Alma Mater, the University, the realm of Eastern thought and Eastern lore is about as difficult to enter as the charmed forest where the Prince had to discover the Sleeping Princess's Castle. I was helped on by my beloved Guru, but his vast intelligence was very often too much for me. When a difficult point in metaphysics had been reached, when I began to despair of ever penetrating Shankara's thought, I would dive again in the beloved pages of Narendra Nath. When troubles came along, in these moments when the soul seems to wallow in the "slough of despond" and hope seems to fly away never to come again, it was to him that I would turn. "Be strong ! Be free !" repeated his voice, in exactly the same terms I had heard in the clinic. "You are not this poor being weighed down by the cares of life, you are He, you are divine !" and I would shoulder on the old burden and plod along with a renewed strength, because I believed his message was true. He would then appear as the embodiment of his people's heart, while his love would penetrate my soul and make it glow again as one breathes on smouldering embers.

I further know as a matter of fact that I am by no means the only one to whom he not only brought the Upanishads' message in a crystal clear form, but to whom he appeared in moments of meditation or of worries. He had, during his life-time, paid several visits to France, but they were flying visits, and he was too much engrossed with the Anglo-saxon civilisation, be it English or American. Does he want now to make up for the overlook ? I rather think that, true Guru and awakener of souls that he is, he plays on our subtle bodies to enforce his teachings, for there is no true teaching if it does not reach the innermost soul. He hovers over us as a mother-bird on the wing near her young, and it seems he cannot wrench his great heart from this mankind he loved with such a strong love. I daresay that if we could receive the confidences of Eskimos in the Straits of Behring, or of American Indians lost in the heights of the Andes, we would hear many a strange tale. Being French, I can speak only of my compatriots, but I am sure he comes

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to all sincere souls, regardless of race or education.

He is in France considered as one of the greatest heroes who ever appeared on the planet. It is surprising how sometimes in townlets of our provinces one may come across an admirer of his genius one would hardly think one could meet there. Spiritualistic societies, philosophers, writers, and even modest and obscure folk, know him, have read his works, or read his life. For us Vivekananda, before being a son of India, before even being Sri Ramakrishna's messenger, is the common treasure of all humanity. His energy, his keen logic, his wonderfully clear intellect appeal to us, because we have, or strive to have, the same racial qualities. The French people will always listen to a thinker's message, provided he expresses himself clearly and his ideas make sense. It is not for nothing that in 1792 Robespierre led in severe garb and composed mien the procession of the Goddess Reason! The true Goddess Reason, had he but known, may be found in the Upanishads and there only, but without Vivekananda who would have thought in our land to look for Her in their pages?

But it is not only because Vivekananda was one of the greatest Instructors history has known that he exerts such an influence over European souls. He not only sowed to the four winds of the Heavens the great ideas of the Vedas, he is not only in our eyes the true hero so dear to Carlisle's heart, he is as well a *saint*, a lover of God. There is in France—and may it never disappear!—a rich soil of spirituality which, through our centuries of Christian civilization reaches back to the time of the Druids of Gaul. A Brazilian friend once said to me: "France is the land of Saints." And that is rigorously true. Our saints are our glory, our protection, and the everlasting helpers of every soul. They may grow dim in the people's recollection, they may be more or less forgotten under the devastating influence of a machine-making era, but they are still there, and their bones are buried in the earth of our ancestors. They still live in the nation's subconscious, and I do not believe that we ever shall lack new saints, sincere priests, and chaste monks. To this France of the saints, Vivekananda has spoken the language of the saints, and those who know him hail in him the true *bhakta*, the man whose great heart was dedicated to the Eternal. He had in his hands the precious golden cup of Sri Ramakrishna's brimming love and he has offered this cup to us so that we may be able to drink of its sweet liquor. He has translated the message of his ineffable Guru in terms a school boy could grasp, and doing so, he has enabled us to better understand the Christ's teachings. Under his magic touch, the Sermon on the Mount has assumed for us a deeper significance, and it is through his love of God that we love Jesus better.

The gospel he taught was universal—as was Sri Ramakrishna's message. His advent is one of the assets that will eventually lead mankind to join hands over the corpses of prejudices and bigotry. It is my belief that, as the years roll on, as Science unites ever more the nations and races in a common pursuit of knowledge and a common front against poverty, ignorance and squalor, Vivekananda's life and teaching will play a greater and greater role. It is not exaggreation to say that even in Politics his ideas hold good. He was a *kshatriya*, but in his love for mankind and his wonderful insight, he has hailed the advance of the *Sudras* and recognised the right of the people to live and work in safety. His great motto was: "Be free!", but the freedom he advocated was not only spiritual, he has denounced as well the faults of society against the downtrodden, the miserable of this earth, the people condemned by their so-called betters to an everlasting life of poverty and ignorance. Mankind, as far as we can see, has raised itself at last and its hesitating steps have begun to tread the path which leads to true internationalism. Among its guides on this difficult journey, Vivekananda will be foremost, and his influence will be felt for centuries, even by men who know nothing of him.

Such is the power of the Sages!—Ramakrishna the sweet Son of Gol, not known to the great world, hidden in the shade of the Dakshineswar trees—Vivekananda the hero, crossing the "black waters" and thundering in American cities . . . . They have delivered India. Now they have to deliver the world. May their blessings achieve the task, helped on by all the great souls, past and future, of humanity!

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RECENT TRENDS IN INDIAN ADMINISTRATION

By ASHOKE MOHAN RAY, M.A., W.B.C.S.

(Concluded from the previous issue)

As a result of the legislation which has been enacted, in most States there now come into existence as interconnected structure of democratic statutory bodies within the district above the village level which are organically linked up with village Panchayats. In all the States, village panchayats are elected on the basis of adult suffrage. The sarpanch or the president of the panchayat is elected by the members of the Panchayat from among themselves except in the States of Assam, Bihar, Rajasthan, U.P. and Punjab, where he is elected by the gram sabha which consists of the entire adult population of the village.

For the constitution of Panchayat Samitis, different systems are in force. Sarpanchas are ex-officio members in Andhra Pradesh, Rajasthan, U.P., Gujarat and Bihar. In Orissa, in addition to sarpanch, each Panchayat elcets a second representative, who must not be a member of the village Panchayat, to the Panchayat Samitis. In Madras according to the legislation, the sarpanchas and panches of each village Panchayat send one representative from amongst themselves to the Panchayat Samiti. In Punjab and Madhya Pradesh, panches and sarpanchas of the Panchayat in the blocks form an electoral college for electing the members of the Panchayat Samiti. In Assam and Mysore, members of the Panchayat Samity are elected directly by adult suffrage. In Maharastra, direct election based on the adult suffrage are held for the Zila Parishad. Members elected to the district body are also members of the Panchayat Samiti, which includes, in addition, a number of Sarpanchas elected by electoral colleges composed of panches. In U.P., all sarpanches are members of the Panchayat Samity, which also includes a certain number of members elected directly.

As regards Zila Parishads, there are three sets of arrangements in force.

(i) In Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, M.P., Orissa, Mysore and Rajasthan, the Presidents of all the Panchayat Samitis are ex-officio members of the Zila Parishads.

(ii) In Punjab, in addition to the Chairman of Panchayat Samitis, a number of representatives are elected by Panchayat Samitis from among their members.

(iii) In Gujarat, Maharastra, and U.P. the Zila Parishad includes members elected on the basis of adult suffrage as well as the Presidents of Panchayat Samitis.

In addition, in Gujarat and U.P. Panchayat Samitis elect a certain number of members from amongst themselves to the Zila Parishad. In West Bengal, the Panchayat Samitis, Zila Parishid Bill has been passed by the legislature.

The functions of Panchayat Samitis include municipal and other development functions and development functions relating to agriculture and other programmes whose execution has been assigned to these bodies. In most states the Zila Parishads are given powers of general guidance and supervision over the Panchayat Samitis. In Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat, M.P. and U.P. the Zila Parishad has been given the power to supervise the working of the Panchayat. Besides, the supervisory and advisory functions, establishment, maintenance and expansion of secondary, vocational and industrial schools and securing the execution of plans common to two or more blocks are functions of the Andhra Pradesh Zila Parishad. In Maharastra and Gujarat, the Zila Parishad has been made the effective unit for the administration of development programmes. In other states, Zila Parishads have not been given any executive functions.

Accorring to Shree V.T. Krishnamachari (Report on Indian and State Administrative

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Service and Problem of District Administration, 1962 p 35) the principal duties which have to be undertaken within the district and which, in turn, raise a variety of administrative and other problems are:

(1) Preparation and implementation of village agricultural production plans and plans for basic minimum amenities for the village.

(2) Preparation and implementation of block development plans.

(3) Preparation and implementation of district development plans.

(4) Assisting in the implementation of land reform programme, assisting the economically weaker sections of the village community, developing co-operatives and rural industries etc.

It is against this background of the constitution and functions of the Panchayat institution that one has to examine the relationship between the permanent civil servants and non-officials. We will discuss the roles of Collector and B.D.O. in Panchayati Raj as they will have to play significant parts with two important tiers of the system—the Zila Parishad and Panchayat Samitis respectively.

To begin with, Panchayati Raj has been given the responsibility for pushin through the programme of a welfare state in the field. But, as Shree B. Sivaraman, Chief Secretary, to the Government of Orissa has put it, (I.J.P.A. Vol. VIII No. 4 p. 494), it is not a force of administration independent of State administration. It is also the opinion of Shree V.T. Krishnamachari that at the present stage of development it is necessary that village panchayats, panchayat samitis and Zila Parishads should be built up as institutions carrying out the policies embodied in the plan and laid down by State Governments with the approval of State legislation. The constitutions places the State as the unit of administration and the unit of authority for administration and all the administrative systems within the State derive their authority from the State by delegation. Panchayat Raj is one limb of administration and is a means of decentralisation of the authority of implementation in the field. The source of power is the State, therefore the ultimate responsibility of the State for the welfare of the citizen has not been removed. The collector's position in Panchayati Raj arises out of the responsibilities of the State. As his area of operation coincided with the area of the Zila Parishad he has automatically come into the picture as the eyes and ears of Government.

It is true that the varying forms of democratic decentralisation adopted in the various States called for a reorientation of the fundamental character of Collector's office. Where previously the Collector ordered, he now has to persuade and convince. Where he previously inspected and punished, he now advised and gently corrected. Where previously be commanded, he now led and encouraged. In the new order, the Collector has been made a regular member of the Zila Parishad in Andhra Pradesh and a member without voting rights in Gujarat, Orissa, Punjab and Rajasthan. He can attend the meetings of the Zila Parishad without voting rights in Utter Pradesh and Bihar. In Madras and Mysore, the Collector is the Chairman of the district development council. His position, however, continues to be focal in all the States. Everywhere the Government apparently feel that he could represent the Government and that administration will not function effectively unless he co-ordinates the various wings and unless his authority is felt by them. To the non-official world he is the source of advice, guidance, assistance and finally of appeal. From a symbol of power, as Shree M. P. Raj has put it, he is being transformed to a symbol of service and authority.

The Collector's important position in the changing context of experiments in decentralised democracy has depended on two contributing factors: (a) the trust and confidence that the Government have reposed in him as a consequence of his selection to his post on consideration of merit and experience have maintained his position as agent of the Government at district level (b) the faith which the people of the district in his charge continue by and large to repose in him. On all controversial problems Government and people alike have always turn-

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ed to the Collector for objective views and non-partisan executive action.

In some fields and in some ways, his position will be what it has always been. As the agent and representative of Govern he is likely to continue to be the 'eyes and ears' of Government. He may not in the future, be the only channel of communication between the Government and the people but he will always be the most important channel and when controversies or conflicts arise the only dependable channel. There will also be a wide field of governmental activity e.g., regulatory functions in the fields of Revenue and Land Records administration, General administration, Criminal administration and Law and order. It is in the field of developmental activity alone that his role is in some directions widening and in others changing into a new form.

Developmental duties are nothing new to the Collector and were of importance even in the Company days, though the weight and sense of proportion were different. The nation-building activities have become normal functions of Government and with changes of political forms, the Collector's role can no longer remain the same. The responsibility for these has been placed in the hands of the elected representatives of the people in varying forms. One common pattern in all the States is that executive agencies are directly or eventually controlled by the Government and with increased decentralisation and delegation of powers the need for an agency to co-ordinate the work of these agencies has increased. In all the States, it has been accepted that the necessary powers of co-ordination can best be exercised by the Collector. At present, the Collector has no alternate to such a choice.

The Panchayat Samiti and the Zila Parishad have responsibilities for co-ordinating the welfare programme in their areas and distributing various funds that are earmarked by Government for development work in the district. The potential for taxation either at the Panchayat Samiti or at the Zila Parishad level is very small. Direct responsibility for collection of any such taxation has generally not been placed on either the Panchayat Samiti or Zila Parishad. These bodies therefore substantially deal with funds for which they have not sweated. The powers to give monetary favour without the responsibility for finding the money is a corrupting influence. Some Control in this matter is necessary. The Collector is to exercise such control. The Collector, moreover has been given the power of supervision over institutions. There is need for a convention to give Collectors powers in implementing necessary works in the areas which may be neglected because of party pulls and factions or general lethargy. Besides, his role as principal executive and chief co-ordinator between those responsible for the work of the various agencies, The Collector will have to play a new and difficult role in the field of working of democratic institutions. For, success in the development field, close liason between the Government and democratic institutions at the village and district levels are of great importance. The channel of communication will obviously be the Collector, but for the satisfactory working of development programmes, mere communication will not do. The Collector is now required to pursuade, convince and encourage. As regards control over development services, there has been a pull that the elected body must have control fully over its services. The personnel for the executive cadre however, comes from the State cadres for the services. Extra institutional loyalties, therefore, are bound to arise. Unless there is a strong co-ordinating and enfocing agency, the executive arms of the Panchayati Raj will become ineffective. The Collector, who was the chairman of the old District Development Committee has automatically stepped into the position of a controlling agency of the development services in the district.

The upshot of the above discussion has been brilliantly summed up by Shree B. Sivaraman. Panchayati Raj is like the Rath of Lord Jagannath. The motive power has to come from the mass. Unless democracy decides to pull together and pull in one direction the Rath cannot move. Vast motive power is required. The Collector is very much like the director of the show. He can

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advise on moderating pulls and evening out pulls. He can order the braking of the Rath. If we expect the Collector to supply the motive power, we shall be asking for the impossible.

These observations equally apply to B.D.O's role in Panchayati Raj. When the Panchayati Raj institution were introduced it was thought that the B.D.O. as the Executive representative of State Government at block level would have fewer functions. The current thinking (the latest being the Diwakar Report on the position of Gram Sabha in Panchayati Raj movement) is that the B.D.O. should be responsible to the Pradhan and the latters' supervision over the Panchayati Samiti staff should be exercised through the B.D.O. The Pradhan should also write the confidential reports of all extension officers, including the revenue officer, posted at Block Hqrs. It is also admitted that the B.D.O. should have the status of a Provincial Civil Service Officer so that he could command confidence and ensure smooth functioning of the administration of the Panchayat Samiti. In reality, the S.D.O. and Collector have still powers atleast in West Bengal to protect the B.D.O.S against vindictive Pradhan in case they are satisfied that B.D.O. has acted in accordance with the policies of their superiors and Government. The fact remains that there will be dual control over B.D.O.'s. When the Panchayati Raj institution will be in full swing, immediate control by the Pradhan and also control by S.D.Os and Collectors will be simultaneous. No final comment can be made at this stage about this dual control and supervision of work of B.D.O. For this relationship is still in the stage of experiment. Healthy conventions have to grow. But the role of the B.D.O. and his extension staff is not thereby nominated. According to Shree V. T. Krishnamachari the extension officers should function as a team under the general guidance of the B.D.O. and assist the Panchayat Samiti by seeing to the technical soundness in execution of projects. The B.D.O. will also act as co-ordinator of different technical programmes and act as friend, philosopher and guide to the proper planning and execution of works within the jurisdiction of Panchayat Samitis.

It is true that in the new set up B.D.O. and his extension team have a difficult role to play in the transitional phase. They will have to work in dual capacity—as an administrative organ of the local authorities and also as an agency of Government helping the development of local authorities. A gradual change has been advocated by writers like Shree B. Mukherjee, I.C.S. (I.J.P.A. Vol. VII No. 3 p 315) According to them, B.D.Os. link with the Collector should be retained, so that he continues to get the latter's help and guidance, though ensuring at the same time that the Panchayat Samiti has effective day to day control over him. Similar shall be the position of the technical officers at the level **vis-a-vis** their own senior departmental officers and the Panchayat Samiti. The attempt has to be to establish a partnership between the Panchayati Samiti, the block officers and the higher officers of the administration in the difficult task of developing the system of local Government on right lines. This will be an administrative problem of democratic decentralisation of great importance and much complexity.

Beside the above trends there may be other trends in administration like the increasing role of civil servants in the sphere of delegated legislation etc. But the trends discussed in the paper are major trends. One distinguishing factor of the above trends is that the permanent civil servants have adapted themselves to the new social and political forces in the country since Independence. Of course in the matter of adjustment there are stresses and strains. New administrative problems have cropped up. But the permanent civil servants have not attempted to undo the basic social and economic objectives of a welfare stels embodied, in the Constitution. There are only few cases where civil servants still cherish the law and order and laissez faire view of the state. But the majority of them are making important contributions in the field of policy formulation and policy implementation in collaboration with and dictates of political executives and elected local representa-

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tives of the people. Their prestige and power have not dwindled thereby. They have added new dimensions to their career. This discussion may, therefore, be concluded with the following observation of late Sardar Patel on the floor of Parliament about the competence of All India Services (Indian constitutional Assembly debates, 1949 p. 48 and 50): "I wish to assure you that I have worked with them during the difficult period. I am speaking with a sense of heavy responsibility and I must confess that in point of patriotism, in point of loyalty, in point of sincerity and in point of ability, you cannot have a substitute. They are as good as ourselves .....I wish to place it on record in the House that if, during the last two or three years, most of the members of the services had not behaved patriotically and with loyalty, the union would have collapsed."

HUMANISM IN THE COMEDIES OF CHRISTOPHER FRY

Prof. AKHILESHWAR JHA

All comedy, by its nature, is essentially humaninistic. Whatever its aim, its theme has alwyas been the eternal between man and woman in the context of society and the world. It explores human life almost as deeply as tragedy; but unlike tragedy, it ultimately finds out the source of joy of human life in not ignoring or by-passing life's realities, but in the full acceptance of, in Aldous Huxley's pharase, "the whole truth" of existence. It laughs at the excesses, various oddities, pain and suffering, and the delusion of imagination, and inspires us to accept the life of everyday joyfully. From Aristphanes to Bernard Shaw, and Christopher Fry, in varying degrees, and in different forms, the comic playwright has been consistently applauding, to quote Sir H. J.G. Grierson from a different context, "the humanistic spirit of Montaigne or Erasmus, the spirit which loves reason, moderation, balance, culture, and dread extravagance and other worldly aspirations and ardours."[1]

In the comedies of Christpher Fry, this humanist spirit is apparent even at the first sight. In the beginning of a play, the protagonist is shown to be suffering from some extravagance on account of which he or she is on the point of rejecting society, the world, and even life, altogether; but almost invariably, at the end, through attaining a comic understanding of life's nature, he or she comes round most joyfully to accept them. The young soldier Tegeus, in **A Phoenix Too Frequent**, in the beginning, finds the world:

> "as mildew, verdigris,
> Rust, woodrot, or as though the sky had uttered
> An oval twirling blasphemy with occasional vistas
> In country districts."

Towards the end of the play, the same world turns into "a good creature again." Thomas Mendip, in **The Lady's Not for Burning,** sees, at the outest, "a world so festering with damnation", but he grows in his experience to discover a world of beauty:

> "a pale pastureland of peace
> And something condones the world, incorrigibly."

The Duke, in **Venus Observed** ,in his inveterate lust for flesh, suffers from dangerous extravagance. His fleshly infatuation is suggestive of his innate contempt for human values. He is not aware of the things which would fill in the vacancy in his soul and, therefore, he is utterly lonely, interested only in the human pursuit of the stars through his telescope. But, in the end, he, too, comes round to discover abiding human values in the acceptance of the responsibilities of living within the social bounds. In **The Dark is Light Enough**, Gettner, a renegade soldier, is presented as a thoroughly worthless creature. He is of use neither to himself nor to society. He refuses to under-

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take the responsibility of living. He has no courage to court death either. But as the curtain begins to fall at the close of the play, we find that he is, after all, ready to face life, and be responsible for the consequences of living.

The reconcilation between man and society is a characteristic which Fry's plays share with other comedies of the world. But this is not all. Implicit in them, in the deeper layer, is a pattern determined by what may be described as man-God relation. Fry's vision of humanism is inherent in this pattern. The two relations, however, man-society and man-God, are not mutually exclusive of one another: they are blended into one with the result that at the same time as the characters, resolve themselves to make an acceptance of society, they define their own relation to God and His Creation. The moment of revelation is one and the same. Here, then, is the most distinctive feature of Fry's handling of his themes, from which his idea of humanism is seen emerging. Contrast with T. S. Eliot's plays, in this respect, is remarkable. Eliot, too, attempts at dramatic fusion of the human and religious experiences. But the ultimate gestures of his characters such as Harry, Celia, and Colby imply a rejection of the ordinary human society: all of them choose to recognize a reconciliation in the other world, as it were. Not so in Fry: the characters are emancipated through their very acceptance of life and the world, because life and the world themselves happen to reveal resplendent, mysterious, and the divine significance. Even in his pronouncedly religious plays, the revelation of God's grace points to the utmost significance of worldly living, which is at the same time living with spontaneous understanding of the Christian virtues. Cymen's words, at the end of **Thor, with Angela**, are rich with humanistic resonance:

"We have still to learn to live.....
We are afraid
To live by rule of God, which is
forgiveness,
Mercy and compassion.....
God give us courage to exist in God,
And lonely flesh be welcome to creation."

More pronouncedly humanistic is the end of **A Sleep of Prisoners**. After having gone through the dreams of death and sin, the spiritual pilgrimage of the four prisoners reaches a state of quietness and hope. The last four lines suggest how calmly they have come to accept life with faith and blessing.

To show how consistently this composite vision of Fry's humanism determines the thematic organisation of his plays is the principal task I have set before myself. But before coming to that I intend to explore a central line of approach to the concept of humanism through sharply conflicting philosophical views on the topic in order to find out a philosophical context for his essentially creative vision.

Let us begin with T. E. Hulme, whose staunch opposition to the humanist creed was indirectly of much help to humanism defining itself more positively than ever before. Before Hulme, it could hardly be said to have existed independently. According to James Hastings, up to the first few years of the twentieth century humanism was thought to be no more than being the extension of pragmaticism. It was J. S. Mackenzie, however, who for the first time associated it with an interest in man as opposed to an interest in dogma and the supernatural.[2] The controversy sharpened with the rise of the Marxian philosophy whose profession of humanist creed was in fact based upon a dehumanised conception of man. Yet, once man was extricated from any need of the spiritual and the supernatural, the force of logic tended to veer towards Marxism. This, to my mind, is in the background of the reassertion of dogma and ritual by the Catholics, of whom Hulme was one. Hulme imbibed his Catholic dogmatic creed during the first two decades of the present century in Paris which was the centre of heated controversy at that time. He distrusted any compromise beteween humanism and religion, and stood for clear and sharp division of the two. He argued:

"that there is an absolute, and not a relative, difference between humanism (which we can take to be the highest expression of the vital), and the religious spirit. The divine is not life at its intensest. It contains in a

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way an almost **anti-vital** element.....The questions of Original Sin, of chastity, of the motives behind Buddism etc., all part of the very essence of the religious spirit, are quite incomprehensible for humanism".[3] The two things are not only "in reality separate",[4] but also absolutely incompatible.

"The Religious Attitude:.....In the light of absolute values, man himself is judged to be essentially limited and imperfect. He is endowed with original sin..... A man is essentially bad, he can only accomplish anything of value by discipline.....

"The Humanist Attitude.....life is the source of and measure of all values, and that man is fundamentally good."[5]

These two things are however mixed up by Romanticism, and consequently, the characteristics of both are blurred, and our understanding of life and art is confused. We mistake one for the other. "The whole subject has been confused", says Hulme, "by the failure to recognize the **gap** between the regions of vital and human things, and that of the **absolute** values of ethics and religion. We introduce into human things the perfection that properly belongs only to the divine, and thus confuse both human and divine things by not clearly separating them."[6]

Obviously, underlying Hulme's violent attack on humanism was his anxiety to define his enemy's position more clearly than his allies could do. Humanism which he denounced as being wholly "wrong" included, apart from the socialist humanism, the humanism implicit in all liberal faith in the progress of human beings towards higher perfections. The inadequacy of Hulme's theory of absolute separation, according to which man could not be thought capable of even apprehending the perfection of the divine, was somewhat modified later by other Catholic thinkers. More rigid was found to be his theory of **discontinuities.** M. Mahood, for instance, scoffs at the idea of the sudden break or gap between the religious and humanist epochs:

"Many...speak of the Renaissance as a kind of violent eruption; as if every European who, in 1452, unquestionably accepted the Ptolemic world picture as the limit to his observation and the decrees of the Catholic Church as a check to his metaphysical enquiry, had, by 1454, been transformed into a selfseeking individualist, ready to reject all Christian dogma for a Swinburne-like glorification of pagan thought and art."[7]

Hulme's violence is also visible in his denunciation of **Personality,** "a harmonius character" as "the bastard thing."[8] A host of questions arise from Hulme's negation of the "free-will," and rejection of things created by God which He found to be good. A harmonious character was by no means the Reaissance product; the human personality, in the Middle Ages, was still a 'personality' making choice, taking decisions, though all decisions and actions derived meaning from God. After the Renaissance, because the horizon of man's awareness was immeasurably widened, his understanding of man's relation to God also changed. The cleavage set in during the eighteenth century in England, with the limited conception of man being complete in himself. But the human personality is there in all ages—only changing its way of fulfilment according to the accepted findings of the thoughts and expediences, scientific and philosophical, of a certain age. To deny personality to man is to deny the story of Creation as narrated in the Bible.

Even in Hulme's concerted attack on humanism, there is a gap which points to a large middle region between the two absolutes. He divides the reality "into three regions.....The inorganic world, of mathematical and physical, (2) the organic world, dealt with biology, psychology and history, and (3) the world of ethical and religious values".[9] He tries to emphasize the absolute discontinuities between them by asking us to imagine a geometrical figure of two concentric circles. "The intermediate region of life is....essentially relative; it is dealt with by **loose** sciences like biology, psychology, and history. A muddy mixed zone then lies between two absolutes ...."[10] Having however created this relative zone, Hulme found it unmanageable for his purpose. In the very next paragraph he therefore says: "I am afraid I shall have to abandon this model, for to make it represent faithfully what I want, I shall have to add

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a further complication. He is face to face with a dilemma, and he saves himself only by evading it. It is quite likely, however, that Hulme's intermediary, relative, zone of life becomes in the hand of early T .S. Eliot the zone of "pure humanism," which though being tagged to religion, is supposed to act as a corrective to religion :

"Humanism", says Eliot, "is either an alternative to religion, or is ancillary to it.. Any religion, of course, is for ever in danger of petrification into mere ritual and habit.... It is only renewed and refreshed by an awakening of feeling and fresh devotion, or by the critical reason. The latter may be the part of the humanist."[11]

Later on, when Eliot accepts Catholicism, he would, for instance, in **The Idea of a Christian Society**, take nearly the same attitude as Hulme towards religion and humanism. But the early Eliot is not quite in agreement with him. For Hulme, order and institutions are absolutely necessary for man, whereas for Eliot they are hardly of any worth without their being able to evoke in the people inner, spontaneous, response to faith in religion. Even the early Eliot, by implication, prescribes outer control, the control of tradition, for instance, but unlike Hulme, he believes that without 'inner control' born of faith, the outer control designed by institutions and priests would be no more than the political lawe enforced with the policeman's help. In Eliot's argument thus the elements which are exclusively opposed in Hulme, come to acquire a delicate balance. He says :

"....the idea of religion is the **inner contact**—the appeal not to a man's behaviour but to his soul. If a religion can not touch a man's self, so that in the end he is controlling himself insted of being controlled by **priests** as he might be by policeman, then it has failed in its professed task."[12]

The phrase **"inner Control"** is significant, for it is there that both religion and humanism fulfil themselves in man. Eliot thus cuts through the absolute discontinuities, as advocated by Hulme, by conceiving of man as residing simultaneously in two worlds, natural and supernatural. A humanism which does not take cognizance of this "dualism of man" falsifies man's true nature. Those who cannot see man as inalienable from his supernatural elements view him finally as not more than an extremely clever, adaptable, and mischievous little animal."[13] Humanism, based upon this false image would ultimately result in its own defeat. The pure humanism is, on the contrary, based upon the true nature of man; man with his supernatural realities, the immense possibilities of his inner world, and his constant itch to rise above his own littleness. This kind of humanism is not incompatible with religion.

"There is no opposition" Eliot declares, "between the religious and the pure humanistic attitude ; they are necessary to each other."[14]

The essential difference, inspite of some apparent agreement, between Eliot and Irving Babbitt, should be clearly noticed. For Babbitt, the only philosophy of life valid for the modern world characterised by loss of faith in religion, is based upon humanism. He wishes to replace not faith but religion ; it should now be a higher object of man's faith : hitherto it has will of man.[15]

Babbitt pleads for the ideal self-sufficiency of human higher will, though in his analysis, higher will has been shown as rising and decaying with religion. Is the "higher will" capable of enlisting spontaneous human faith, of replacing the concept of God's grace, and thus of creating conditions for urging man to the ideal of universal perfection and humility ? Besides Babbitt rejects the concept of Original Sin and believes man is born with a lower self and a higher will : his freedom lies in the realisation and attainment of the latter. Thus he places a sort of supernatural element within man himself, by completely detacling him from the religious order. Putting too much burden on man, one would say : what is more, there is always the danger that the 'higher will' might decay into higher power and higher vanity as also religion, without humanism, might decay into merely formalised priestly rituals. Eliot's assimilation of the two, therefore appears to be more logical and convincing.

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Like Eliot, Maritain points out that any idea of humanism is dependent upon the kind of man's image we have in our mind; whether we hold or do not hold that there is in the nature of man something which breathes an air outside of time and a personality whose profoundest needs surpass the order of the universe."[16]

In other words, we must first be sure about the true nature of this piece of creature called man before deprecating or applauding humanism. And like Eliot he declares that, "in point of existence, we may say that man is at once a natural and a supernatural being."[17] Granting this simultaneity inherent in the nature of man's existence, he gives his definition of true humanism.

"Let us say that humanism..... essentially tends to render man more truly human and to make his original greatness manifest by causing him to participate in all that can enrich him in nature and in history (by 'concentrating the world in man', as Scheler has almost said, and by 'dilating man to the world'). It at once demands that man makes use of all the potentialities he holds within him, his creative powers and the life of the reason, and labour to make the powers of the physical world the instrument of his freedom."[18]

This definition is central to Maritain's approach to the whole problem of humanism. In all the key-phrases of the passage such as 'to render man more truly human' 'man use of all the potentialities' 'his creative powers', 'the life of reason', and 'to make the powers of the physical world the instrument of his freedom', there is no reference to God. Yet the phrases suggest a different kind of philosophy of humanism from what is put forward by the Marxists. But the controversies do crop up regarding the particular things, acts, and states of feeling or experience which would make man truly human and the physical world the instrument of his freedom. The various meanings and characteristics of the concept of freedom, again, are liable to be stretched along divergent lines.

"For this new epoch in the history of Christian culture the creature will neither be belittled nor annihilated before God; his rehabilitation will not be in contradistinction to God or wihout God, but in God. There is but one way of progress for the history of the world that the creature should be truly respected in his connection with God and **because** he is totally dependent on Him; humanism indeed, but a theocentric humanism, rooted in what is radical in man; integral humanism, the humanism of the Incarnation."[19]

In these lines we get an indication of a redefinition of the relation obtaining between man and God. The stress falls on the understanding of the deeply mysterious, and indispensable unity behind the idea of Incarnation: the Word made flesh out of God's love of man. It calls for the spiritual rennovation, at transformation of the whole being to be achieved by attaining the new understanding of love.

Love emerges as the core of Maritain's new integral humanism. He gives a new explanation of 'contempt of creatures' shown by the Christian saint, according to which "the more he despises creatures in degree to which they might be rivals of God or objects of a possible choice to the exclusion of God, the more he cherishes them as loved by God, and made by Him as fair and worthy of our love."[20] The contempt therefore is only love in disguise; he hates his own contempt, because everything potentially has the beauty of God's creation. In love—Maritain makes no such distintion as divine love and human love—contemptible things of the world become aglow with beauty, and in that very experience the God-man relation is revealed. As he says: "the transfiguration of things in a love which is higher than they, this standpoint taken as generalized, as become common, corresponds to that **rehabilitation of the creature in God** which I see as characterizing a new age of Christendom and a new humanism".[21]

It is here tthat I find the context for the kind of humanism implicit in the comedies of Christopher Fry. They are all comedies of love, and social and invidual manners; but it not the conventional, sentimental, love of Shakespeare's early comedies, or of Restoration comedies, or, again, of most

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of love-comedies of our own times. In fact, all these kinds of love : sentimental, conventional, lustful, etc., are ridiculed by the nature of true love. This is basically, fundamentally human love, and at the same time christian : one and both simultaneously. Maritain describes the whole thing in his characteristically clear manner :

"And it strikes me as highly relevant that the theme of human love.....in the deepest springs of its historical beginning, a Christian origin, should now rise up in a current of thought which under materialist influences, has long wished only to give it a secondary and sentimental value."[22]

In fact, Maritain's **True Humanism** provides so exact a philosophical commentary on Fry's treatment of love that one feels inclined to believe in its deep influence on the formation of Fry's vision of life. But the book was first published in 1938, though the lectures, which the book consists of, were delivered at the University of Santander in Spain in 1934. By 1938, Fry had already written **The Boy with a Cart,** a religious comedy, and his first play to be published, in which he accorded a highly personal treatment to the theme of Christian miracle. The influence of **True Humanism** on Fry is unlikely. But through a development of his artistic vision he comes to discover in love—true love, which deriving its mystery and significance from Incarnation, is both indistinguishably Christian as well as human—the same instrument of redemption and fulfilment in the modern world as does Jacques Maritain. This is a remarkable vision, when we think how insistently, since the seventeenth century, man has been falling apart from God in spite of his several desparate attempts to avoid it. The successful attempts so far have been all one-sided : they involved either the rejection of the world of flesh altogether or else the rejection of God ; and in the end they resulted in the death both of flesh and God. Attempts at compromise have been, in the main, abortive, because they have been unrealistic, unaware of the innate, eternal, unity of the two in the idea of Incarnation.

What is Christopher Fry's image of man ? and his idea of man's situation in this universe ? It is difficult to find in all his plays a single character who could be said to personify the dramatist's ideal man. He is, in fact, not concerned with either the ideal man or the worst man, but with man trying to grapple with evil and good, and death and life, in the course of his own existence. And since, this image of man is relevant to all the people of the entire civilized world, the playwright may be described as being concerned with the universal man.

Christopher Fry on the one hand presents a Christian view of man as being fundamentally imperfect in consequence of the Original Sin, which however is conceived of as a necessary concomittant of the flesh :

"Am I an inconvenience to you ?"—asks Jennet of her lover, Thomas Mendip, at the end of **"The Lady's Not for Burning,** and he replies :

"As inevitably as original sin. And I shall be loath to forgo one day of you....."

On the other hand, he is a humanist because the redemption from the Original Sin, according to him, is to be achieved not through Christian sacrifice, penance, affliction of the flesh, and suffering, but through deep realization of the very human emotion of love. For in its intesity and depth and purity, love happens to acquire its original Christian significance : love which urges the flesh to creation and makes for life even out of death. But in the pattern of Fry's comedies, no character, man or woman, makes love ; he or she discovers it all on a sudden. The moment of it can not be planned, or even foreseen. It is beyond man's manoeuvrings, dependent upon what may be called divine mercy.

It is important to remember this divine characteristic of human love in connection with an appreciation of Fry's comedies. As suggested before, this true love exposes the absurdity and evil of the pretended, vainglorious, sentimental, and sensual kinds of love. It would be worthwhile to examine Fry's treatment of the theme in his comedies.

In **A Phoenix Too Frequent,** Dynamene in the beginning of the play is in delusion. Her "Promising husband" is dead, and she is making preparations, along with Dorcas her maid, for travelling to the Hades. There is only one way that lead to Hades, and the

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is death. She is therefore fasting, and Doto fasts too to keep company her lady on the way to Hades. She only thinks conventionally she leved her betrothed lover; but her words betray the true nature of her spirit which had not yet known true love. She finds the whole creation meaningless, broken, out of joint.

Nothing however in the dialogue suggests that Dynamene is serious about her death. She is life-abundant, and ready with her spiritual awareness to recognize the value of living, and the insignificance of death. The sudden and fully discovery of it comes later, but the tendency is always there in her.

In Tegeus, she happens to discover the real love which the richness of her life craved for. He, too discovers his own "future" in the moment of his accidentally meeting her: "It was more than coming", he says. "I followed my future here." They both rediscover the meaning of life, love and death.

And when they finally find they are in love, their entire vision is transformed; they are, both of them not only reconciled to life and the world, but also eager for creating a world out of themselves. It will, by no means, be an immortal world; it will be still mortal, composed both of the flesh and spirit, yet blessed with the bliss comparable to that of the Gods:

It is well to remember here what Maritain has said about truly humanistic love which does not recognize so much the flesh as that which makes the flesh glow with radiance. In his words "The question is whether for this love to be the true love of man, we do not also need to love in man what in man vivifies man, Love itself and the spirit's gift of love."[23]

And it is in this sense that at the end of the play, when the situation is comically reversed, Dynamene tells Tegeus-Chromis:

"Chromis, love is the only discipline
'And we're the disciples of love"

In **The Lady's Not for Burning**, the pattern is complex. True love is opposed to various kinds of pretensions and evil. Vanity, delusions, lust, officialdom etc. The main situation in the plot is only a variation upon the one in **A Phoenix**.....Here Thomas Mendip exhorts the Mayor to award him capital punishment on grounds of his having committed murders which only he thought he did, or invented to make an excuse for his own death, because he had come to hate life, and the world. 'I've never seen a world so festering with damnation", he says. Like Dynamene and Tegeus before they had found love, Thomas Mendip in the beginning of the play, finds both human body as well as the world wholly meaningless.

But, on coming into Jennet's contact, and having been affected by the pure feelings of love, he begins to discover beauty and symmetry in the same universe which he found ugly before. The spiritual change, which has occurred in his heart, is suggested through the images and the rhythm:

"Jennet. What can you see
Out. there ?"
Thomas. Out here ? Out here is sky so gentle
Five stars are ventured on it. I can see
The sky's pale belly glowing and growing big,
Soon to deliver the moon. And I can see
A glittering smear, the quail trail of the sun
Where it crawled with its golden shell into the hills."

By the end of Act Two, when love has fully brought about his spiritual transfiguration, he wishes to live, and what is more remarkable, wishes to live usefully.

"We should be like stars now that it's dark:
Use ourselves up to the last bright dregs
And vanish in the morning."
And he who craved for death is yearning for living:
"And I'll live too, if it kills me."

The whole universe and the elements of Nature, now acquire a beauty he never saw before:

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"There it is,.....
And on the white pillows of men asleep:
The night's a pale pasteurland of peace
And something condones the world, incorrigibly."

Like Thomas Mendip, Jennet too is wholly transformed by discovering in Thomas a breeding-ground for love. She attains a meaning and a purpose for her existence which she lived only mechanically, in vain pursuits, before. She is shown as the true disciple of love in the play, for she knew no morality except the morality of love. Very skilfully Christopher Fry creates a situation in the play which inevitably brings to our mind the Isabella and Angelo scene in Shakespeare's **Measure for Measure.**

In our times, therefore, the only notion of chastity that holds good is the sanctity of love. Jennet, in the play, decides to remain chaste against the official pressure from Humphrey, because she feels mysteriously urged to remain so for the sake of her love. The whole situation is interesting. Jennet has no idea of religion, therefore she is not "Mesmerized by some snake of chastity;" Yet she values chastity, because, she says:

"I am interested
In my feelings. I seem to wish to have some importance
In the play of time. If not,
Then sad was my mother's pain,.....
What is deep, as love is deep, I'll have
Deeply. What is good, as love is good,
I'll have well. Then if time and space
Have any purpose, I shall belong to it."

Here is, then, a notion of chastity which is as vital and reliable as the idea of religious chastity: it should serve as a reply to Hulme's stand that humanism cannot understand the significance and value of chastity Jennet's choice to remain chaste is basically humanistic: because it would enable her to share in the activities of the world more effectively, and more fruitfully: she does not have any idea of getting her salvation reserved in the other world. Remaining chaste, in her case, therefore means no sacrifice at all: it is the very consummation of love and joy of life.

In his next play, **Venus Observed**, Fry explores the nature of love in a different setting from that of the previous two comedies. It is our modern world with trivialized idea of love, or love being limited only to flesh and body, that is the sensual, unfeeling kind of love. The Duke of Altair is the victim of this lust. It is, however, dangerous to sum up the Duke's character in a few words: he is a highly complex, and very dramatic figure. He has grown up to his middle-age without ever having experienced what we have designated as "true love", he has had women but none spiritually vital enough to reveal to him the truth and sanctity of love.

In the previous two playes, love's consummation includes in renunciation. The Duke finds true love in and through Perpetua, and later on she confesses no love for the Duke. But by the time of her confession, the Duke's vision of life has already been transformed to accept joyfully the limitations of human life imposed on it by time, space, and flesh. Acceptance of the limitations gladly is in itself an act of Christian humility. No doubt it is through Perpetua that love is born in him; but now that he has been, in course of experiencing it, reborn into it, her body or flesh does not at all matter. What matters is the spirit that keeps the flesh glowing; and once the Duke has recognized this spirit behind the flesh, he comes to discover the universality of it. He discovers the essentially Christian morality through essentially human experiences:

In his next play, which is his last comedy, **The Dare Is Light Enough** humanism, indeed, is the all-pervasive theme.

In the centre of the play is the character of the Countess. She is endowed with the deepest understanding of human life, all sorts of human life, including the lowly and sinning. Behind all degradations and deprivations she is always conscious of the priceless worth of life, and its immense possibilities, which could be stirred to realization only through love

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Richard Gettner is a man terribly afraid both of living and dying, a hopeelessly worthless fellow.

For the Countess, however, it is enough that he is a human being and ignoring the opinion of her friends, gives him shelter in her house inviting troubles to herself, and her conventional Thursday-evening friends. This opposition, incidentally, lends great force to the drama, as also it throws the humanism of the Countess into sharp relief. She dedicates her life to the shaping of Richard Gettner's life through love which is never demonstrated or directed to him. The Countess's love, it will be seen, reaches the highest point in the playwright's developing concept of it. The Duke, in "Venus . . . ." married, and accepted the life of the flesh. In this play, after the death of her husband, the countess did not marry again, and discovered the fulfilment of her life in its dedication to the love of her son, friends and ultimately all human beings : friends or foes, high or low. She is the personification of compassion, which is Christian because it is purely humanistic. She gives shelter not to Gettner alone, but Colonel Janik too when he comes begging of it. Ultimately both come to see the reality and truth of the world, and accept to face it. Gelda is reconciled to Peter, and all her three friends, Belman Jakob, and Kassel come to see the truth beeond their conventional convictions.

There are two peculiar things which particularly merit our attention in the play. First the non-interfering divinity of the Countess ; and second her death at the end. Any adequate estimate of these peculiarities of this play would make another full-length essay. But I mention them here because they suggest Fry's deepest idea of humanism. The Countess is non-interfering because she believes in the absolute freedom of the human individual, and in the individual responsibility of making one's own choice. She respects all kinds of choiee made by human beings, but does not judge them. In the play she makes no decisions for the characters round her : but she provides the glow in which the charaeters are inspired to take their decisions. She loves all of them. What she hates though her hatred is never displayed in the drama—are the things we all hate : hatred, tyranny, war, and in an individual, his or her incapacity to take decisions, and aceept the responsibility of living.

It is tempting to go into deeper analyses of this richest of Fry's comedies—richest, that is, if one is acquainted with his previous plays. But I shall only point out in a few words the significance of the death of the Countess in the final scene from the point of view of humanism, and then proceed to indicate the 'humanistic theology' of Christopher Fry.

Love in, and of, life inevitably leads to an effort to find out a significance in death. The significance is not sought in anything beyond death, but death as being the culmination and not an extincttion of living. The death of the Countess, in the play, is the culmination of her living ; her life realises its fulfilment in her death. The main conflict of the play lies between the countess and Gettner ; it is humanism on trial : her divinity is put to test : She is dedicated to transform (though she never declares, nor does demonstrate, it) the most worthless fellow. And to the end of the play, Gettner remains nearly unchanged, a man with no faith. The final scene, therefore, is very exciting : one feels pitched onto the verge of curiosity as to the 'fate' (if we may use the word) of Richard Gettner. He is, it seems, affected gradually by the Countess's philosophy of love but something sudden is needed to jolt him out of his inhibitions. This is provided by the quiet, reposeful, happy everlasting sleep of the Countess. The impact is sudden and severe like divine revelation, and Gettner is reborn into a man of full stature, responsible enough to face the world, and live his life. The door that he asks Bella in the last line of the play to open is not simply the door of the house : the door opens to an entirely new life. Thus in her death the Countess defeats the evil : in her death triumphs the spirit of humanism : a soul that was lost is found again :

In Christopher Fry, firstly there is no reference to Christian dogma or belief : the belief is born out of the trumph of human

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emotions, their intensity and depth. Secondly, the idea of the immortality of soul does not occur in any of his plays: but there is evidently a belief in the eternity of life which death can not destroy. Individuals will surely die, but if only their lives had been illumined by love, out of their death would flow unceasing and powerful forces of purposeful life. It is in this sense that death is defeated: in love life is reborn and recreated—not the life of one individual or two, but of all those who come into contact with the loving spirit. Such is the death of the Countess in "The Dark is Light Enough."

There is another implication of love in Fry's plays. We find in them a striking similarity between the two descriptions of the happening of human love and the striking of human soul by divine grace. The divine occurrence, too, is described in the same words implying suddenness of the revelation, and a helpless feeling of compulsion to accept it.

How is this dilemma resolved in Fry's Plays? It is resolved in the divine mystery of love. It is love alone which transforms the "body's hell" into "body's heaven" as it were, and transforms the ugly, rotting, broken, meaningless, universe into a beautiful and purposive universe. The creation then does not only cease to be cursed, but is made to associate with love, and becomes, indeed, the fulfilment of love's meaning.

The creation of the universe now turns into a meaningful proposition: the sun, the stars, the moon, the hills, the landscape—all become resplendent with gleming lustre. What is, above all, the individual, feeds in complete harmony with the universal Nature. Love reveals to him the purpose of his existence in God's universe, and unites him in happiness and joy both to the world of men and women, and the world of Nature.

This is, it will have been noticed, a kind of image of creation—creation in its beauty, with which man finds himself in absolute harmony. It should not now be difficult to see that the image of meaningful creation and the beautiful universe recalls the pre-fall world while the image of a purposeless creation, and the ugly universe at complete discord with man, recalls the post fall world.

In such a world man inevitably became lonely. It is in this sense that the element of loneliness in Fry's plays has to be understood: it is not psychical, or sociological: it is spiritual.

But the true love restores not only the relation with other human beings, but also reveals a harmonious relation between the individual and the universe. The curses of fall are turned into blessing through submission to the new discipline of love. The individual no longer feels lonely since the whole universe, he finds now, exists for him. The pattern is repeated in all his comedies.

Once this state of understanding through love is attained, it becomes possible to feel like the Duke. "You think more of sin than the sinner," like the Countess: "In our plain defects we already know the brotherhood of man" like the later Richard Gettner:

"So long as the punishment falls
It is inconsequential where . . . ."

because, then, the underlying one-ness of God's creation—man in complete conformity with Nature—becomes clear and evident as one's own hand.

M. M. Mahood, in his **"Poetry and Humanism"**: points out that the chief accomplishment of the seventeenth century humanist poet was the reintegration between the mediaeval Thomist theology and the Renaissance revival of the glory of man. But, it is remarkable that the re-integration during the Renaissance and after is achieved only rarely, and then only through highly romanticized imagination. Secondly the dichotomy between the Mediaeval spirit and the Renaissance faith is never eliminated "Man's chief end is to glorify God and to enjoy him for ever." "That is the conviction," says Mahood, "which underlies all the devotional writings of the seventeenth century. It deflects the most melancholy poets from despair with man's shortcomings to the hope of his high calling: it reorientates and refines the pride of the most optimistic to a humanism which gives man a greater end than his own glory."[26] In this summing up, as is clear, man is not yet free

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from the task of the glorification of God. And in the seventeenth century how was man to glorify God if not by observing religious rites, however liberal they might be? In other words the dichotomy in beliefs which caused the dissociation of sensibility still prevailed in those humanistic poets, and went on widening through subsequent years and centuries. The new humanism based on Protagoras's dictum "Man is the measure of all things" was taken over by politics and economics, and thrown at an alarming distance from the religious thought. The distance was so great that any attempt at reintegration in the seventeenth century manner would have been ridiculous. Meanwhile the explorations of the expanding universe revealed unknown mysteries, and the investigations of the human mind revealed an inherent unity of certain deep human experiences, the experience of love being typical of them. To a secular man and woman, the deep experience of love was found to reveal the same transcendental power and capacity as religious grace and faith in the days of yore. Thus, in the plays of Fry the theme of love becomes the only true source of the new, living, practical humanism, not as a philosophical concept, but as a living experience. There is a Paradise in all souls waiting to be realised by each one of them. This is the end man and woman must live for: and this is the end which is most elevating, ennobling, creative and therefore most humanistic. And the end does not regard God as apart from itself: it envisages, in fact, the Pre-Fall relation between Adam and God when the human being was indistinguishable from the Divine. It is that humanism, simple and pure, personal as well as universal, which Christopher Fry evokes through his poetic plays. And, since anthorpocentric or a theistic humanism has led to the enslavement of man himself, and the Christian humanism of Hulme and later Eliot failed to carry the conviction of the people fed on Einstein, Freud, and Jung. It seems to me that the only possible humanism for the mid-twentieth century world of ours is the one based upon, and growing out of, human love. And of this human love which transcends into the divine by yet remaining deeply, purely, human, Christopher Fry is a great exponent. For after all, God created man in His own image, and He created Adam and Eve in the form of flesh. "And saw everything that he had made, and beheld, it was very good."

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"MANAGEMENT FOR INDUSTRIES"

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MANAGEMENT is the core of an enterprise. It is its lifeblood as the failure or success of a concern solely rests on it. Efficient functioning is the result of good management while the deplorable state of an organisation is both the cause and effect of bad management.

MANAGEMENT PERSPECTIVE

Today is the age of science and technology. With their blessings, there is rapid economic and industrial development taking place all the world over. Highly advanced countries of the West are becoming more and more modern and advanced, underdeveloped countries becoming developed and backward ones coming forward. What was small a organisation a few decades back has today turned into medium, medium into large and large into scientific and mechanised units with modern techniques and methods of operation and process of producing goods. This process of industrial development has brought about a number of complexities and problems in modern business and industrial organisations. The important ones are the application of scientific approach and technological innovations to production, distribution, administration and management, research and development, psycho-analysis and experiments, training of artisans, placement of labour, human relations, labour disputes and the problem of procuring finance for re-equipment and replacement of plant and machinery, resources for working capital, increasing costs of doing business and increasingly keen competition and so on. These cannot be tackled and handled by ordinary men, but by able and competent managers with good management set-up and enviornment.

MANAGEMENT IN INDIA

'Management' is still in its infancy in the Indian industrial structure, the main reason being her relative backwardness in the field of industrial and business organisations till recently. But, in the wake of our national independence, there has been a tremendous revolution and upsurge of industrial activities in the country for building up of a self-generating and self-sustaining economy. Our achievements are quite impressive, despite many failures and shortcomings. The country has witnessed during the last one and a half decades the birth of hundreds of public and private sector commercial and industrial organisations, undertakings and corporations and millions and millions of such corporations and companies would come up and go into production in the foreseeable future. The task envisaged is, therefore, gigantic and cataclysmic. To meet this challenge, our industrial structure would require better and sound management and an ever-increasing supply of brain power and muscles—personnel working as a team that can tackle immediate problems and anticipate future needs.

WHAT IS MANAGEMENT?

'Management' is a social process entailing responsibility for effective and efficient planning and regulation of the operation of an enterprise in fulfilment of a given purpose or objective with the best use of human and material resources, energy and time. To quote Gantt, 'Management is that thing which causes people to co-ordinate with the other for the good of the whole.' Management functions practically in every phase of organised human activity—whether it is the home, farm, school, shop, factory or any other organisation. It is a complex task. It is said that management is what management does. The development of scientific management has brought about a reorientation in our entire outlook as regards modern industrial organisations, for it aims at a scientific approach to all internal problems of an industry by applying most rational methods and techniques with the general object of increasing the output and efficiency of the industry as a whole.

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Basic Principles of Management

In order that the management of an organisation is sound, healthy and competent, it should generally observe certain basic principles of scientific management to attain its goal of higher efficiency and optimum productivity. Although no hard and fast criteria can be set out, the following basic principles are worth a good deal of careful thought:

1. *Sectionalisation*—An organisation should be suitably divided and sub-divided into several sections and departments according to the requirements of an enterprise, each dealing with a particular function and organised on the basis of functional control and principles of division of work. This leads to specialisation and efficiency of an organisation.

2. *Delegation*—There should be clean instructions, orders and directives of the management to all concerned and proper delegation of authority and power should be vested in the sectional and departmental heads. This will generate initiative and ensure quicker disposal of the problems and is, therefore, basic to a competent administration.

3. *Responsibility*—Responsibility is the corollary of authority. An organisation is perfect when there is a smooth flow of authority downward and a regular flow of responsibility upward. In other words, there must be a definite line of authority and chain of command. Each subordinate should be responsible to his boss. He is answerable to him for his task and accountable to him for his performance. Moreover, each employee should have one immediate boss only.

4. *Discipline*—Discipline is the code of management. There should be praise for good work and punishment for negligence, disobedience, insubordination and breach of discipline. It calls for constant vigilance and strict supervision at all levels, clear and fair agreements and judicious application of penalties. Sufficient checks and counter-checks and controls at various points should be instituted so that the work done by an employee is automatically checked by one or more other employees of one or more other sections and departments.

5. *Objective*—A good and perfect organisation must have a clearly defined objective in view and is concerned with answers to the five broad questions—what shall be done, how shall it be done, who shall do it, where to do it and when shall it be done? A sound management may secure good results out of a poor organisation, whereas a bad management cannot show good results out of a good organisation.

6. *Communication*—It is a two-way traffic and must be quick and easy. The free flow of communication up and down the line of authority is a vital necessity for good human relations and morals as well as for production efficiency. Good communication down the line builds unity in the organisation and up the line helps the administration to frame policies and practices.

7. *Decision*—Decision-making is the basis of sound management. Speed and accuracy are the key-notes of management-decision. A problem should not be kept hanging fire, but solved immediately by a responsible manager, who must give his rational judgement and correct decision on the problem.

8. *Unity of direction*—Each group of activities having common objectives, must have only one head and one plan for direction and execution.

9. *Periodic meetings*—Meetings and discussions amongst the various sectional heads should be arranged at regular intervals for a check up and review of the workings and for exchange of views, opinions, facts and figures. It will create a spirit of healthy working atmosphere, co-operation and better understanding amongst the officials.

10. *Equity of treatment*—Fair deal, proper justice, reasonable consideration, kindly manner and equity of treatment to the subordinates, are the essence of modern management. They would build up their pride in their work and self-respect and would elicit loyalty and conscientious devotion to their work.

11. *Right men for the right jobs*—One of the basic principles of modern scientific management is the hiring of the right type of men for the right jobs with fair remuneration and proper incentives. This affords maximum satisfaction to both the employers and the employees.

12. *Stability*—Instability in the tenure of employment of personnel is the effect of bad management. Unnecessary labour turnover is definitely costly to the management and should be avoided at any rate.

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Management Functions

An efficient management must be concerned primarily with the following important managerial functions :

1. *Planning*—It is the logical forecasting of future problems and events, selecting from among the alternatives the courses of action to handle the problems and events foreseen. Practically, it is thinking ahead and determining the broad lines, preparing the appropriate methods for effective action and laying down the general plans, programmes and policies.

2. *Organising*—It is getting ready to do what has been planned. It consists of getting together, when needed, all the resources required to accomplish the plans already framed by the planners. It calls for the determination and enumeration of the activities required to achieve the enterprise purposes and objectives, the grouping of these activities and assigning them to subordinates with proper delegation of authority and power for purposes of implementation.

3. *Motivating*—It is convincing subordinates to do what they have been assigned or directed to do. It is one of the major tasks of the management. It has to get the work done through a group of people so as to be in keeping with managerial planning and organising efforts.

4. *Controlling*—It is to decide as to what degree the plans have been achieved and to take appropriate action and corrective measures when they have not. In other words, it is in the nature of follow-up to the other fundamental functions of management to ensure that what is intended to be accomplished is accomplished as envisaged in the schedules and targets.

5. *Co-ordinating*—The essence of management is the achievement of co-operation among the employees and co-ordination among their activities. The various efforts of an organisation should be unified and maintained in their correct inter-relationships so as to fulfil the objectives set by the organisation.

6. *Directing*—It is the training of subordinates in the general way to do their jobs and commanding them to carry out some specific tasks involved in their jobs at particular times.

Management Process

Management is a process by itself. Its functions are designed and directed for practice to the different processes of management, viz :

Men—Personnel Management, which is concerned with the hiring, firing, remunerating, training, placing and maintaining cordial labour-management relations.

Money—Financial Management to deal with financial planning and control, cost structure, cost analysis and cost control, accounting and profitability of a concern.

Market—Marketing Management to handle the sales, product policy, price policy, market research, advertisement and publicity.

Material—Material Management to tackle the problems of purchase, receipt, storage and issue of materials, stores and equipment and inventory control.

Minute—Office Management involving office routine, secretarial practice, information, administration and public relations.

Method—Method is generally connected with the Production Management for production planning and control and different techniques, systems and methods connected therewith including work study practices.

Conclusion

In fine, it goes without saying that the best sign of good management is the steady and methodical training of all employees and placing them for the right work. This will undoubtedly create the atmosphere conducive to the production of quality goods, increased efficiency and higher productivity and at the same time producing the goods at the lowest possible competitive cost, so as to attain an optimum return on investment, i.e., an adequate profit margin on sales in relation to an acceptable rate of return on capital employed with a continuance of healthy financial state, steady and stable growth of the organisation and better labour-management relations in an ever-changing economic and industrial environment.

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In view of the present perspective of industrial development in India, better management is a must for all types of units—be it small, medium or large. Earlier it is practised the better. In the context of this imperative necessity, there is now much talk on management here and there—both in Government circles and in the commercial and business world. A number of specialised management institutions are being set up in the country, managers are being trained and oriented in management education and quite a good number of seminars and symposia on management philosophy are being held. This will continue in increasing proportions as we go along and go ahead with the rapid progress of industrialisation.

NEW TRENDS IN AMERICAN FINANCIAL SITUATION

By KAMAL ROHTAGI

AMERICAN economy is getting away from classical or even observed cyclical patterns in many respects. Text book models of American economic behaviour in an upswing are no more valid and perhaps after this cycle new and more thorough studies would be needed to find out the new equilibria of growth and stabilisation dynamics of the American economy.

American finance are no exception to this rule. Money and credit conditions have radically changed in the current economic upswing and do not reflect the trends observed hitherto since the last war during all other upswings of business cycles. These new trends may mean several new problems for the internal American corrections and may also pressurise American balance of payments problems because of the excess liquidity in the U.S. banking and financial system, lowering of interest rates (or their standstill) as compared to their conditions during the downswing periods, and consequent pressures in seeking more profitable investments in securities *outside* U.S.A., which means that the *outflow of capital movements from U.S.A. is about to be stepped up*, leaving a larger gap of negative balances to be filled.

It is to this end that we wish to see a little more clearly where the interest rates in the internal U.S. market are going and what are the new factors in banking developments, other financial institutions, retirement or increase in treasury debts, finance for mortgages, finance for corporations, municipal and local bodies, and consumer credits. We must know these internal developments of the American markets to find out its true external position, not only now but in months and years to come.

We had been accustomed to sharp rises of interest rates during all upswings of the business cycle in America hitherto, but the current upswing has proved an exception. At the end of September, 1963, *yields on most long-term securities were actually lower than at the trough of the recession in February, 1961*. The only exceptions to this had been long-term U.S. Government bonds, and even in this case the increase since the trough has been quite small; 1/5 of one per cent.

In general the trend of interest rates during 1963 has been upward but very slow and moderate. Actually yields on high grade issues tended to rise while yields on lower quality securities tended to remain about unchanged or declined slightly. Also, yields on mortgages declined, but the decline temporarily ended in April, 1963, and after that yields on FHA's in the secondary markets and on conventionals remained stable though a new weakening has been noticed from early November, 1963. In relation to their generally sluggish movement, the decline, however, from December, 1962 through April, 1963, was fairly substantial.

The trend towards narrower yield spreads between mortgages and bonds and between low and high yield bond issues, has been under way since roughly the peak of the business cycle in May, 1960. Such movements were common during

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the latter parts of the recession phases. This probably results primarily from the spilling over of the large volume of loanable funds which are available at such times into greater-than-usual demmand for lower quality issues.

The rather unusual extension of the trend towards narrower yield spreads in the current upswing in business activity is probably due to the easier posture of monetary policy at this stage of the cycle and to the cost squeeze which has induced financial institutions to seek high-yeild investments. But are there any more permanent factors, which may also operate even in future in such upswings? One just wonders.

Now take banking developments. Bank credit, seasonally adjusted, at all commercial banks, increased at an annual rate of 10 per cent in the first nine months of 1963, compared with approximately 3 per cent in comparable periods of two previous cyclical upswings and 9 per cent over the whole of last year. Most of this increase occurred in loans and investments other than those of U.S. Governments. In the loan categories, real estate and consumer loans each rose at an annual rate of about 12 per cent or roughly the same as in the first nine months of the last year. Business loans, however, increased at an annual rate of *only* 5 per cent in the first half of 1963, which was only half as fast as that of the first six months of 1962. This is rather ominous.

Monetary expansion has already continued longer than in the two previous stretches of cyclical advance. In the first nine months of 1963, the seasonally adjusted money supply increased at an annual rate of 2.5 per cent, much fatster than the first nine months of 1962, when the money supply did not rise at all.

In contrast to developments at comparable stages of previous business cycles, time and savings deposits, seasonally adjusted, also continued to expand rapidly in the first nine months of 1963. They increased at an annual rate of 14 per cent compared with an increase of 18 per cent over the whole of 1962. Larger deposits generally mean lower consumption, over which the real strength of an upswing depends. Thus, larger time and savings deposits in an upswing could only mean that (a) it is a comparatively smaller upswing and (b) it may be short-lived, as compared to previous upswings. This is not a happy prospect at all, either for us (exporters to U.S.A.) or for the people of the U.S.A. (because the opposite of upswing is downswing).

The trends in other financial institutions (other than banks) were almost similar to banking trends. Savings flows into savings and loan associations and mutual savings banks continued at the rapid pace during the first nine months of 1963. The absolute increase in savings at these institutions was greater than in comparable periods of recent years.

Over the post-war period, the inflow of share capital at savings and loan associations has tended to increase at a fairly constant annual percentage rate *regardless of the phase of the business cycle*, while deposits at mutual savings banks like time deposits at commercial banks, have tended to increase faster in periods of recession than in periods of economic expansion.

In the first nine months of 1963, savings shares at savings and loan associations, increased at an annual rate of 15 per cent, roughly in line with the increases in the first nine months of other recent years, but well above the increase last year (1962). Deposits at mutual savings banks grew at an annual rate of 7.7 per cent, slightly faster than the rate of increase in the same period of 1962. Both institutions invested a record volume of funds in mortgages.

Assets of life insurance companies rose at the annual rate of 5.3 per cent in the first nine months of 1963, substantially faster than the first nine months of 1962, when declining stock prices reduced the value of stock portfolios, but about the same as the rate for 1962 as a whole. Mortgage investments of American insurance companies were the largest since the first nine months of 1955 and 1956, two years of rather good economic weather in U.S.A.

Seeing all this the Treasury tried to help the situation. In the first half of the calendar year the U.S. Treasury normally supplies funds to the market by retiring a small portion of the marketable debts. During the first six months of 1963, however, the Treasury neither increased nor retired debt on a net basis as attrition and repayments totalling $6.8 billion were exactly matched by $6.8 billion of cash borrowing. In contrast, the Treasury redeemed net $400 million of marketable debt in the same period of 1962 and $2 billion in the first half of 1961.

Net debt redemption in the first half of

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year usually contributes to the seasonal decline in interest rates which tends to take place in that period. The absence of net debt redemption was one factor contributing to the general increase in market yields, which occurred in the first six months of the year on a selective basis.

One of the main beneficiaries of the increased liquidity of banks and other financial institutions had been the motgagees. Interest rates and fees which borrowers have to pay declined as lenders have competed for existing supply of mortgages. From January to April, 1963, yields on FHA new home mortgages in the secondary market declined from 5.52 to 5.44 per cent, while interest rates on conventional loans to finance new houses declined from 5:95 per cent to 5.80 per cent. Since then no further decline has registered in these series.

The trend towards lower rates and easier terms has been under way now for approximately [illegible] years and has probably been an important factor in the continuing strength of the construction industry. Total mortagage debt outstanding increased by $12.5 billion in the first half of 1963 compared with an increase of $11.2 billion in the same period of 1962 and $8.2 billion in the same period of 1961.

What has been the condition of the corporate and municipal finance in the last nine months? During this period the State and local governments raised new capital in substantially the same amounts as the first nine months of other recent years. New borrowing by corporations totalled almost $5.2 billion, virtually the same as in the same period of 1962 but about $1.3 billion less than in the same period in 1961. This is ominous. It can only mean that the present upswing is of lower magnitude than even that of 1961.

Of course larger tax exemptions and rebates for machinery replacements may also have contributed to net lower borrowing by corporations. But this trend needs to be watched. This is nothing to be feared as such. (In Western Europe self-financing by large corporations is a normality, but not so in U.S.A. and U.K. Are the Americans also adopting European financing methods?).

Although aggregate corporate borrowing in 1963 has been approximately the same as in 1962, the distribution by type of borrower has differed significantly. Manufacturing industries borrowed somewhat less than in 1962 (which was comparatively a recession year) while other industries, which include extractive industries, transporation, real estate, financial and commercial enterprises, borrowed substantially more; and public utility and communications industries borrowed substantially less.

The credit for manufacturing industries needs to be watched carefully, together with the fact that several large manufacturing organisations are moving part of their manufacturing activities abroad (mostly in Western Europe). A general decline in U.S.A. in the manufacturing activities could hit that country and also the world trade in several directions, financial ones included, and may even hasten the devaluation of the U.S. dollar, which has come again under severe pressure.

In the field of consumer credit also one finds certain trends that are not very healthy, at least these are unknown in their total ramifications, which have not been unearthed as yet.

In the first nine months of this year, consumer credit, seasonally adjusted, rose at an annual rate of about $5.8 billion, about the same as the yearly increase last year but $600 million less than the record increases in the years 1955 and 1959. Most of the rise this year has been due to the $2.8 billion (annual rate) growth in automobile instalment credit outstanding, an increase exceeded only by the phenomenal increase of $3.7 billion in 1955. Other types of instalment credit grew at about the same rate as last year, while non-instalment credit grew much slower than in the other recent years.

The ratio of repayments of instalment credit to disposable income has long been regarded as a good measure of the burden of the consumer debt. Since about 1955 the ratio has fluctuated around 13 per cent but recently has risen to a new record of 13.6 per cent. Also, the ratio of total consumer debt to disposable income has continued to edge up, and there is some evidence that certain consumer loans are not being classified as consumer credit. Some home-owners, who have substantial equity in their homes are refinancing their mortgage indebtedness to raise money for non-housing purposes. In view of these developments, the burden of consumer debt may be somewhat greater than the ratio of repayments to disposable income suggests.

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Thus, in a nutshell one may say that the supply of credit continued to be readily available in 1963 (first nine months). The money supply expanded at a moderate rate and savings continued to flow into commercial banks and financial intermediaries at record or near-record rates.

Since corporate, State and local demand for credit remained approximately unchanged from year-earlier levels, the increased inflow of funds was directed primarily into the financing of real estate and consumer durables, principally automobiles. In response to the cross-currents and demand and supply, yields on short-term securities and high-quality long-term issues rose moderately, while yields on mortgages declined and yields on lower quality bonds either declind or remained approximately unchanked.

It is these trends that show *the further increase in the liquidity of commercial banks and financial institutions of the U.S.A. would mean search for larger outlets or outflow of larger long-term capital from U.S.A.* This could benefit the under-developed countries, if the outflow could be made to move in our direction, but chances are that these would move towards Western Europe and towards some selected investments in extractive industries overseas.

Whichever way these funds flow (as the higher-yielding investment opportunities are diminishing at home) the U.S. balance-of-payments would be further pressurised and the U.S. Government might be forced to resort to the control of capital movements, which may start the movement of a growing lack of confidence in the dollar and then perhaps its devaluation. But before that happens, these new trends in the American financial situation would need to be watched with care and caution and may be that we would have to wait till the next business cycle, which may come in the trough next year (1964) and in the upswing in the latter part of 1965.

Thus, the devaluation of the American dollar may not take place till 1965, but if present trends are confirmed and the financial situation of larger internal liquidity, smaller consumer demands and larger balance-of-poyments deficits remain or increase, then the devaluation of the U.S. dollar may become a strong possibility. This international danger has to be understood in its full ramifications and there are ample signs pointing to that direction.

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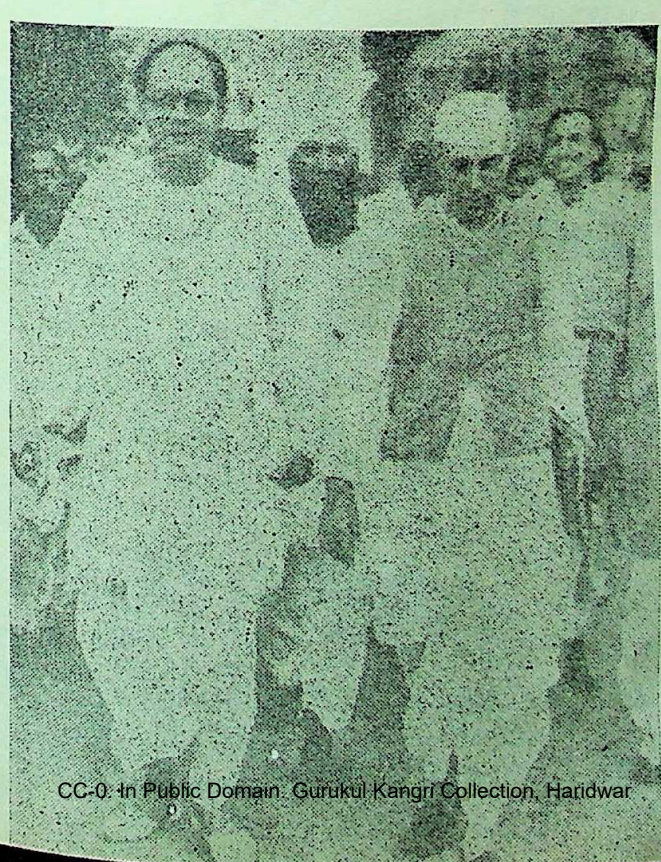
Mother and Son

With wife Kamala and daughter In



With Netaji Subhas

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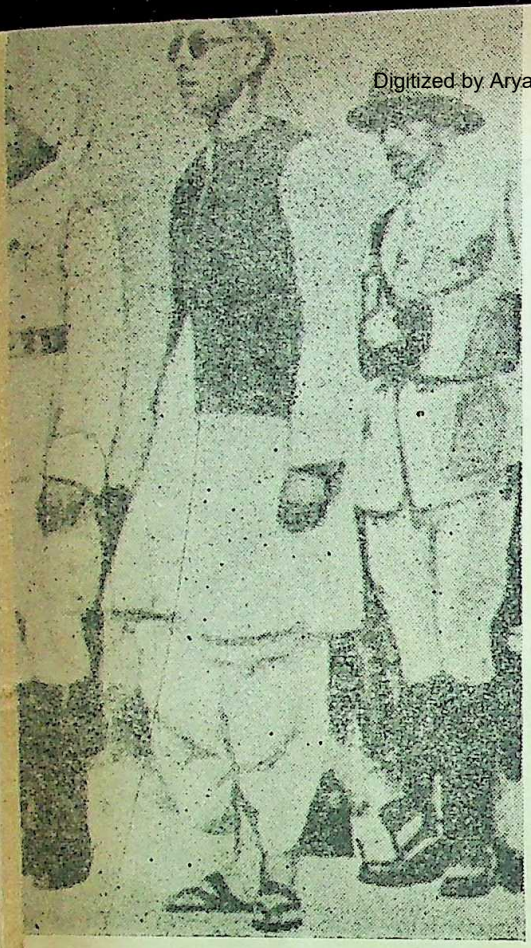
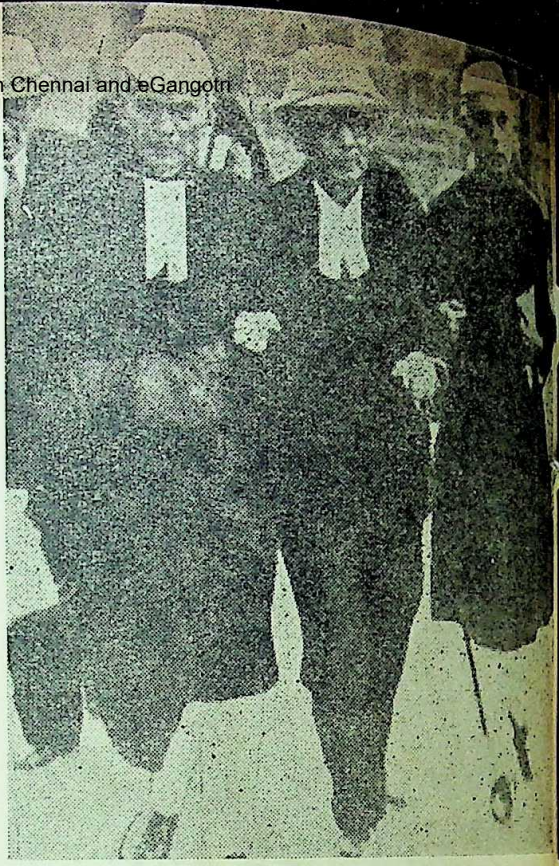


First Incarceration



On way to defend INA accused

With the poet in Santiniketan

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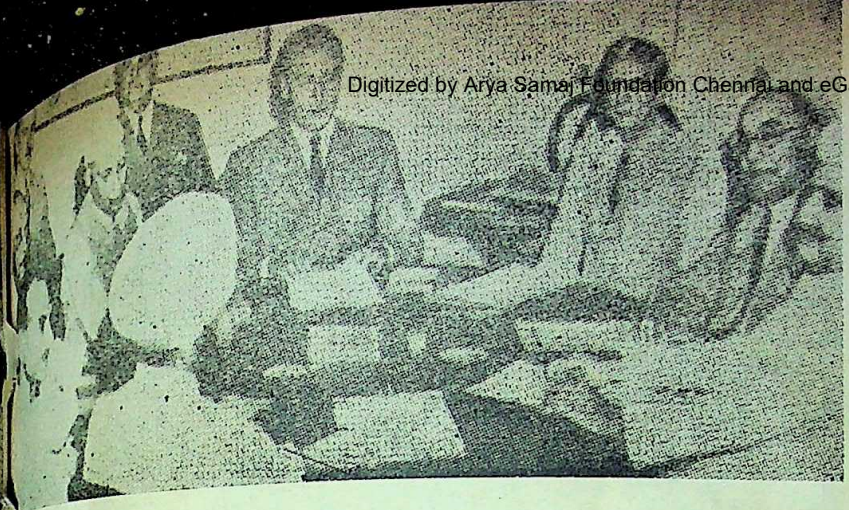
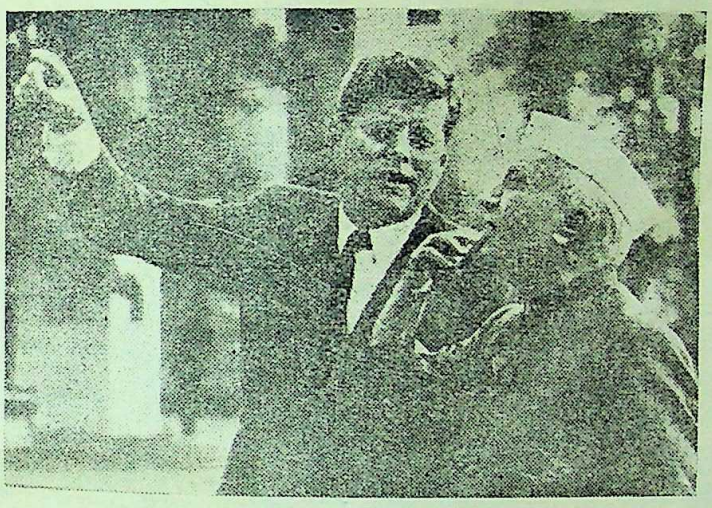


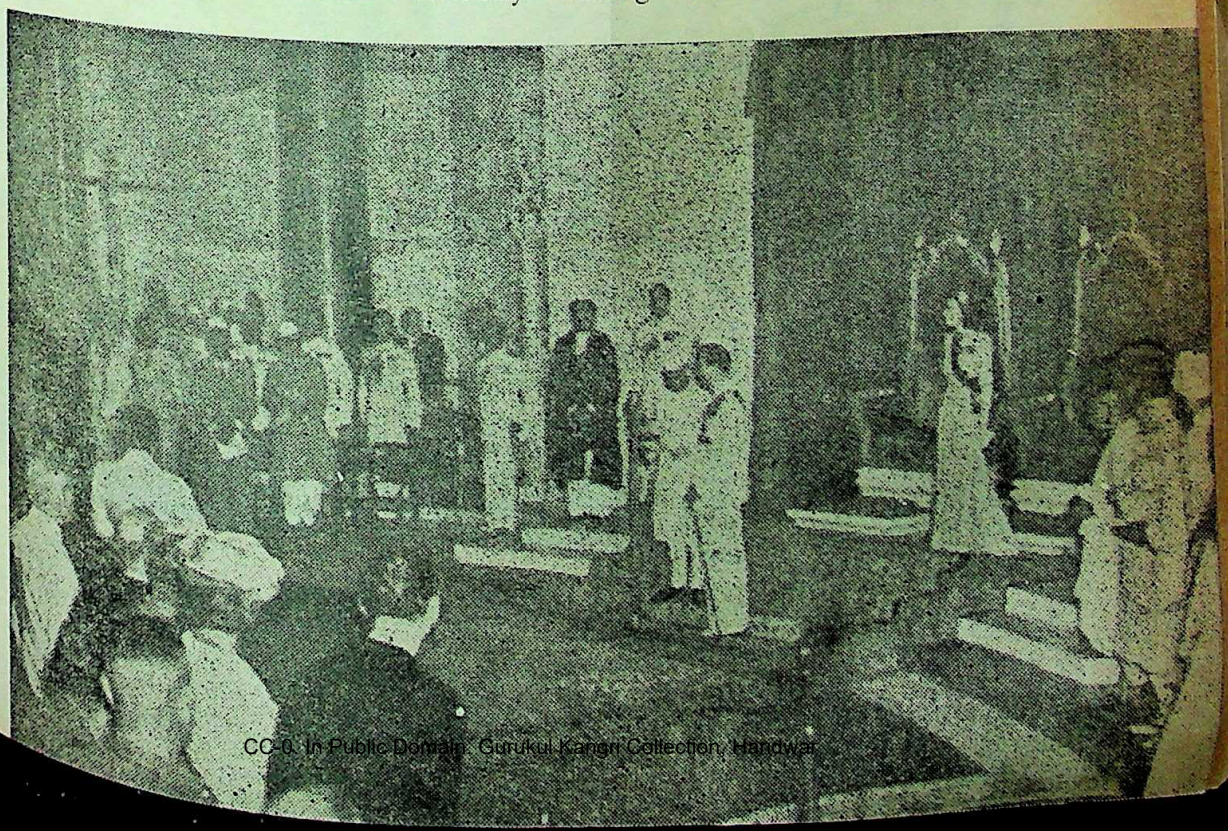
...ussing the Mountbatten Plan—Jinnah, last but one on the right



Two Great Wo
Leaders :

With Martyred U.S
President Kennedy

The Historic Ceremony—Taking over from the British



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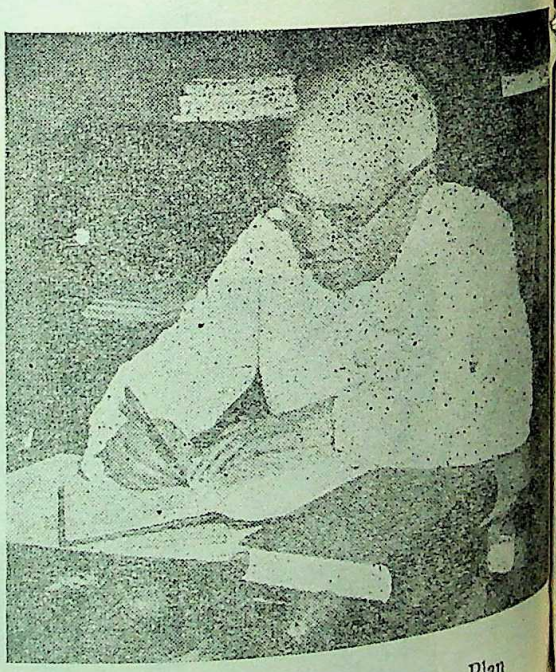
Signing the Constitution of India



Signing the Second Five Year Plan

Fostering Indo-Soviet Friendship :
With Bulganin and Kruschev

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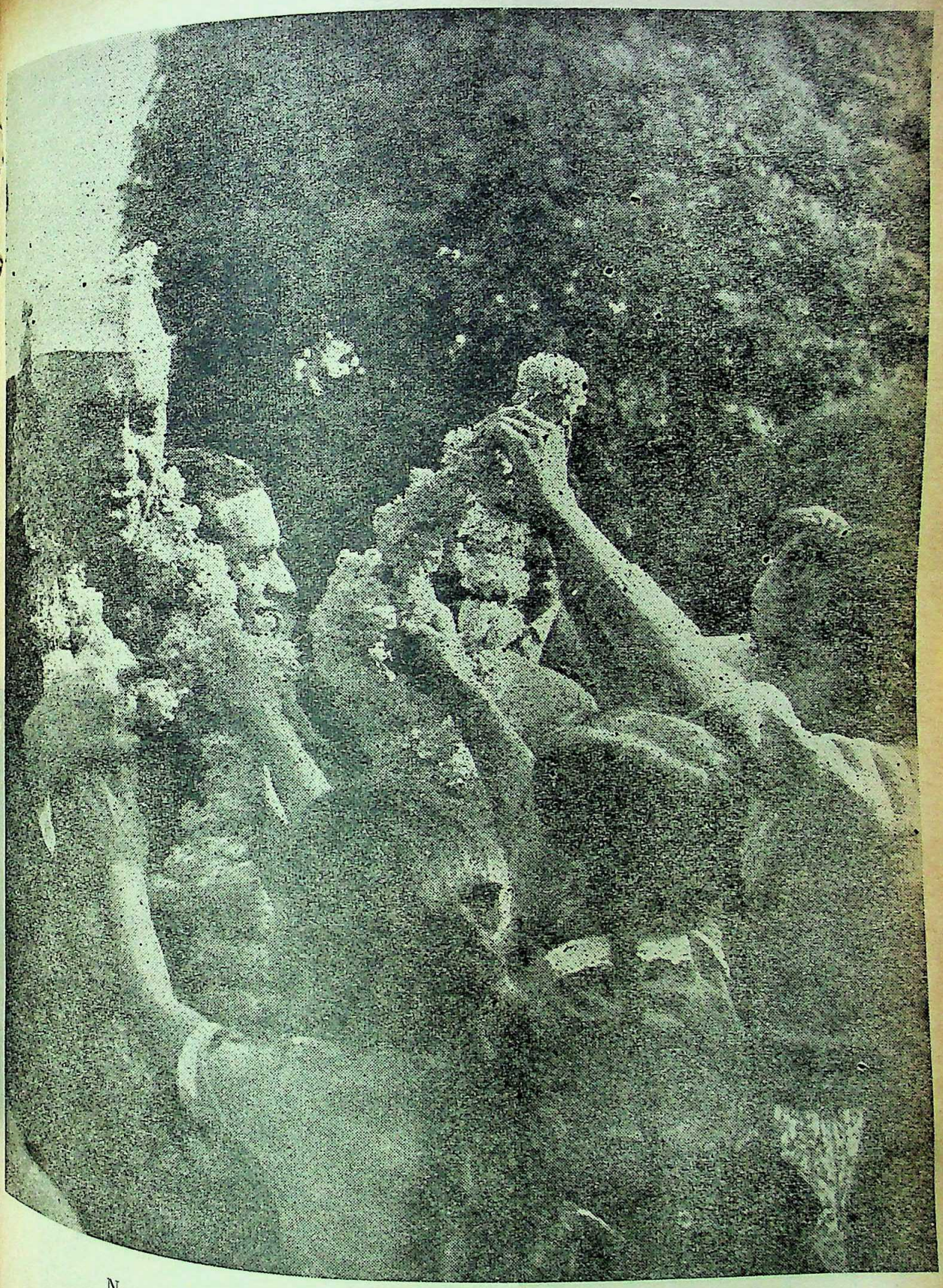

Never so happy as when with children : Birthday felicitation

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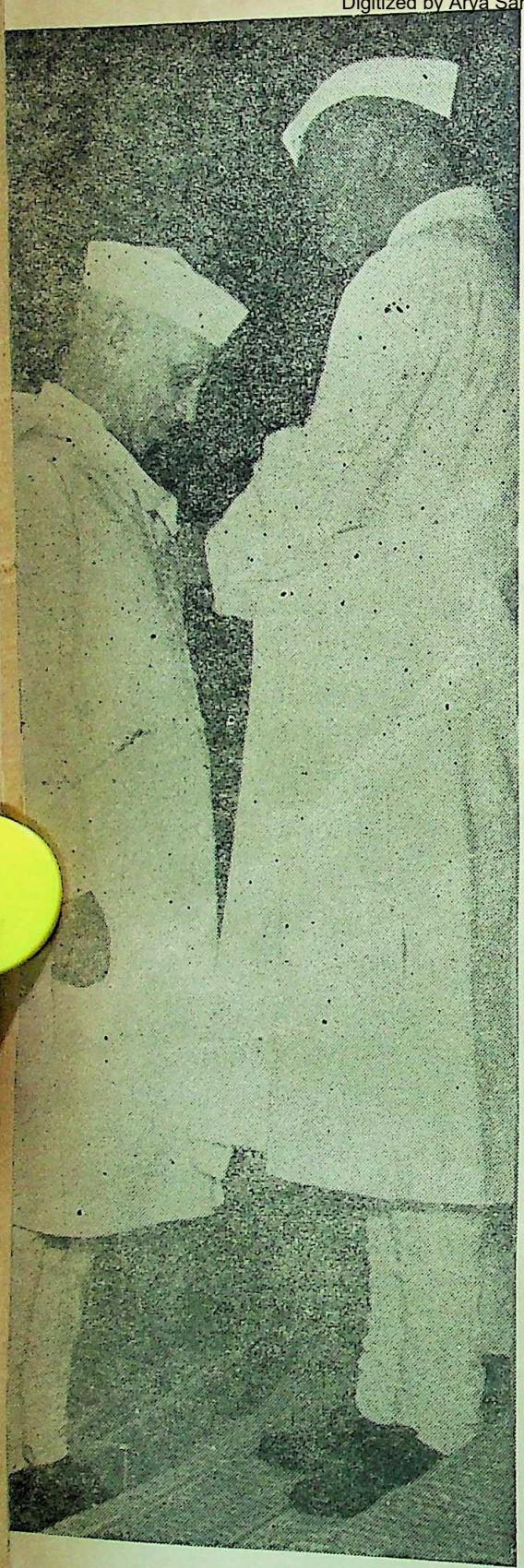

ıe "Jewel of India" : being awarded the *Bharat Ratna* by late President Rajendra Prasad

At the Annual Convocation of Visva Bharati in Santiniketan

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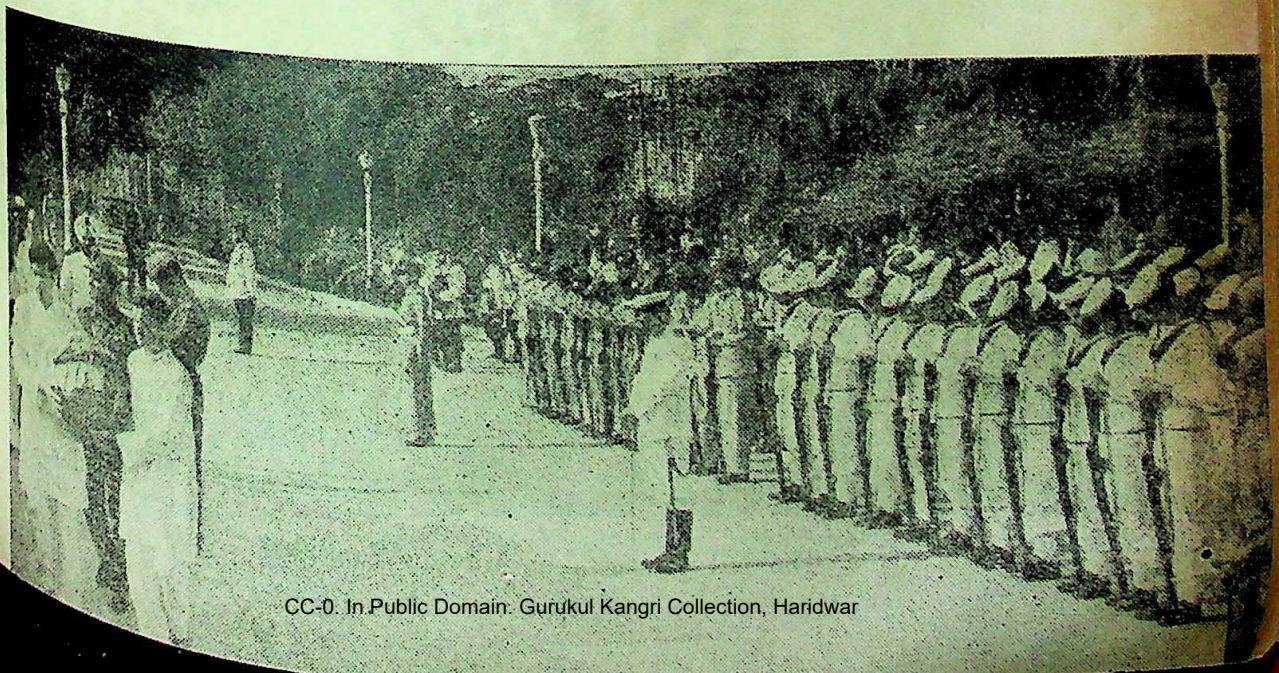
Jewellery for the defence effort : Examining donations from Himachal Pradesh



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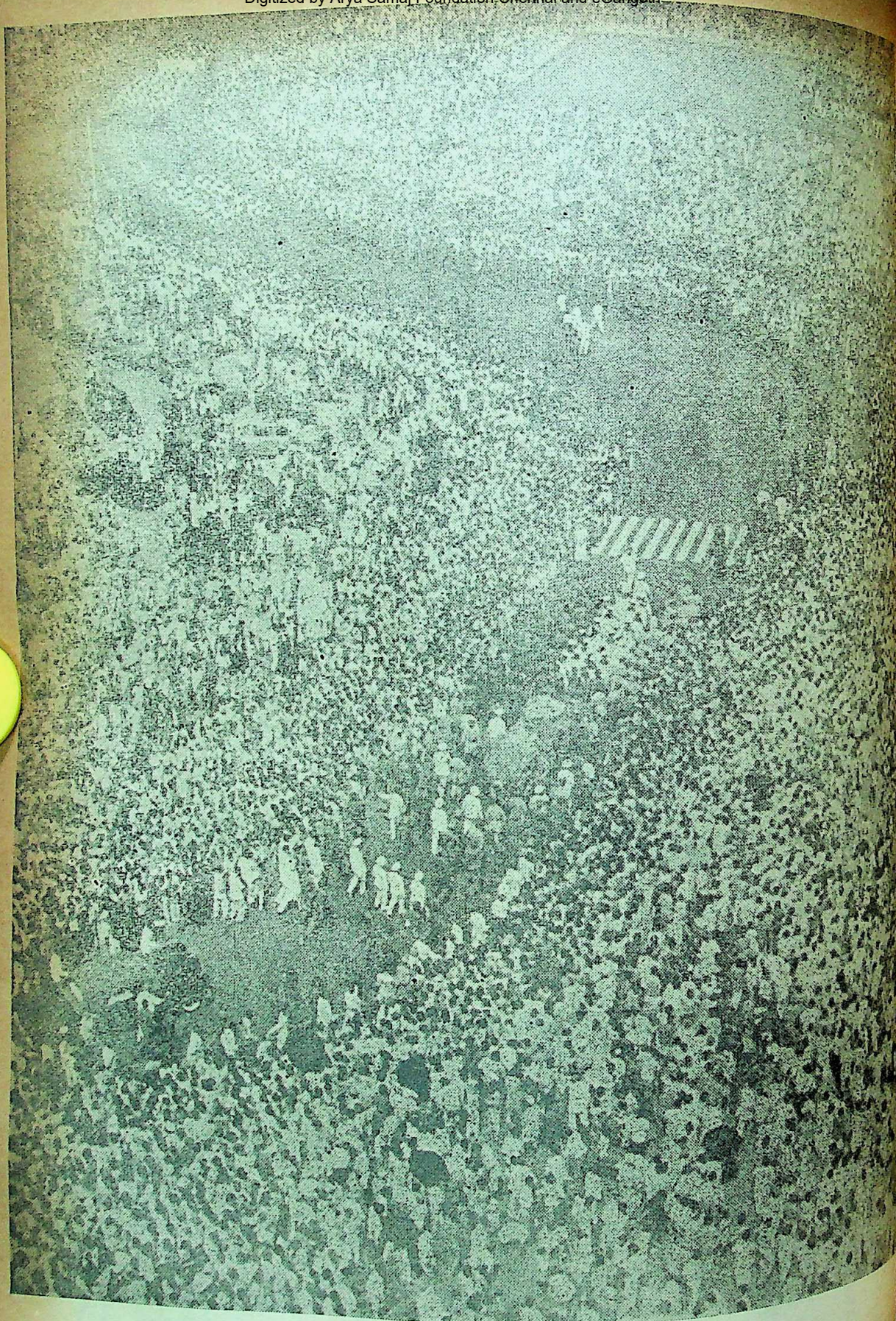

The last journey—on way to Santighat

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TRENDS IN RAJASTHAN POLITICS: MAHUWA BYE-ELECTION (A VIEWPOINT)

By Prof. K. L. KAMAL

Social psychology, reflects social structure which in our country, is fragmented heavily in castes and sub-castes, regional and religious groups, sects and sub-sects and factions that form around strong personalities and local leaders. A ceaseless social struggle goes on among individuals as well as their groups and it is carried over into the political field. The political behaviour of an Indian citizen is negative; he votes negatively i.e., against something rather than for something and this negativism of political behaviour is a reflection of the prevailing economic scarcity,[1] the common attitude being that if one gets more bread to eat then some one else must eat less.

An analysis of the recent Mahuwa Bye-election would show the trends in Rajasthan politics, a study of which would be fascinating. Rajasthan had not been under a common administration prior to 1949 and this is largely responsible for the development of politics along regional lines parallelling the boundaries of the old princely states, and ownership formerly coincided with caste lines and the politics of jagirdari abolition demonstrates a significant change in the basis of political power within the new political system. With the emergence of Congress as the ruling party, major reforms were introduced but they were far from being satisfactory. The lot of the common man still remained unimproved. The common people have been suffering from hardship which arose, among other causes, in the transition from a feudal and agrarian social order to a mercantile one. Prices went up, established social and political relationships were disrupted and underwent profound change, commercial gain was ever more sought after. The new life was just coming but the old one remained firmly clinging to it and many people, who were not convinced of the coming of the rosy future, looked back nostaligically to the good old days under the rule of the princes. This background of Rajasthan politics would be helpful in our study of Mahuwa Bye-election.

The Constituency and the People

Mahuwa constituency, which forms part of the erstwhile Jaipur State, occupies a special place among other constituencies of the Rajasthan Legislative Assembly. The recent bye-election in February 1964 has caught the imagination of many politically conscious people throughout the country. It is interesting to note that Mahuwa has gone to polls as many as six times since the First General Elections in 1952. This consituency has witnessed three General and also three bye-elections and as many as two bye-elections were contested between 1952-57. It is shocking that even after 16 years of Indian independence, communalism continues to remain the most dominant force in national politics and our political parties, whatever ideology they might profess outwardly, have simply perpetuated it. No wonder if Mahuwa also fought elections on this basis. In this context, community-wise division of this constituency is also interesting. The major communities of this place are the Minas, the Gujars and the Harijans but the politically conscious and dominant are the Minas and the Gujars. In all, there are 62 thousand voters in this constituency out of which 18 thousand are Minas, 14 thousand Harijans, 9 thousand Gujars, 4 thousand Muslims and the remaining constitute the Rajputs, Baniyas and other communities.

Background—Political and Communal

Some background is vital to understand this bye-election. The Minas and the Gujars have been the two dominant communities

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in this area which have almost been on hostile terms. The Mina-Gujar conflict grew deeper in 1957 when Shri Tika Ram Paliwal, an ex-Chief Minister of Rajasthan, contested the assembly seat and defeated Shri Kishan, a Gujar. Shri Paliwal did not continue to represent the constituency longer as he resigned his Assembly seat to become a member of the Rajya Sabha. The Minas thought that the Congress would offer them an election ticket but their hopes got shattered when it was denied to them. The Minas, with their 28% solid votes want to maintain their political domination and regard this constituency as their own. A Mina won the bye-election caused by Paliwal's resignation.

In the 3rd General Elections, too, a Mina, Shri Shiv Ram defeated the Congress candidate, Shri Shiv Charan, a Gujar. Shiv Ram was a Jan Sangh candidate. This bye-election under review was caused because the Jan Sangh M.L.A. was unseated on a petition filed by Shiv Charan, the defeated Congress Gujar candidate. This was the source of profound irritation to the Minas who blamed the Gujars for the exit of their representative from the Assembly. Bitter communal feelings prevailed and the Mina-Gujar hostility marked the political and social life of this constituency. It was in this political atmosphere that this bye election was contested.

Polling Election Results and pattern of Voting

Before we analyse the election strategy and technique employed by the two political parties, a study of the election results might be helpful. In 1962, the polling was 54% but this time it rose to 67.77%, out of 62263 voters, as many as 41377 voters exercised their franchise. This, although it does not prove the authenticity of the fact that the people have developed more political consciousness and vigilance, may be attributed to the concentrated efforts of the leaders of the Swatantra and the Congress, the two contesting patries. Undoubtedly, the leaders of the two parties left no stone unturned to win the election. It is interesting to note that the Congress lost but it fared much better in the elections and doubled its strength. Viewed from another angle, the margin of the Congress defeat this time was wider as compared to the last General Elections. The Congress candidate lost by only by 1059 votes in 1962 but this time he lost the seat by 2571 votes. A study of the community-wise voting would show that most of the Minas, Rajputs and Banias voted for the Swatantra while the Gujars and the Harijans voted for the Congress. The explanation for such voting is clear. All the Minas combined to defeat a Gujar. Those who argue that the infuence of the Jaipur Maharaja and Maharani alone led to the Congress defeat are awfully mistaken. The Minas, although loyal to the Royal Family, never wanted a Gujar to represent the constituency, which, they feel, is their monopoly. The Minas love neither the Swatantra nor the Congress but their own community. In the absence of an influential Mina as their candidate, they persuaded Mr. Kishori, a Mina to withdraw and concentrated all their efforts to defeat the Congress Gujar candidate. The Rojputs naturally showed their loyalty to the Maharaja and Maharani. The Banias voted for the Swatantra partly because of the loyalty to the Royal Family and partly because the system of controls, permits and licenses perpetuated by the Congress Government angered them. The Gujars naturally voted for the Congress because the Congress candidate was their man. The Gujars, too, are no less communal in their out look. The Harijans voted overwhelmingly for the Congress since they were conscious of the fact that there has been a tremendous improvement in their condition with the emergence of Congress rule.

Strength of the Parties

(A) Congress:

About a month before the election was to take place, the Congress party had unanimously decided to concentrate all its efforts to win the election. Several hundred workers in hundreds of jeeps and trucks were working almost round the clock dur-

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ing the election days. All the ministers led by the Chief Minister Sukhadia toured every remote part of the constituency and most of them stayed on till the elections were over. The work in the Secretariat was paralysed. 'Mahuwa Chalo' was on the lips of every Congress man. Some of the Central Ministers, including Mr. Raj Bahadur also campaigned for the party. In no other election in Rajasthan the number of Congress leaders and workers was higher. Even the Kishangarh Bye-Election which returned the late Shri J. N. Vyas to the Assembly faded away into insignificance. Mahuwa Bye-Election put a tremendous mental and physical strain on the minister and othre leaders. It reminded them of the Pre-independence days. The Congress party exercised its full official influence e.g., one Mina was arrested in a three-year old case. Promises were given that Gur and Sugar would be made available at cheaper rates and Mahuwa would be electrified. Fictitious poles were also installed. At a number of villages promises were made to start schools, dispensaries etc., and to raise the status of the already existing schools and dispensaries. Choudhry Kumbha Ram's leadership and organisational skill were remarkable. Mahuwa temporarily united the split house of the Congress. All the Congressmen sank their differences and rose like one man to face the challenge. There was no case of sabotage in the Congress as it happened in the last elections.[2] To sum up, the Congressmen had tremendous material resources, an army of workers, a well-knit organisation and full determination to face the crisis.

(B) The Swatantra Party

The Swatantra Party also had its strength. It also did not lack in resources. The Swatantra candidate Mandhata Singh, an ex-senior Government official and a jagirdar had ample resources at his command. The Royal Family of Jaipur also did all that could be done to defeat the Congress. It was, in fact, the prestige seat for the Royal. Maharaja Jaipur addressed the election meeting only once but Maharani Gayatri Devi campaigned ceaselessly for full one week. Certain factors were favourable to the Swatantra. The greatest single factor favouring the party was the withdrawal of Kishori, a Mina from the contest. Had he been in the field, the Congress would have definitely won. Without any efforts he got 807 votes. To sum up, the influence of the Maharaja and Maharani on the basis of the traditional loyalty, the unpleasant record of the Congress rule in the past, rising prices and unemployment, corruption in the Congress administration, communal voting, social backwardness and lack of political consciousness, enormous resources and the exit of Kishori from the political scene, favoured the Swatantra. Last but not the least, the role of the Jan Sangh also contributed to the Swatantra success. Jan Sangh people forgot all that had recently happened in the Jaipur Municipal Elections and lent their full support to the Swatantra candidate. Jan Sangh commanded considerable influence since the former M.L.A., who was unseated, was their man.

A Study of the Limitations

(A) The Congress

The organisational leadership of the Jat leader, Kumbha Ram, was not acceptable to Chief Minister Sukhadia. It has also been reported that the role of many of the ministers was rather miserable. The Ministers have become rather feudal lords who are fast losing their mass contact. They remain surrounded by flatterers, people who seek permits and licenses. Many ministers were seen at Mahuwa boasting of an overwhelming majority over the Swatantra candidate. The vast crowd of workers was also unmanageable. To sum up, the election machinery could not be well managed. The rising prices, communal voting, the choice of the Gujar candidate, the feudal influence of the Royal Family and the withdrawal of Kishori from the contest led to its defeat.

(B) The Swatantra Party

The Swatantra won neither because of the organisational skill nor of any ideolo-

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gical dynamism; it was largely because of the Congress weakness. The Swatantra workers were unorganised. They did not have even half of the organisational skill of the Congress party. It was a Rajput-dominated scene and the members of other communities were not viewing it with favour. To the observers it so appeared as if feudal system was going to be revived. The secretary of the Hindaun Swatantra Party resigned out of sheer frusration. Even the Minas were not happy with the candidature of Th. Mahendra Singh, both a Rajput and also an outsider. The Swatantra placed neither any ideology nor any programme.

A Study of the Election Campaign

(A) The Congress:

The congressmen, being more experienced, have developed masterly skill in the art of campaigning. Two things may be mentioned here. They talked much of their struggle against the British regime, their profound patriotism, the glorious past and the legacy of Gandhi and Tilak and above all their noble ideology of democracy and socialism. Secondly, the congress leaders vehemently criticised the Swatantra. Chief Minister Sukhadia charged the Maharaja and the Maharani of hypocrisy. P.W.D. Minister Harish Chandra, an ex-ruler of Jhalawar, called the Swatantra a party of jagirdars and their henchmen. Choudhry Kumbha Ram, in his characteristic way, said that this contest was between the son of a peasant and a feudal lord, in other words, an exploited and an exploiter. The Swantantra Party was criticised for championing the cause of the capitalists, it is never the party of the masses, they argued. The congress leaders accused the princes of exploiting the masses and also held them responsible for the backwardness of Rajasthan. Even now, the congress leaders campaigned, the princes are getting fat privy purses which put a great strain on the people. But for the Jagirdars and the Maharajas, the Government would have provided greater facilities to the people. The congress leaders also claimed that the face of Rajasthan was completely changed with the advent of congress regime and the Chief Minister in one of his speeches illustrated this point by saying that the entire budget of Rajasthan on the eve of its formation is now being spent only on one item, namely education. It was because of them that the peasant has now become the master of his land. It cannot be denied that the congress has had long history, it has a well-defined programme and ideology and the congress leaders exploited everything in their interest including the name of Gandhi and Nehru.

(B) The Swatantra Party:

The Swantantra, on the other hand, is a new party. The organisational skill was miserable. Mr. Man Singh Mahar M.L.A. was formally in-charge of this election. The workers talked less of programme and ideology but simply exploited the declining popularity of the congress which they held responsible for rising prices, apalling poverty, corruption and step-motherly treatment given to the Minas. The Jaipur Maharaja, who was in Military uniform, gave a slogan, 'Rajput Mina Bhai Bhai' and this naturally had a powerful impact on the Mina voters. His tour of the constituency in a jeep carrying the Military Flag with the Swatantra Party candidate on his side, was a part of his well planned strategy. The Swatantra workers were almost colourless and the little colour they possessed was lent to them by the Maharaja and the Maharani of Jaipur. All the time they were seen speaking in the name of the Royal Family. What Gandhi and Nehru were to the congress, the Maharaja and the Maharani were to the Swatantra. The name of the founder of the Swatantra was not even heard. The tireless work of the Maharani was particularly amazing. The Swatantra leaders knew that their choice of a Rajput in the Mina dominated constituency was not a happy one and they wisely extended this assurance to the Minas that next time the Swatantra would put up only a Mina in this constituency.

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Conclusion:

The Sarvodya leader Jaya Prakash Narayan is very correct when he says that the elected representative, under the present set up, hardly represents the people. He is, in fact, thrust upon the people who have no alternative but to elect one. They may not like the man they have elected but they hate him less. The man, who won at Mahuwa, was in fact, a winner of a consolation prize, he was an outsider and practically unknown to the people of the area but still he got elected because the Mina dominated constituency did not want to return a Gujar candidate, who inspite of his being a son of the soil and also a good worker, lost. And this brings us to another point, namely communalism.

Is it not tragically shocking that the sixteen years of Indian independence could not improve the political behaviour of the electorate? The political parties (not excluding the congress) have miserably failed to educate the electorate on the right lines. It is a national tragedy that the top leaders of many political parties do not feel reluctant in demanding votes on communal lines. This reminds one of the horrible picture that Harrison has painted in his controversial book, 'India, the most dangerous decades.' The solution of the much debated problem of 'National Integration' does not seem to be in sight in the context when elections continue to create tensions in the society. It is injurious to the general health of society that communalism is the most dominant force in all representative institutions of the country from the village Panchayats to the National Parliament; representation in the State and Union Cabinets is often made on communal and regional basis and what is still more shocking is that even the temples of learning are not free from it. If social tensions continue to rise like this, it is high time that we look searchingly into the fact whether parliamentary democracy has not outlived its utility in our country.

Mahuwa has made it crystal clear that ideology plays a negligible role in elections. The Swatantra victory is not the victory of its ideology. What to talk of the electorate, it is doubtful even if its leaders understand it. The defeat of the congress, again, is never the defeat of democracy and socialism. In fact, the common man does not know what democracy and socialism stand for. The political parties have miserably failed to educate the people ideologically; their negative and destructive role is unfortunate.

Mahuwa was another Amroha for the Congress. Even the united house of Rajasthan Congress failed to meet the challenge. The Congress is now a spent force and perhaps it is difficult to reform it. The old spirit is gone and with it is also gone the hope to rebuild it. 'The old order changeth yielding place to new.' We are not sorry if the congress goes, we have seen enough of it; but many of the emergent parties are reactionary and communal; they care more for the classes than for the masses, they represent the vested interests of the privileged few, they want to revive the system which we fought to abolish. We may, dispassionately analyse the political situation of the country and with this analysis is inevitably linked the future of Parliamentary democracy.

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1. The Politics of Scarcity by Myron Weiner. The central theme of the book is that the development of a legitimate and stable democratic infrastructure in India is contingent on the development of a bargaining culture in the key roles of the political system—in the political parties, in the bureaucracy and among the interest groups themselves.

2. A press reporter stated, 'Group leaders did their best to defeat the candidates and the other groups. The tussles between the union Minister Raj Bahadur and Aditendra, former P.C.C. President in Bharatpur, the Jat Group V/S Sukhadia and Damodar Vyas in Bikaner, Udaipur and Jaipur divisions account for many casualties! *Times of India*, March 7, 1962.

3. Although Maharani Gayatri Devi told me in an interview that the Swatantra Party put up a Rajput candidate in a non-Rajput constituency because there is no place for communal feelings in Swatantra Politics, this is hardly based on facts.

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PLACE OF PLATO IN POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY

By Prof. SATYENDRANATH PAL

Exceedingly strange to trained ears of the students of modern sciences are the uproars of the dim and distant past, and peculiarly strange are those fifth century B.C. outbursts of sedition and sophism which made prominent the curiously complacent and phlegmatic people of Greece with the tinge and stigma of revolutionary radicalism. Shortly before the middle of the fifth century before the Christian era, there appeared a figure on the Greek political stage offending the contemporaries though he did not offend posterity. The political teachings and preachings of the then political luminaries were only poetic apparitions and about two decades out the poetic conception took flesh and the preachings of Plato served as a spark on the dry timber of public opinion and shook the ancient political world to its very foundation. The writings of Plato almost completely spans the hay days of Greece. The name of Plato is still surrounded with the respect due to a great genius and a great renown. It is true that this respect often degenerates into servility, because here as elsewhere, the admiration of the few becomes the exaggeration of the many, and genuine enthusiasm is echoed in loud homage. But no amount of exaggeration onght to make us unjust to the noble faculties which inspired these excesses.

In gazing back across the yawning gulf of time and after a searching survey of political history, we are constrained to contend that Plato stands alone unsurpassed by any political philosopher. The gulf between the stubborn Greek and his predecessors and successors widened into a ravine, it was spanned by a footbridge and Plato though simple and serene, walked on it alone. For nearly two thousand years people of Europe were almost completely unware of the works of Plato and when in the rumblings of raging torrents of Renaissance the complete text of the Republic woke up from the deep sleep of peace, the comprehensive Plato re-emerged and has remained very much alive ever since.

In this paper we are primarily concerned with a proper appreciation of Platonic political programme. In doing this we are faced with enormous difficulties and distractions. Because a long line of political scientists have interpreted Plato in their own trend of thought and outlook. But we shall try here, as far as space permits, to square with the conflicting and bewildering views. The vexatious variety of views lands us in difficulty to speak of Plato without exaggeration. It is generally contended that each and every one is either a Platonist or an Aristotelian. Carrying home the logic of Coleridge, we are essentially in agreement with him when he says that every one may at one time be a Platonist and at another an astute Aristotelian "so universal are the qualities of these two giants of Greek philosophy" says Prof. Maxey "and so perfectly do they typify our characteristic modes of reasoning that the average person shifts his mental gears from the Platonic high to the Aristotelian low."

In analysing the programme of Plato we shall move this way or that: wander from the broad path into the winding and obscure alleys whither only a handful of persons will take pains to follow. But in anticipation of caustic comments I should plead that although my predilections may seduce me into the intricate and thorny political and social problems, I have tried my best not to sacrifice any general interest to such pure predilections.

Though widely analysed and read with avidity and keen interest, he is known to be marvellously mighty and is known to be woefully wrong. History of political development of the civilised world, we can say, after a thorough survey of his pinching pretentions and presentations, gazes on him with wonder, awe and admiration. But modern science with least regard for emotional penumbra, has thrown a challenge to these presentations, tasted these with commendable indifference, and indifference, without the least intention of exaggration, easily emptied itself out into staunch antagonism by the 'uproarious urgency of unauthenticated eulogy.' Thus, to us it is definitely difficult to the point of absurdity to

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direct the 'opposing stream of criticism' into the navigable channel of calm appreciation. Metaphorically speaking, we may be unable to turn the turbulent torrent into the rippling rivulet; because the awe-filling figure of splendour of name and fame leaves the memory of his failure a perpetual place in political philosophy. His piercing and comprehensive intellect fed fat the philonophy and politics for twenty centuries and more. Then the tide took a different turn; and the smouldering and long-murmuring spirit of discontent gathered the strength of a volcanic eruption and dethroned him. His fame fell like a tree without roots and a tottering castle without foundation. "Ages of servility had raised him to an unexampled eminence; in the tumult of revolution this pedestal became a pillory." Amidst the construction and destruction of Platonic representation we can safely say that Plato, with a philosophy characterised by 'radical dualism' is the first Greek whose writings have come down to us, to present a coherent and comprehensive system of political philosophy that can stand among the greatest systems of history.

In paying our tribute to the 'great lion of Greece' in most glowing terms we must always be on our guard and generously just: we must hold the balance fairly like the goldsmith weighing the ounces with fruitfulness. In an attempt so delicate, keen and fine, my submission is that I have not been able to hold the balance. But without hesitation I make no secret of my intention to say that it has always been my cherished aim; and it is my firm conviction that I could be certain of so unfolding myself as to prevent the readers from misconstruing and misconstructing either the praise or the blame which will have to be pronounced assuming the position of an analyst.

Coming into the heart of our analysis, i.e. the determination of the place of Plato, our task can be divided into the following parts. (1) We shall consider the indebtedness of Plato to earlier thinkers: (2) spell of Plato and we shall have constantly to bear in mind the relative and the absolute, i.e., the historical and the scientific aspects of his achievements and aspirations.

The Republic, the best known work of Plato, did not spring into existence, at once, self-begotten, as it were, in the brain of Plato; instead we find its germs and had its preludes and preparations in previous political ideas and ideals. In many places of his writings Plato could not agree with them and at times the disagreement degenerated into constant antagonism to his predecessors. Thus we must not forget his indebtedness. To begin with, the earlier thinkers furnished him with a definite starting point and stimulus to thought; over and above these they gave him some of the materials which Plato used with splendour and harmoy. Among the philosophers who exerted profound influence on Plato is Protagoras. Justice, the central directing wheel of Platonic social and political programmes, stems from 'the Pythagorean idea of justice; meaning thereby, according to Plato, a number multiplied into 'itself,' it is a square number, harmony perfected. Thus the Pythagorean definition of justice makes it crystal clear that 'justice is not separate from ritual.' With what measure you may mete it shall be measured out to you again; The prophetic belief first set out in the Gorgias, the belief that justice is the retribution in the other world, the Pythagorean Orphic mystery, dominates the work of Plato. It constitutes the leitmotif of the great dialogue, the Republic, which forms the centre of his creativity. (Kelsen: What is Justice). In the Republic Plato completely adopts this conception of Pythagorean justice but by his high-flown imagination he gives it a new meaning 'a blood of life' with deeper truth and spiritual content which finds no parallel in the whole range of Greek political science. Here a difficulty crops up. As we shall proceed with our analysis we may find, to our surprise, Plato in constant antagonism to his predecessors. We must not forget that in the convenient cover of constant criticism Plato tries to hide his indebtendness to others. In moulding the manner of his thought process they furnished him with a starting point and significant stimulus.

The famous idea of the philosopher king, a lover of truth as a philosopher, seems to be an echo of the Pythagorean idea of monarchy, ruling "jure divino" over the subject as God rules over the universe. Thus there seems to be an inseparable link between Pythagorean and Platonic ideas of State and Society. In the words of Sir Ernest Barker, "Pythagoras was the first . . . . for whom philosophy issued in a Rule to be communicated to a circle or order of disciples and herein he already may be said to have anticipated Plato."

But here the indebtedness of Plato to others

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does not end. Two other Pythagorean ideas have left a deep impression on Plato's performance and have moulded the manner of his approach to political problems. These two ideas are: (1) doctrine of the three classes of men (a) the lovers of wisdom without unmanliness, and (b) the lovers of honour and (c) the lovers of gain and lastly (2) the theory of limit.

By way of clarification we should now analyse these points in some detail. First the debt of the Republic to the Pythagorean doctrine of the three classes of men is obvious and absolute. The Platonic analysis of the state into three classes and the soul into three parts may be said to be originally Pythagorean.

The influence of the previous philosophers is much more pronounced in his musical studies. In it "Plato found that of the four fixed notes two intervening notes constituted a mean between the two extreme and opposite notes." This idea of music led him to believe that the mean, so dear to Aristotle, was a happy blend of two opposites.

The ideas of communism of wives and equality of men and women are directly borrowed by Plato from Euripides. And in Plato there is a distinct ring of Aristophanes' idea of a parliament of women in the Ecclesiazusoc. Aristophanes introduces us to the lady 'communist, Praxagora who makes an astonishing oration in the following terms:

"I want all to have a share of everything, and all property to be in common; there will no longer be either rich or poor; no longer shall we see one man harvesting vast tracts of land, while another has not ground enough to be buried in . . . . I intend that there shall only be one and the same condition of life for all . . . . I shall begin by making land, money, everything that is private property, common to all . . . . Women shall belong to all men in common.'

Again, the dialogues of Plato—the dialectical crossfire—are essentially borrowed from the teachings of the sophists of both generations; and by way of attraction he was immensely influenced by their teachings. Without the sophists we can not think of Plato or, in other words, with disarming caution we can boldly state that the sophistic philosophy directly or indirectly, by way of attraction or rejection, found its culmination in the writings of the stubborn Greek.

Thus our preceding analysis points out that Plato is not original in the true sense of the term. In spite his profundity and stupendous learning and vision and his astonishing scope, he is not a man of striking originnality of thought. It is now admitted on all hands that the infra-structure of the state constructed by Plato is built out of the materials of the then Greek society and state. He borrowed materials from his predecessors and produced an almost entirely new philosophy which can not be found in the writings of earlier thinkers. Thus metaphorically speaking, Plato seems to be a pipe through which all winds blow into music.

The whole of the intellectual world is, this way or that, deeply indebted to Plato. Now passing from his indebtedness to influence we come across a large number of thinkers, from Aristotle to Wallas, who are highly indebted to Plato for their intellectual achievement. Thus, in the opinion of poet Coleridge each and every one is born either a Platonist or an Aristotelian: and this may well be supplemented, without making any exaggeration, by an almost equally true proposition that every one may be at one time a Platonist and at another an Aristotelian.

With due deference to chronology, we are forced to analyse Aristotelian principles. In doing this that the idea of sovereignty of law which is essential in the Laws, is repeated by Aristotle in the Politics. Somewhat grudgingly he followed his great teacher as closely as his temperament permitted . . . . so he endorsed, and systematized Plato's naturalistic theory of slavery: 'some men are by nature free and others slaves; and for the latter slavery is fitting as well as just . . . In the account of the growth of the state from the family Aristotle follows closely what Plato says in the Laws. That is why an eminent political scientist has convincingly pointed out that Aristotle has borrowed materials from Plato at least two hundred and sixteen times.

In the Roman period Circero and Polybius were also impressed by the great master of the Academy. Along with the eulogy of the mixed const., which Cicero had borrowed from later Greek writers, the De Republica contains a translation of Plato's carricature of democracy, tyranny and above all of the myth of Error. St. Augustine's De Civitate Dei is a picture of a city in the heavens like the Republic of Plato. Boethius, it seems, was also influenced by Plato. The high-flown ideals of the latter find their

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restatement in "Kings becoming philosophers and philosophers kings."

But the Republic could not keep pace with the careless flow of time. It slept over a thousand years. And with the birth of the idea of Renaissance—when man was viewed in his totality, in his flesh and blood and as well as in his mind and spirit—and with the rediscovery of the complete text of the Republic, there came a new tide of analysis of the Republic completely different from the analysis of earlier times. Thus circumstanced, with renewed vigour and vitality the spell of Plato fell upon a galaxy of thinkers. Of them Sir Thomas More attracts our attention first. Plato constituted an important and sustained inspiration for more, even though the latter's analysis in the Utopia differs in many profound and pronounced respects from that of the Republic. In the opinion of More, however disputable it may be, plato advocates communism for all; he is essentially in agreement with Plato and 'nothing marvels that he would make no laws for them that refused those laws' whereby all men should have and enjoy equal portions of wealth and commodities which is not possible to be observed where everyman's goods are proper and peculiar to himself. But there is remarkable difference between the mental set ups of the two thinkers. In Plato we come across an ascetic but in More there is a Hedonist. Penetrated with and sanced in a dfferent spirit from that of Plato, while borrowing details of description from the Master of the Academy, More is a typical representative of the age 'in which in opposition to Christian monasticism men lived like Epicurean philosophers.' Thus More could not drink deep into the spirit of Plato. Then we can safely say that he is rather the father of modern socialism, scientific indeed,—the first stage of communism, than an initiator of Plato's communism. Both in the *Republic* and the *Utopia* some sort of religious reformation has been sought to be effected. But Plato would transform the unscientific Greek mythology and fables into a coherent and uniform idea of God, but More did nothing more than the advocacy of a quiet and happy toleration of all beliefs.

We can also say that Campenella in his well-known book *City of the Sun* was imbued with Platonic ideas. He advocated Platonic communism of property and of wives, but his work though borrowed from Plato, shows only a superficial acquaintance with the inner significance of the Philosophy of Plato. As compared with Thomas More, Campenella is far more Platonic in the prominence which he gives to education (Jowett: Dialogues of Plato CC XXVI—CC XXVIII).

The 'paradoxical Rousseau' is not only the last of the three great social contractarians but also the first of the modern thinkers who are generally known as 'quasi-Platonists'; and through Rousseau, as well as directly the spell of Plato filtered down to the modern mind. Hegel and ultra-Hegelians continue analysis of society and state which in many respects are inspired by Plato, even though specific statements may normally owe little or nothing to him. And writers like George Herbert Meade in their antagonism to the continental and Anglo-American tradition in political philosophy, embrace Hegel and in some measure, Plato.

Thus it is not easy to gauge what the influence of Platonism actually is. It is always amazing to note that analysts who, in their substantive proposals for political reform, often criticize Plato and differ from him in many vital points, are nevertheless highly indebted to him; who have borne a grudge against his name, often take their points of departure from Plato. What Burke could have said: "if the debt had been brought home to him it is impossible even to imagine."

Now we turn to Hegel and see how he is influenced by the stubborn Greek. Hegel flatly refuses to envisage the state in terms of dry bones of law or as a legal institution. He discusses it in terms of ethics and as the highest expression and organ of that 'social morality,' at once participated in and enforced by social opinion, to him the state is the march of God on earth. The conception of state and society 'depend heavily on the presumption that the state is a moral organisation'—an organised system of life by discharging his duty 'in which each citizen attains a full righteousness' and both conceptions issue in the rigour of the rule of life—'to fulfil my station and its duties' (Bradley: Ethical Studies). Like Plato Hegel is an absolutist. Just as Plato criticises Athenian democracy, so Hegel sneers at the British system of representative government. The anti-individualism of Plato is beautifully expressed in his own words: "Our very eyes and ears and hands should see and

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hear and act as if they belonged not to the individuals but to the community. All men should be moulded to praise and to blame the same things at the same time." (*The Republic*). Thus to Plato as well as to Hegel the individual is a mere pawn at the hands of the absolute state.

Passing from the Hegelian absolutism to the 19th century French Philosophy we come across a prominent Platonist,—Auguste Comte—the founder of positivism. Comte is essentially in agreement with Plato in holding that society should be governed by scientific knowledge but he differs from Plato on the point that such knowledge must filter down to earth from the cloudland of metaphysics, logical abstractions or theological assumptions, and that it should be purely positive and curiously cold in character and dimension. Like Plato he is a lover of and an ardent believer in mathematical methods. But he differs from Plato in holding that the use of mathematical principles of themselves elicit the principles of our social life. He also draws a distinction between, followng Plato, the spiritual and the temporal power. And this is known as Comte's famous way of 'returning to the dualism of the Middle Ages.' But his dualism is firmly based on psychological principles. Thus his ideal state is one in which the class which drank deep into spiritualism and acting not by physical force, fear or favour or ill will but by affection and persuation, guide the course of affairs in the 'height of scientific priciples.' This led him, according to J. S. Mill to "the completest system of spiritual and temporal despotism which ever yet emanated from a human brain, unless possibly that of Ignatius Loyola" (Autobiography).

The Platonic political programme also served as the chief source of inspiration of a group of English political philosophers—popularly known as 'Neo-Hegelians.' This school is generally represented by the Oxford idealists—Green, Bradley and Bosanquet. Some scholars argue that Green's political philosophy is profoundly influenced by and solely based on British Political traditions. Needless to say, this is a tall claim on the part of a Britisher. (Metz. *Hundred years of Br. philosophy*). Green definitely does not distinguish between the state and the society. Because of his failure to maintain this distinction, it is difficult for him to restrict the state to the function of removing obstacles to the good life and to 'avoid the kind of paternalism to which he objects.' He seeks to square with this difficulty by enunciating a theory of self-conscious citizenship, which, in spite of its noble appearance, could not silence the distinctly 'Hegelian ring.' But above all Green is a 'sober realist and a soaring idealist.' Therefore, harnessing the horse of reason Mac-Cunn says that Green is more an Aristotelian than a Platonist (*Six Radical thinkers*). Explaining the emergence of this Platonic school, Barker says, "Perhaps it is under the influence of leaders trained in this school that Plato had found an eminent circle of disciples." Plato classifies society on the basis of functions. This functional basis of class division looms large in Bradley's society where each of us is placed with a particular function. State helps me to realise what Plato calls justice and Hegel calls social righteousness. And this social righteousness is the outward manifestation of an 'external legality of law.'

The philosophy of Bernard Bosanquet, Hegel's most modern and faithful exponent, begins with Rousseau and Green and ends in Hegel. In his acceptance of Hegelianism the everlasting Plato reappears. Both of them are idealists and have deified the state. Thus to Bosanquet the state is the guardian of our whole moral world and not a factor in our organised moral world. Like Plato he writes, "The state as such certainly can not be guilty of personal immorality, and it is hard to see how it can commit theft or murder in the sense in which these are moral offences." Plato also holds that all the citizens must pursue courses of craven appeasement by conforming to the commands of the leader. There will be no murmur of discontent against the rule of the master race—the possesser of the truth—the 'fully qualified philosopher.'

Further, there is an ostentatious extravagance of resemblance between the philosophies of Carlyle and Plato. Carlyle's ideal was a society governed by the best, the ablest and the wisest. He was a staunch opponent of democratic ideal and of free trade. The unstable and nugatory democracy smells Platonism. There is an affinity between the Hero of Carlyle and the Philosopher King of Plato. "Both opposed to democracy, Plato and Carlyle are none the less both radicals, anxious to pluck up society by the roots and plant it afresh in new soil : and if the new soil chosen by Plato is more definitely socialistic, Carlyle, in his attitude to competition and his desire for per-

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ascendence of contract, shows signs of a socialistic trend." (Barter)

Modern Writers are deeply indebted to Plato. 'The revolutionary' spirit of the Republic and the traditional spirit of the Laws attracted and influenced them to an amazing extent. Of the modern prominent writers we may safely mention the late H. G. Wells. He has clearly depicted in 'Autobiography' that Plato acted as the trier of temper of his political philosophy—a major influence on his thinking. A careful analysis of his book gives us a gradual development of his political ideals. And in doing this Wells is confronted by an empirical political situation in some respects radically different from that within the context of which Plato wrote. And there is no shadow of doubt in our mind that the basic and fundamental assumptions of human nature constructed by Wells on which the super-structure of the code of human conduct and his political conclusions are constructed, are marked by sharp deviations from those of the Master of the Academy; yet despite divergences and dissimilarities and fundamental differences in the construction of thought, it is quite evident, on the authentic testimony of Wells himself, and from a very minute and careful examination of their contents, that "Plato lives again in both a modern utopia and in Menlike Gods. The first of a rather authoritarian socialist scheme." (Sibley.

Oswald Spengler, following Plato, in *Decline of the West*, spits venom on the earth with its general law of decline and death. Again, like Shelly and Plato he demands a new order, a gigantic experiment to stem the forces of history, a revitalization of Prussian militarism.

Among writers who have been directly or indirectly challenged by the keenness of dialectical cross-fire and the vigour of Plato's arguments, we may with disarming caution mention the politicians and writers of a number of books, Richard Crossman, Warner Fite and Karl Popper. These Platonists (Crossman and Fite) who are not prepared to admit at all that 'from Plato's longing for unity and harmony, we may say that he was himself disunited and disharmonious, may be reminded that this way of arguing is definitely invented by Plato'. Commenting on Popper's appreciation of Plato's presentation, critics aptly characterise him as an 'inverse Platonist'. At the very beginning of his thought-provoking book, *Open Society and its Enemies* (Vol. I), he professes to be aware of the nefarious and evil influence of Plato on successive generations of students and teachers of political science and sociology. The pains to which he goes to refute Plato's arguments doubtlessly proves that the influence of the stubborn Greek on him was profound and the classical theory has much to contribute to the controlling of his thought process. Thus in the Hegelian terminology we can explain the relative positions of Plato and Popper by quoting Prof. Sibley himself: "Plato furnishes the thesis to which Popper becomes the antithesis, with the synthesis yet to be born."

Again, following Edwyn Vaughan, we can boldly state that the honest opponents of Plato generally prescribe fundamental beliefs and complete departures from Platonic plans but ultimately they are generally bound to follow Plato. Therefore, we can say that modern political programmes, however high-sounding these may be; are no better than footnotes to those of Plato. Thus the works of a very prominent political scientist—Karl J. Friedrich—will give authentic testimony to our exhilarating assertion. He contends that even the most basic beliefs shall not be infused and imposed by education. Then it will truncate the soul and limit the will. The fullest flowering of inner faculties will melt into the thin air. But a few pages later of his book he advances the argument that education is chiefly concerned with shaking 'human mind in the height of a believed-in-ideal'. Thus modern thinkers have not yet been able to shake off their intellectual slavery.

Here an analysis of Plato's indebtedness to others and influence on the mind of the modern man comes to an end. Still our purpose remains unfulfilled. Plato's place will only be determined when the strength and character of the Platonic political programme will be analysed from all aspects. Thus coming to analysis, we land into the vortex of the fiercest of political controversies.

By way of denouncing in the strongest

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terms the caustic critics of Plato ardently contend "*The Platonic Republic*", "must be considered as a brilliant exercise of philosophical imagination, not as a contribution to political science. But it is hardly too much to say that Plato never got the point of having a theory of the state at all". Further, it is generally chosen that Aristotle is the representative of ancient science, and therefore of scientific method and Plato has no idea of science or scientific method. These are two extreme views. It is difficult, but not impossible, to answer these two vitriolic charges against the stubborn Greek. But I do not myself pretend to share the sympathy and admiration for Plato's philosophy, which has been felt, with no exception, in all ages by many wise and beautiful souls. In an analysis of Astronomy, we may find frank avowal of the subjective Method. Thus in the Phaeodo Plato bethought him, wearied with contemplating things as they are, that men in studying an eclipse of the sun look at its image reflected in the water, lest they should become blind by gazing directly at the sun. "It seemed to me, therefore, that I ought to have recourse to reasons, and in them to contemplate the truth of things. Thus always adducing the reason which I judge to be strongest. I pronounce that to be true which appears to me to accord with it: those which do not accord with it I deny to be true." (Phaeodo). Here there is no solidarity of the grounds upon which he judges one reason to be stronger than another.

But in other spheres of analysis of political science we meet his method closely akin to modern. Thus Books VIII and IX of *Republic* describe which the process of disorganisation or disordering are among the most empirical of Plato's dialogues in the sense that they are definitely based on careful observations of actual politics, yet the described states fall short of the actual. In these books there is an analysis of the actual constitutions of Greece, in which Sparta, an example of both timocracy and oligarchy, Athens, the citadel of democracy, and Syracuse exemplifying tyranny, all in turn are separately analysed. To Plato all these types of constitutions have 'taken sick'. That is why Plato likes to visualize his political mission as one of the healer or saviour of the sick body of society. Here Plato's method differs from that of the traditional. His method is closely associated in modern times with the immortal name of the great sociologist Max Weber. On the basis of actual observations of the imperfect forms of government prevailing in 5th century Athens before the Christian era in the empirical world, Plato erected the sky-licking castles of ideals of timocracy, oligarchy and democracy and last of all tyranny—the worst form of government. Max Weber's resort to ideal types was an attempt to state the influence of certain factors by comparing the real situation or action with the construct he called ideal types (Max Weber on the Methodology of the Social Sciences). At no point, in the whole range of the literature of political science we find a cleaver union of empirical approach with the rational Therefore it is gererally said that 'at no point are the principles enunciated more universal in their application and more suggestive of advanced research'. In the word of Prof. R. L. Nettleship, "Our first impulse on a superficial reading of the *Republic* is to say that Plato altogether ignores what we call observation and experiment, and writes as if use could construct laws of nature simply by thinking out certain axioms te their consequences. We think so because, coming to Plato with certain expectations, derived from what we know of the method of modern science, and with a certain modern phraseology in our minds, we apply these to him. Really he says nothing which has not been practically confirmed in its spirit by modern science"

We can also fortify our position by pointing out that whatever the ethical and utopian method may be called, it is highly relevant for practical politics and that it cannot be fully understood if we do not resort to the ideal forms. We can further suggest that in order to rectify wrongs the utopain idea is indispensable and this ideal form provides a stimulus for the progress of society and it gives a good direction for the achievement of the highest goal. Thus it can be stated that the ideal form is the motive force of the ship of society and without it society will be like a ship in an uncharted sea. No

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political philosopher can have ideas and ideals completely divorced from actualities. Social and economic enviornments always help to mould the thought-process of thinkers. Thus the *Republic* is not only a deduction from the 'principles' it is also an induction from the facts of Greek life. They acted as the representative of the then Greek society. Therefore Ernesh Barker in his inimitable language says, "It is easy to interpret the *Republic* as a Utopia, a city in the clouds, a sun-set fabric seen for an hour in the evening and then fading into the night. But the *Republic* is based on actual conditions, it is meant to mould, at any rate to influence, actual life". Therefore Crossman is right when he says "This plan was no Utopian dream". Thus the ideal of the *Republic* is an exhibition of what actual states ought to be.

Before the First World War it was taken for granted that the *Republic* had nothing to do with our day to day working of government. The whole conception was far fatched and remote from reality. It was admitted on all hands that with the advent of science and the institutions of democracy, the world was marching ahead towards perfection. The world could not then appreciate Plato's analysis of the common man.

But the tables were turned after the outbreak of War II. The estimate of Plato of the masses seems now to be a grimly realistic one. Knowing what class-war and revolution mean, we can fully appreciate the Platonic advocacy of dictatorship to prevent them. He knew that economics plays a prominent role in moulding the relationship between or among individuals or groups within the society and this idea of Plato after two thousand and five hundred years has been corroborated by political scientists. But without offending the Platonists it can be said that the impact of economics on politics and vice versa is not fully understood by Plato. Economics always has constituted and will continue for good to constitute the 'infrastructure' of political power. There is an inseparable relation between the political issue and its economic implications. "In accordance with this transsubstantiation" says Prof. Loewenstein, "the core of every political ideology of our time consists in the economic eschatology it has to offer'. Considering the tremendous impact of propaganda on society, we can treat the 'noble life' not as an exposition of phantasy but an extreme of practical instruments. One modern objection to Plato is that he is too much a realist, in his analysis of of human nature. His cure for the diseases of society are only too applicable today. "The book is addressed to the social reformers who have no faith in their reforms. Sometimes they think that they are building on foundations of sand."

Again, Plato is the spring of the idea of 'social contract'. Consent as the basis of the State has changed the character of political analysis. This idea of contract between the rulers and the ruled has gone a long way in dynamising democracy. And today 'the state lives and has its being in a climate of contract and of all the concomittants of contracts, secondly its constitution is an actual political contract'. In the case of Chisholm Vs. Georgia it was declared that "the const. of the U.S. is .... a compact made by the people of the U.S. to govern themselves as to general objects in a certain manner. The const. of Maryland also declares "that all government of right originates from the people is founded in compact only"....Thus we see that the government is ultimately based on some sort of contract and herein the shadow of Plato looms large.

Let us now turn to another and more edifying picture, namely, the idea of Communism. Today nearly one-third of the citizens of the world directly live under the influence of Communism. But today's Marxian Communism is basically different from the Platonic breed but the ideas of the two are more or less the same regarding the unity and solidarity of the State. Like the Marxists Plato's cherished goal is to banish unchecked competition of individual with individual for economic power. The Marxist "would eliminate the doctrine of the economic man, exactly as Plato sought to eliminate the doctrine of the 'superman'. 'Like Plato he pursues an ideal of justice'. 'In a word, the ideal of both is that of a society

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organised on the basis, not of difference in wealth, but of common social service".

Further, modern systems of government and administration are highly indebted to Plato's methods. The ideas of civil and criminal laws and their reformatory character are the guiding star to the modern legislator. Today's ideal is to reform the wrong-doer and to bring him back to normal social life. And this is a great contribution of Plato to modern political theory. Therefore "the presumption upon which Plato worked, that human relations may be made the object of rational study and subjected to intellectual direction as a sine qua non of any social service." Thus our study reveals that many later studies in political science are a return to the age-old but ever new ideas of the master of the stagirite.

This leads us to make the bold statement that Plato is as much a political realist as he is a political idealist—he 'hovers in a balloon' but at the same time is a 'working colonist'. This is borne out by the admission of the principle that "our rulers will find a considerable dose of falsehood and deceit necessary for the good of their sub ects." His political realism is clearly exemplified by the fact that he confined the most difficult part of his system of State to the class of the philosopher Kings properly and spiritually trained for the purpose.

The Platonic principle is also at work behind the modern classification of States and of Governments. He was not content with a classification mainly based on number. He also tried to classify constitutions on the basis of the nature of the polity. This basis of analysis has been filtered down to us through his pupil and critic Aristotle.

Therefore, to launch caustic comments against Plato is to destroy a straw man. His immortal principle that the Statesman should be as specifically and thoroughly a realist as physicians, should be accepted by us without any reservation. Thus we have no hesitation in accepting the lyrical effusion that "Plato exhibits the rare union of subtle logic with the Pythean enthusiasm of poetry melted by the splendour and harmony of his periods into irresistible streams of musical impressions which hurry the pursuations onward as in a breathless career." Again, for the first time in the history of political thought Plato "maintained that a state ought to be governed, not by the wealthiest or the most ambitious, or the most cunning but by the wisest." (Shelley)

Regarding the nature of the rule of the Philosopher King some critics have used strong terms unwarrantedly. Of them Karl Popper heads the list. In his own words "The main reason I can see is the need for increasing to the utmost the authority of the rulers" But this does not seem to us to be a fair estimate of Plato. He sought to regenerate man and society by spiritual means. And that is why the rule of the intellect. If this, to Popper, amounts to a rule of a class or of tribalism verging on totalitarianism, the fitting reply is that the 'theory of limit' enumerated by Plato put the last nail into the coffin of all totalitarian elements and makes the critics laughable. Further, in spite of the emergence of comprehensive theories regarding good government the contention that the fittest and the wisest should rule, remains still unassailable. But this type of government requires continued vigilance, for it is always on the brink of peril. And if the progress of the society is to be maintained we must not retrieve ourselves completely of this rigorous responsibility. If we shake off the burden of responsibility by placing it on the shoulder of our fellowmen, we have to pay dear for it. And so the Protagaras 'myth' and the Philosopher-King, in true Socratic vein, do not teach a doctr ne, but merely help us to become more keenly aware of the perennial problems "for which each age must seek its own solution" (Review of Matsphysics : Dec., 1963).

We can never doubt that Plato's programme is in keeping with contemporary problems and character. Thus Prof. Taylor is right when he says, "we do Plato the gravest of wrongs, if we forget that the Republic is no mere collection of theoretical discussions about government..... but a serious project of practical reform put forward by an Athenian. . . . set on fire . . . . with a passion for reforming the world" (*Plato : The Man and His work*).

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Thus in reply to the critics who contend that Plato 'hovers in a balloon' and who tried to belittle Plato by emphasizing the fact that his philosophy is nothing but an idealistic hallucination, we can reply with a rebuff that though there may be some tinge of idealism in his political programme, yet it is invaluable. He is conscious of the openings in his arguments. He knows fully well that his scheme does not keep pace with the reality beneath. Comprehending the critics, in an answering tone he says, "in heaven there is laid up a pattern of such a city . . . . ." Thus quoting Durant we say, "At the same time we should not forget that man is an animal that makes Utopias.....Nor is it all without result : many a dream has grown limbs and walked, or grown wings and flown, like the dream of Icarus that men might fly." This idea is aptly expressed by Shelley in the following musical lines :-

"The desire of the moth for the star,
Of the night for the marrow ;
The devotion to something afar
From the sphere of our sorrow."

Thus our preceeding analysis proceeds with the conviction that Plato's political philosophy is epoch-making ; for it sternly marks, in the teeth of stubborn opposition, a decisive turning point in the political tradition of antiquity. Like the evergreen tree in the fables, "his evergreen branches have given support and shelter to all manner of strange birds, great and small". Here our analysis normally draws at an end with the panagyric that the "debonair and versatile tutor, who spent the major part of his life imparting. . . . learning to succeeding generations of cavendish heirs, is one of the great political thinkers of the human race, one whose name will endure as long as men trouble their minds about matters political."

MALHAR RAO HOLKAR—THE FOUNDER OF THE HOUSE OF HOLKAR

By Prof. S. N. Q ANUNGO

One day, in the first decade of the eighteenth century, a Maratha chieftain named Banda, while passing through an obscure village near Poona on a hunting excursion, saw a strange sight which made him halt along with his retinue. He saw a black snake spreading its hood over the head of a sleeping goatherd like an umbrella to protect him from the sun. The snake on hearing the approaching clatter and footsteps slipped away into the jungle. Impressed by this sight, the chieftain asked Malhar—for such was the name of the boy—whether he had any wish to make a name for himself by joining his service. Deccan in those days was a great theatre of war and provided prospects for soldiers of fortune. The boy nodded assent. This incident, recorded in *Waqui-Holkar*, was the beginning of the career of the founder of the house of Holkar (b. 6b). With that shepherd boy and with this small beginning the Holkars emerged from obscurity into the arena of Maratha politics and rose into prominence.

The Holkars took their name from their ancestral village of Hol situated under the shadow of the Sahayadri Range about 10 miles from Phultin and 40 miles from Poona. All those who called themselves Holkars did not live at Hol. Malhar Rao Holkar spent his boyhood in the village of Maswali which was situated about 'five *kos* from chandor' (*Waqui-Holkar*, b. 5b . Tukoji Holkar belonged to the village of Wafgaom and his brethren Santagi Holkar and Korji Holkar to Boregaon. By caste they were Dhangers.

The long and eventful career of Malhar Rao Holkar 1560-1766) is a subject too wide to be more than glanced at. It occupies a prominent place in the history of the rise of tho Maratha Empire in Northern India in the first half of the eighteenth century. He was not reared at the plough as suggested by Malcolm

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(*Memoirs of Central India*, vol. I p. 143). Son of a goatherd of Maswali, Malhar lost his father Kundaji at the age of twelve, spent several years with his maternal uncle Narayani Bargule and then joined the servic of Banda. By dint of merit, daring, courage and intimate knowledge of the Satpura Range, Malhar Rao speedily found himself elevated from a genuine soldier of fortune to the rank of a silahdar of 2000. His triumph over a commander of Nizam-ul-Mulk brought him much fame. But his entry into the Peshwa's service marked the real beginning of his distinguished career.

Campaigning remained Malhar's master pass on till his last days. Against Girdhar Bahadur, the Mughal Governor of Malwa, Malhar had a difficult game to play and he played it with consumate skill in the Amjhera campaign in 1729 (Selection from Peshwar Daftar, XIII, 33). Though twice out manoeuvred at Sarangpur and Dhar by the wily Muhammad Khan Bamgash, Malhar Rao Holkar gave him no rest by his constant harassment at Mandasor and Sironj (S.P.D.X, 70 and XVII, 8). The light cavalry of Malhar made havoc with the soliers of Jai Singh and Khan-i-Dauan in malwa between 1729 and 1734 and compelled them to sue for peace. Malhar Rao was appointed to the supreme commend in Malwa by Peshwa Baji Rao I, on the 3rd of October, 1730 S.P.D. XXX, P. 300).

Of all the Maratha chiefs in Malwa, Malhar Rao enjoyed preferential treatment at the hands of Peshwa Baji Rao I in spite of the fact that Ranoji Scindhia had been associated with Holkar in the management of that province (*Holkaranchi Kaifyat*, pp. 8-9). When Udaji Pawar with drew from Malwa, Holkor was granted a Saranjam of 74 Parganahs. On January 20, 1734, Malhar Rao was honoured by a grant in perpetuity to his family. He was given the district of Maheswar and nine villages from Indore district (viz. Harsol, Saver, Barlol, Dipalpur, Hatod, Mahidpur, Jagoti, Karamj and Makdom. After the formal cession of Malwa to the Marathas by the Mughal Emperor in 1741, the Holkar state of Indore became crystallized into a political entity and came to possess a unique importance.

Malhar Rao was a commendable Hindu in private life. It is said that he wanted to destroy Aurangzeb's mosque built on the site of the Vishwanath temple of Varanasi; but a deputation of the Brahmanas of Varanasi pleaded hard with him to give up his project as after his departure the Muslims would destroy every vestige of Hindu worship. After the death of Baji Rao I, wars fought by Malhar assumed more and more the character of brigandage. It is difficult to accept Sardesai's view that Malhar Rao's undertakings were "particularly intended to get the holy places of Prayag and Kashi back into Hind possession" (*New History of the Marathas*, Vol. II, p. 363). Wars had hardly ever been waged with so much perfidy, cruelty and avarice as by Malhar Rao and Jayappa Scindhia in Rajputana. Malhar's activities in Rajputana and the Doab diminished his own fame and caused irretrievable loss to the ideal of *Hindupad Padshahi* and to the state he served.

It is unfortunate that Malhar's talents were not limited to those of a soldier. In his political dealings, he always backed 'wrong horses' for good money such as Madho Singh of Jaipur, Najib Khan and Raghunath Rao. He espoused the cause of Madho Singh, who had no legal right to the throne of Jaipur. Malhar was an avowed partisan of Raghunath Rao, the most infamous character in Maratha history. Malhar Rao and Raghunath Rao actually paved the way for the diplomatic isolation of Maratha power. Raghunath Rao got into trouble with Surajmal of Bharatpur who sent gunpowder in reply to the former's demand of an extravagant ransom. Raghunath suffered humiliation and Malhar Rao lost his only son Khande Rao at the siege of Kuhmir (January 1754—May 1754). After the death of Surajmal of Bharatpur, Malhar espoused the cause of Nahar Singh against his brother Jawahir Singh and had to eat the humble pie at Dholpur. Najib Khan, the *Dharamputhra* of Malhar, had all along been the chief source of mischief for the Marathas. Yielding to Malhar's entreaties, Raghunath Rao allowed Najib to depart unscathed to his home in August 1757. Being in collusion with Najib

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Malhar remained inert during the critical stage of the Third Battle of Panipat and returned to Poona with tarnished glory and to carry a tale of woe for which he was himself partly responsible.

The deaths of his only son and wife Gautami Bai, a widowed daughter-in-law and an unpromising grandson, made the last days of Malhar Rao miserable and gloomy. But he had not lost the martial fire of his youth. As an ally of Shuja-ud-daula, Malhar Rao severely harassed Major Fletcher with his light foray tactics on the plains of Kara in 1766 A.D. With his death at Alampur on the 20th May 1766 (*Holkaranchi kaifyat*, p. 34), it appeared as if the story of the House of Hokar had come to an end, but in fact a new chapter had begun.

BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

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Authors and publishers of Gujrati books, desirous of having them noticed or reviewed in *The Modern Review*, should send them direct to, Shri Rangildas Kapadia : Gandevi, Dist. Surat, instead of sending them to the Editor, *The Modern Review*.

THE LAST YEARS OF BRITISH-INDIA: by Michael Edwardes, Cassel, London and Allied Publishers, Bombay; Demy 8 Vo. Pp. 250 Price Sh. 25' net.

This is not a book desinged to extol the magnanimity and genorsity of the British, who chose, of their own accord, to relinquish their power over their vast Indian empire, once the brightest jewel on the British Crown. But, as the author himself claims, "the primary aim" of the book under review was "to place in its proper historical context one of the most significant and portentious events of modern times,—the end of Britain's Indian Empire." The present work, the writer continues, "is an essay in explanation, an attempt to display and examine the many and diverse ingredients of an historical event and to disentangle them from the web of propaganda and special pleadings." It should be of more than passing interest, therefore, to the student of contemporary Indian history to examine the presentation under review and to assess the extent to which it can lay claim to objectivity free from the influences of complex emotional or environmental orientations as well as of inherited inhibitions—we must remember that the author is not merely an Englishman of the intellectual elite but happened also to be in close contiguity to the events of his researches—which so often colour if not even materially distort the historical process and the significance of the bare bones of cold facts which make up the foundations of the process.

After a fairly intensive study of its pages, the reader, however, is left in no doubt that the author—despite the obvious disadvantage of having lived too close to the centre of events when they were actually unfolding themselves—has been able to maintian throughout a tenor of impartial objectivity in his analysis, assessment and juxtaposition of facts into the chain of contemporary events in their appropriate contexts and the result has been both edifying and rewarding. There is hardly any scope

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for differences with the author's conclusions, and they are only a very few,—for the simple reason that facts have, themselves, been presented as the writer's conclusions in most cases without the embellishment of his personal interpretation of events.

This is as objective and straightforward a study of the unfolding nuances of Indo-British political connection, since after the First World War until the final act of renunciation of empire and imperialism by the British as I have ever come across. He analyses with perfect candour the reason that pursuaded the British Labour Government which, according to him was neither an unwonted upsurge of political magnanimity nor the result of apprehension that, otherwise, it would be compelled to relinquish power in any case by political pressures in India, and it were always wiser to give up voluntarily what one would, in any case be obliged eventually to disgorge without seeming to have been compelled to do so, but simply on account of the dictates of what may be called enlightened self-interest. The empire, inspite of being apparently exploitive in contents, was really an economic burden to the British people at large except to certain limited areas of the upper middle classes who alone were the beneficiaries. It were far better, in the circumstances, that the empire were relinquished and the burden dropped and, in the process, retain the friendship of India. This, indeed, would appear to have already yielded very large dividends: India offers very lucrative employment to a far larger army of Britishers in a variety of occupations than ever before in Indo-British history; India has been offering an increasingly fruitful field for investment of surplus British capital; Indo-British trade has been steadily increase in volume; and, above all, India has made valuable contributions to the prestige of the Commonwealth which has done so much to compensate for the reduction of Britain's imperial status by investing her with a new importance and glamour in international relations.

But the primary interest of the book under reveiw is in the many vaguely apprehended-but never quite clearly known facts of those hectic last two years after the Second World War that finally led up to Indian Independence and,—this is very significant—the creation of Pakistan. The author frankly lays the responsibility for the final vivisection of the country at the door of the British Labour Government, and particularly upon the invidious points of view and commitments made by the Cabinet Mission under Lord Pethick Lawrence. It was, according to the author, the Cabinet Mission's manner of discussing the problem that had added fresh fuels to the fire of M. A. Jinnah's personal ambitions and to have raised the latter's perpetual intransigence to the level of downright intractability. He also blames the leaders of the Congress, especially Jawaharlal Nehru, for foolishly mishanding the situation that made it absolutely impossible for them to repudiate the creation of Pakistan. The book also records the real reasons for the advancement of the day of independence—the deadline was originally set for June 1948—by very nearly a year. It was neither the pressures of Indian opinion nor pressures at home—that led the British Government to this later and, apparently hasty decision. It was the visible danger, in the intervening period, of the utter breakdown of the residual administration of the country—extraordinary pressures had already been placed upon it by the daily mounting and steadily widening areas of communal frenzy leading to murder, arson and loot—and the almost inevitable certainly of chaos that induced the British to hasten the date of their departure while some semblance of administration was still in existence. This really caught up Indian leadership on the wrong foot long before they were even remotely ready to assume the burdens of responsibility.

This was demonstrated in the colossal ineptitude with which Congress and the Muslim League alike prepared for assuming the inheritance of power. Mutual distrust of each other's intentions and policies, perhaps, led them to concentrate almost wholly upon the division of assets without any thought to the possible repurcussions of partition upon law and order. The very manner of redrawing the map of India in the East and the West to accomodate the Pakistan State to be which was eitirely left to the unfortunate Sir Cyril Radclyffe—because the two Partition Councils consisting of an equal number each of Hindu and

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Muslim high court judges virtually refused to have anything to do with it, also played its part in the muddle. And the price had to be paid in hundreds of thousands of lives, destruction of homes and the creation of a generation of more than a million refugees—a terrible burden upon the conscience of leaders on both sides of the curtain.

The book is absorbingly interesting and highly rewarding. No student of contemporary Indian political history could, in our view, really afford to do without it.

CHATURANGA, a novel in four parts by World Poet Rabindranath Tagore; transliterated into English by Ashok Mitra, ICS., Published by Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi, Royal 8 Vo. Price Rs. 8.

I delved into the book under review in considerable trepidation for the apprehension was never too far away from my mind that this might prove to be again one of those bastard publications which seek to present a Bengalee story with a characteristically Bengalee theme and background in ineffectual and, not infrequently, painfully stilted English, perhaps, for just the variety of it. I must frankly acknowledge at the very outset that I have been agreeably disappointed.

Ashok Mitra takes few liberties with the original in his transliteration of this scintillating but deeply inward story of the poet. It would be impossible for anyone, however highly endowed, to reproduce the scintillating style and easy and fascinating diction of the original **Chaturanga** in any other language. But Ashok Mitra must be acknowledged to have made as near an approach as would hardly make any difference. With the result that the book is comfortably easy on the intellectual palette and never spells annorexia of the remotest degree. What is more, by faithfully following the original in almost all its nuances of emotional expression, he has made it possible for the alien reader to enjoy the story, even scour beneath its unfathomable depths, even if they knew nothing of the background of nineteenth century renaissance in Bengal in which it is, indeed, rooted.

Sachis, reared and brought up by a positivist idealist uncle, started out on the journey of life as an aetheist, honest, straightforward and forthright. The uncle's death sort of snaps the mooring strings of his life and the violent reaction throws him into the arms of an esoteric preceptor who would seem to sustain him on the apex of a never ending flood tide of emotional ecstacy which, while stimulating his physical responses, were drawing his emotional being to a point of extinction. But Damini, the vivacious young widow which the preceptor inherited from a devoted disciple along with all his worldly possessions, impinges upon Sachis's devotional life with the impact of a cataclysm and thus helps him to find his feet on firm earth once again away from the preceptor.

Those who are acquainted with the history of nineteenth century Bengal would appreciate that the story is an attempt at reconciliation between the opposite forces of rationalism and orthodox polytheism in contemporary Bengalee intellectual life and **Chaturranga,** composed during the poet's early middle age, sought to strike a balance between the two. But even without these historical overtones, it is a delighful and enjoyable story, fascinatingly told. Perhaps it is a little too inward for a normally superficial reader, but then there has never been anything superficial in all that the poet had produced during his long and amazingly prolific life. For those who do not know the Bengalee language and are yet to know more about Tagore and his wonderful creations, the book under review should prove both helpful and enjoyable.

Karuna K. Nandi

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MIRACLE MAN WITH UNRIVALLED POWER

Highly Appreciated By George VI King of England.

JYOTISH-SAMRAT PANDIT SRI RAMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYA, JYOTISHARNAB, M.R.A.S. (London) of International fame, President of the world-renowned Barasashi Pandit Maha Sabha of Banaras and All India Astrological and Astronomical Society of Calcutta has won unique fame not only in India but throughout the world (e.g., in England, America, Africa Australia, China, Japan, Malaya, Java, Singapore, Hongkong, etc.) and many notable persons from every nook and corner of the world have sent unsolicited testimonials acknowledging his mighty and supernatural powers. This powerfully gifted greatest Astrologer & Palmist, Tantric can tell at a glance all about one's past, present and future and with the help of Yogic and Tantric powers can redress the pernicious influence of evil planets help to win difficult law suits, ensure safety from impending dangers, poverty, prevent childlessness and free people from debts and family unhappiness.

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রামানন্দ চট্টোপাধ্যায় সম্পাদিত

জ্যাকেটযুক্ত উত্তম পুরু বোর্ড-বাইণ্ডিং

মূল্য ১০·৫০, প্যাকিং ও ডাকব্যয় ২·০২ নঃ পঃ

ফোর্ট উইলিয়ম কলেজ হইতে প্রকাশিত যাবতীয় প্রক্ষিপ্ত অংশবর্জিত মূলগ্রন্থ অনুসারে ৫৮৬ পৃষ্ঠায় সুসম্পূর্ণ। ইহাতে বিশ্ববিখ্যাত ভারতীয় চিত্রকরদিগের আঁকা রঙীন বোলখানি এবং একবর্ণের তেত্রিশখানি শ্রেষ্ঠ ছবি আছে। রঙীন ছবিগুলির ভিতর কয়েকটি প্রাচীনযুগের চিত্রশালা হইতে সংগৃহীত ছবির অনুলিপি। অন্যান্য বহুবর্ণ ও একবর্ণের ছবিগুলি শিল্পীসম্রাট অবনীন্দ্রনাথ ঠাকুর, রাজা রবি বর্মা, নন্দলাল বসু, সারদাচরণ উকিল, উপেন্দ্রকিশোর রায়চৌধুরী, মহাদেব বিশ্বনাথ ধুরন্ধর, অসিতকুমার হালদার, সুরেন গঙ্গোপাধ্যায় প্রভৃতির সুনিপুণ তুলিকায় চিত্রিত।

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Indian Periodicals

Betrayal

Writing editorially under the above caption what *The Economic Weekly* says about the handling of the problems of displaced minorities, should find endorsement in all fair minded thinking:

India has not yet appreciated the problem of East Bengal minorities. How ignorant and unaware the country is of this problem has been brought out forcefully and tragically in the last few days. The Hindus have been sowly but steadily squeezed out from East Bengal ever since the partition. The inflow of refugees has waxed and waned; once in a while it has swollen iito a flood and then abated but the flow has never stopped. It continued in a trickle. This was the case even after the Centre in its wisdom had officially closed the borders some years ago and announced its decision to end the refugee problem once and for all by stopping all further inflow on the one hand and settling those who had already come and were languishing in refugee camps by dispersing them in settlements outside West Bengal, primarily in Dandakaranya. The progress in the latter direction has been known to everybody; not so well known perhaps the results of the sealing of the border. The ban did not stop the influx but it did deprive those who came in spite of the ban, of what little help the Government could provide, pitifully inadequate though it was.

The latest recrudescence, more violent and savage than any in the past, and also on a much larger scale, produced a different reaction in India. The Centre was moved; it changed its previous policy and made the dramatic announcement that it would take over the entire nine million and odd minority population that was still in East Pakistan, if need be, and assume the full responsibility of rehabilitating them. This was on the face of it a very bold decision to take and the conference of the Union Ministers with the West Bengal Government, attended by the Minister for Finance, was intended to demonstrate that the Centre really meant what it said, and preparations were set afoot with much fanfare for taking in the new wave of refugees.

In West Bengal, naturally, much political capital can be made by the Congress leaders by championing the cause of the refugees and foremost among those who came forward to aid the refugees was Shri Atulya Ghosh, the President of the State Coigress Committee, who has lately been very prominent in all-India politics also. But while political capital can be made by championing the cause of the refugees, the gain cannot be retained and indeed the Congress cannot even survive in West Bengal unless the refugees who come in are speedily moved away from the State. Otherwise, the presence of these disgruntled elements would be a constant threat to the Congress in West Bengal which may spell disaster for it in the elections any day. Hence the concerted move this time to remove the refugees straightaway to destinations outside the State so that they may not harm the West Bengal Congress and weaken Atulya Ghosh's hegemony. Delhi reported that special trains were being arranged to move out the refugees with the utmost despatch.

What has happened in the past few days, however, shows up what the Centre's concern and dramatic decisions mean in practice. The mock heroic announcement of settling the refugees speedily has not been followed up by any kind of advance preparations even to provide them with temporary shelter. A team of Members of Parliament who visited the refugee camps in Orissa a week ago reported the atrocious conditions which face the incoming refugees. They have been dumped on waste land where there are not even any trees to provide shelter in this summer heat, no water to drink, no roof over their heads and none of the minimum amenities without which life cannot survive. Soon after this came the news from Orissa of police firing on a band of desperate refugees who had revolted against these conditions, deserted the camp in which they had been thrown in and were squatting on the station's platform and on the tracks wanting to be sent back to West Bengal. Five persons were killed and eight injured as a result of the firing according to first reports that had come out.

The immediate reaction of the new Minister for Rehabilitation was to issue a public statement condemning the lawless conduct of the refugees, and stating that it was impossible to provide all of them with agricultural land, along with an appeal for their co-operation with the State authorities and admonition not to shirk manual

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work. Shri Tyagi, to boost his own morale, also made the astounding statement that "the State Governments were doing their utmost to reclaim land for agriculture," presumably for settling the refugees. And all this after the Members of Parliament had reported the state of affairs as witnessed by them.

According to Shri Mahavir Tyagi, the number of refugees who have crossed over from East Pakistan since January is about 800,000 (and *not* 300,000 as mentioned in the AICC resolution on the communal situation), of whom only half have registered themselves as refugees while the rest are lingering on in West Bengal without any relief or rehabilitation assistance from the Government. One can well imagine the plight of those who do not get help. But what about those who are promised help and then betrayed? If this is the fate of those who have come, what fate awaited more than ten times their number, whom the Centre has solemnly promised to resettle?

Recent developments have completely destroyed the impression created earlier that the Centre was fully seized of the problem and determined this time to shoulder the responsibility of taking in the refugees instead of leaving them to shift for themselves or to be looked after, if at all, by West Bengal. Partition was not the creation of West Bengal. Why should the consequences fall on its weak shoulders?

The distress of the refugees and the pathetic incompetence of the administration in implementing programmes of relief and rehabilitation are old stories. There would not be any point in harping upon them but for the altogether new and heightened significance that they have assumed after the change of policy in regard to Indo-Pakistan relations in general and the problem of East Pakistan minorities in particular. If the East Pakistan minorites could be brought over to India and re-settle somehow, Pakistan would no longer have a whipping horse to beat up periodically and create a law and order problem for India by fomenting a communal upsurge. That should now be the accepted theory if one were to take the pronouncements of the Government of India at their face value.

The resolution adopted at the recent AICC session, however, comes as an anticlimax to these earlier protestations of a change of policy. It does not confirm the mock heroic resolve to solve the problem of minorities in East Pakistan by bringing them over, if need be, or the commitment of the Government of India to rehabilitate them. Quite the contrary in fact, for the resolution goes on to recount all that the Congress has done since the days of Gandhiji to foster communal harmony and concludes on a note of hope that Pakistan will also see reason and be more conciliatory in the future, citing the recent—abortive inter-ministerial meeting in support of this very wishful thought. The resolution refuses to accept the problem as one of law and order, nor does it seek a political solution on any practical level.

There is enough evidence to show that the maintenance of communal peace and the so-called secular character of the State has now become a Central responsibility which can be discharged only through the Army in fact—and not merely in theory as in the case of refugee rehabilitation —and no longer through the police force of the State Governments. That the AICC should be aware of the new character of the problem, so much more menacing now than in thee past, and yet refuse to face it and take shelter behind platitudinous inanities, is in keeping with the general character of the Congress Party today. The resolution accords well, however, with the official parleys with Sheikh Abdullah and the simultaneous reiteration that the accession of Kashmir is final and irrevocable.

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Foreign Periodicals

Report on C.P.R.

Diplomat and educationist, soldier and author, Carlos P. Romulo of the Philippines has been a figure of romance. The following editorial excerpt from the **Saturday Review** will help to present a clear picture of this maker of modern Philippines :

Two years ago, Carlos P. Romulo left his ambassadorial post in the United States to become president of the University of the Philippines at Manila. For almost a quarter-century his life and work had made a deep impress on the American mind. He was known as author, lecturer, aide-de-camp to General Douglas MacArthur during the Second World War, President of the General Assembly of the United Nations, head of the Philippine Delegation to the United Nations, and Ambassador to the United States. It is probable that not since Lafayette had any representative from another nation been more highly regarded or acclaimed.

It is natural, therefore, that there should be a great deal of interest in Carlos Romulo's new career as university president. While in Manila, I had ample opportunity to visit the General and observe him in action. This piece is in the nature of a brief report.

His first few months as university president were not lacking in excitement or personal challenge. Some of the students seemed to feel that the Ambassador's identification with the United Nations and his consistent advocacy of a world-citizenship philosophy ran counter to the new spirit of Philippine nationalism. Or they assumed that the fact of his adherence to the Catholic Church would endanger the university's standing as a secular institution. Or they were apprehensive that his long service in the United States had given him such a strong conditioning that the university would be indisguishable from an American campus in no time at all.

Even before he arrived on the campus, critical comment appeared in the student newspaper. And he had hardly hung up his hat in the President's office when trouble loomed in connection with the announced state visit to the Philippines of Prince Akihito and Princess Michiko of Japan. A delegation of students served notice that if the royal visitors came to the university they would be greeted by a demonstration protesting Japan's treatment of the Philippines during the war.

Characteristically, President Romulo responded to the attacks of the student newspaper by increasing the freedom and responsibility of the editors and reducing the role of the faculty adviser. To the students who warned they would demonstrate against the Japanese royal visitors, President Romulo said that this was entirely within their rights. He stressed that the right of protest was one he intended to uphold but stressed equally the need to equate freedom with responsibility. And he made it clear that the university was looking to tomorrow and not to the perpetuation of old grievances.

To the more general apprehensions or criticisms, the president's reply was to direct his main attentions to the central problems of the university. He embarked immediately on an eighteen-point program of development—raising academic standards, enlarging the scholarship program, strengthening the faculty, stepping up faculty salaries, refurbishing the university plant, instituting research programs in both the physical and social sciences, establishing a medical school, undertaking basic planning for an Institute of Communication that could serve as a research and training center in Southeast Asia for mass media and related fields.

It is only a short time, relatively, since Carlos Romulo became a university president, but all the early troubles and criticisms

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are far behind him. The students like their access to the chief and his readiness to discuss or debate with them. Meanwhile, substantial progress has been made on the eighteen-point program. Two boosts in faculty salaries have already been put through and more are scheduled. Academic standards have been raised and will go even higher. The library is being expanded. Land is being cleared for the major new buildings. Intellectual ferment is in style; visiting lecturers like Arnold Toynbee and Barbara Ward have challenged the students to relate the problems of the Philippines to the larger problems of the human community. The spirit of Philippine independence has been strengthened in official school activities and observances. At the same time, President Romulo has made the point that independence for the Philippines, or for any other nation, depends on interdependence in the world.

Carlos Romulo believes that the first obligation of his university is to the nation and its people, but he also recognizes that the school is uniquely situated to serve as common ground between East and West. The Philippine people have had a triple heritage—Asian, European, and American. He regards this as a prime natural asset in enlarging the university's place in the educational community in general.

Several attempts have been made to entice Carlos P. Romulo back into public life, but he has successfully held his ground. His role is that of elder statesman and educator. He is consistently consulted on questions of foreign policy by President Diosdado Macapagal. And his influence as educator is being felt throughout a large part of Asia.

At sixty-four, Carlos Romulo has what he considers to be the most rewarding of all possible jobs. The government has warned him it has no intention of letting him retire next year or for some years to come. Meanwhile, he maintains the kind of schedule that is exhausting just to contemplate. He is often at his desk by 7 A.M. for a daily stint of twelve hours or more. It is possible the workload may be eased as his eighteen-point program comes to fruition. He welcomes this prospect, for it will give him time to do something he has hoped to do since he came to the university. In addition to his work as president he would like to give a course in American literature.

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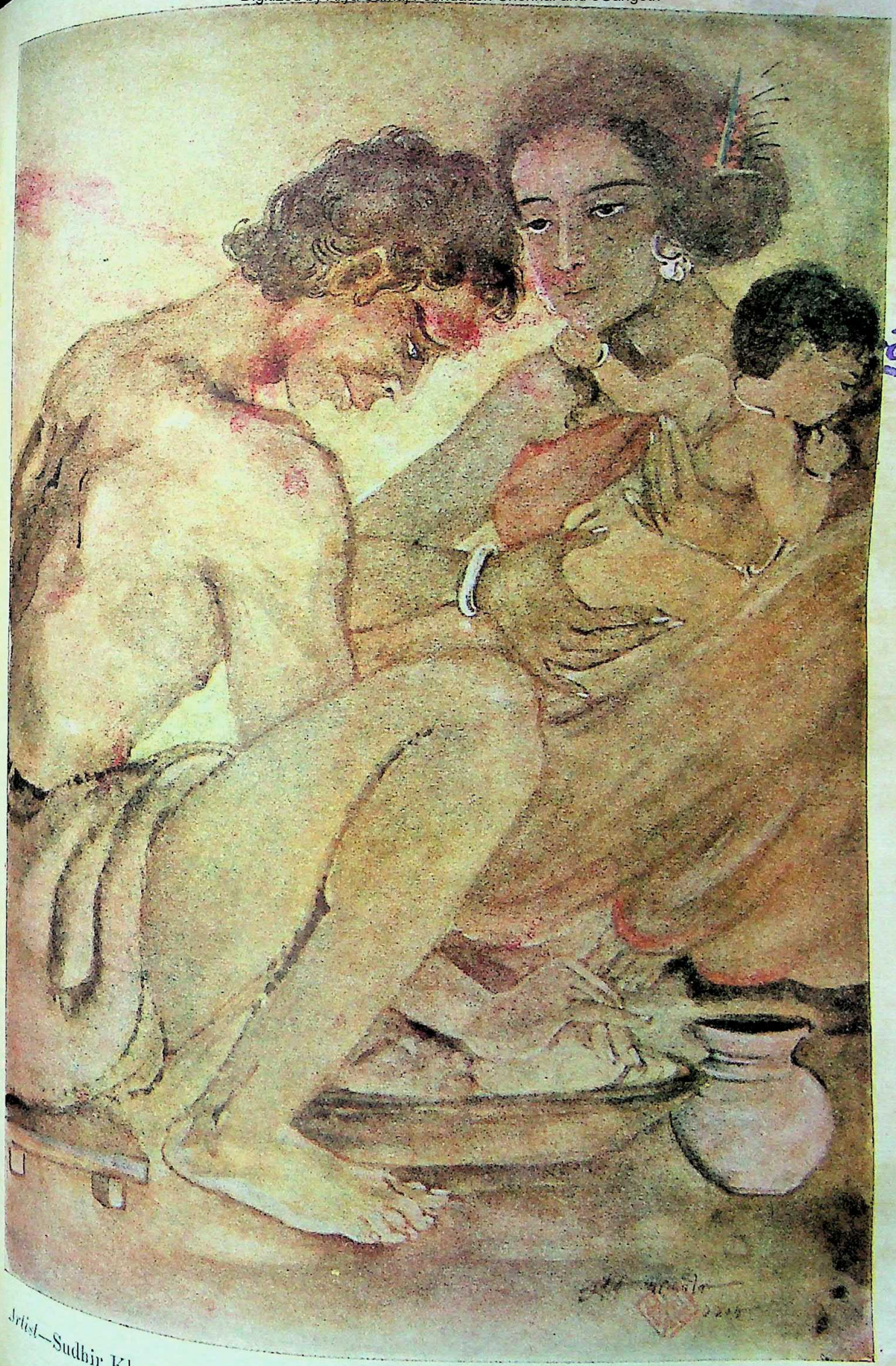

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THE MODERN REVIEW

JULY 1964

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NOTES

The World

World tensions have remained much the same since the notes were written for our last issue. In Laos nothing new has been achieved by the Six-Nation Conference at the royal capital Vientienne beyond a mild recommendation that the full 14 nation Conference be called and that the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Commission, Britain and the U.S.S.R. be asked to direct the North-Vietnamese troops, who are fighting either as Pathet-Lao volunteers or as regular troops of North Vietnam, to pull-out of Laos. At the time of writing, the Pathet Lao had not mounted any fresh offensive and reconnaisance by U.S. planes accompanied by jet fighters was being kept up. In South-Vietnam the position is much the same, though the monsoons being on, regular troops with their mechanised units and heavy armour are at a disadvantage in comparison with the Viet-Cong guerillas with their light-equipment, adapted for jungle warfare and movement through marshy areas and rice fields. There is a trying time ahead, therefore, unless new tactics are brought into play, for the Government forces.

In the U.S. the attitude of the Government seems to have hardened to the point of risking war with China if necessary to save South-East Asia from Communist aggression. According to authoritative sources this attitude on the part of the U.S. Government has been made known in regard to the problems involved in the cases of Laos and South Vietnam. Speaking at a Democratic Party function in San Francisco on June 20, President Johnson had said:

"There are still those who believe they can violate their neighbours' borders and steal their neighbours' freedom. There are still those who refuse to accept the standards and the laws which the international community has developed.

"As long as these men persist in disturbing the international peace, we must insist on preserving our power. As long as I am President, I intend to see that America's defence can never be the object of doubt or her strength the subject of suspicion."

The hopes for a peaceful settlement of the disputes between Indonesia, Malayasia and the Philippines have again receded due to the bellicose and intransigent attitude of President Soekarno of Indonesia. Goerilla warfare in the Malayasian areas of Borneo is again being stepped up by the Indonesian President who loses no chance of proclaiming his determination to destroy Malayasia through a policy of "Confrontation." The "Summit" meeting at Tokyo failed due to the unyielding arrogance of the Indonesian's stand in regard to any attempt at compromise, the basis for which was to have been the total withdrawal of the Indonesian guerillas. All attempts by the Philippine President Diosdado Macapagal at persuasion has failed so far and the prospects for further talks for a settlement of the disputes are dim. The hand of Red China is clearly indicated in the tangle. The visit of the First Deputy Prime Minister of the Soviet Union, Mr. Anastas Mikoyan to Jakarta does

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not seem to have yielded any results so far, in either direction.

In South Korea a violent outbreak of student rioting has forced President Chung Hee Park to proclaim martial law and to dismiss his nephew by marriage Kim Chong Pil who was the head of the ruling Democratic-Republican Party and the head of the South Korean Central Intelligence Administration—a military organisation with an evil reputation. Kim Chong Pil, who was widely hated, was the behing-the-scenes strong man who was placing his supporters into key jobs in a brazen fashion. Park, who is a dictator, saw that the situation was going out of control fast and therefore pushed Kim out of his job and sent him to attend a seven-week long seminar on politics and economics at the Harvard University. The ways of a dictator are curious indeed. !

In the Congo tribal revolts instigated by Red China's emissaries, who provide money, weapons and training in guerilla warfare to tribals, have resulted in the pulling down of Premier Cyrille Adoula's Cabinet. The widespread disturbances have resulted in the reappearance of all the major trouble makers in the four-year old republic, and the biggest of them, Moise Tshombe is said to be on his way to the revolt racked country. The U.N. peace-keeping force pulls out by June 30.

As was only to be expected, the South-African Government has treated the request by its friends in the U.N.O., to mitigate the ferocious sentences imposed on the African leader Nelson Mandela and seven other, with cynical contempt. Verwoerd and others of his government are confident that the great powers of the West would abandon all humane considerations and principles rather than stop the flow of rich dividends however vile their sources, if it came to the ultimate choice. Afro-Asians have to wait until they are in a position to retaliate massively before they can expect any remedy.

In the U.S.A., the Civil Rights Bill has passed the final stages and it is expected that the U.S. President will sign the Bill into law on or about the Fourth of July. The Bill's voting guarantees must wait for an election before being fully tested. The ban on discrimination in employment and labour unions does not come into effect for a year. But the public accomodation section becomes effective as soon as the Bill passes into law and is likely to cause the most violent repercussions. It is the farthest reaching and strongest civil rights measure as yet proposed and it categorically :

(1) Forbids racial discrimination in most hotels, restaurants, theaters and the like.

(2) Authorizes the Attorney General to initiate suits or to intervene on behalf of aggrieved persons in school desegregation and other discrimination cases.

(3) Creates a Federal equal employment opportunities commission to investigate and counter discriminatory practices in hiring and union membership.

(4) Allows Federal officials to cut off U.S. funds to "any recipient" who persists in racial discrimination (state and local works projects would be among those affected).

(5) Proscribes tactics used by some Southern registrars to keep Negroes off the voting rolls (such as disqualification for immaterial errors on records of application).

The Bill, when it passes into law, would "vastly extend the Federal power to combat racial discrimination" as the **New York Times** wrote. But, as the **N. Y. Times** commented, it is only the first step and steeper ones are ahead. The **N. Y. Times** said :

But the bill will not cure all the racial ills that beset the country or even most of them. It will constitute only a small part of the massive effort that will be required to eradicate the economic, educational and social inequality that is the Negro's lot.

And further it said :

When the civil rights bill is signed into law, it will be comparable in significance to the Supreme Court's ruling a decade ago that outlawed racial segregation in the public schools. But like that historic decision the prospective new law is but a small step toward the far-distant goal of racial equality.

Moreover, the force of the law falls unevenly upon South and North. In the South it is expected to lead to dramatic though limited change. In the North the effects will be mainly psychological.

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The principal change in the South will come in public accommodations. In some places, including chain hotels and restaurants, quick compliance is expected once discrimination is outlawed and that can be cited as an excuse to protesting whites.

But resistance by many independent operators is expected.

The Sadachar Samiti

Our Home Minister, Shri Gulzari Lal Nanda, gave a slogan to the recently formed anti-Corruption Society, The Sadachar Samiti, during an address to the Working Committee of that body. The slogan was "People's War agaisnt corruption", Mr. Nanda said, during the course of his address, that he wanted every person to take a pledge that he would "end all forms of corruption and work for the good of the country." We thoroughly approve of the idea, on the principle "better late than never."

The Samyukta Sadachar Samiti, which is a non-official organisation set up to fight corruption, has arrived rather late in the day. Corruption became rife and rampant in this country during the days of World War II, the central figures being the **Pucca Sahibs,** both civil and military, who revived the foul traditions of John Company's factors who amassed huge fortunes by **shaking the Pagoda tree** and other processes with fancy names which spelt in plain language extortion, rapine and plunder. Of course these **Pucca Sahibs** had Indian satellites who did all the dirty work for them and also sometimes suffered some penalties when some cases were instituted as a matter of form against a few of them, just to show the world the glories of the British Raj. Needless to say the punishment never fitted the crime and, excepting right at the end of the war, few of the real "Big shots" were ever apprehended.

After the end of the War, the conditions in this country were appalling. Every sphere of public life, was riddled with corruption, transport systems were in ruins and trade and industry had either passed or were in the process of passing into the hands of gamblers and speculators who were likewise experts in tax-evasion, black-marketing and profiteering on large-scale. They were the successors in business to the **Burra Sahibs** and the **Pucca Sahibs** who had taught them every trick of the trade **inclusive of the methods of pulling political strings.**

Freedom came—not as a gift from the British as some super-fatted British press-lords and some gullible Yankees and others of that ilk would believe, but because the British were astute enough to make out that of the million and half Indian war-veterans almost all would join the freedom fighters in the motherland if the call came and the war-weary British soldier had no stomach for forlorn-hope fighting for the preservation of the Empire. So they left in good grace, unlike the French in Indo-China. Almost all the **Burra Sahibs** and the **Pucca Sahibs** departed with the passing of of the British Raj carrying with them the White-man's Burden, which means Loot, leaving their trained satellites to carry on with the tradition of corruption, profiteering, tax-evasion and political graft. And it is they who constitute the main forces of evil that the Sadachar Samiti will have to fight, though their numbers have proliferated and their malign influence has permeated wide and deep into the body politic, administration and the economy of the nation far beyond what it was at the time of the attainment of Freedom.

Those who were placed in control of the affairs of the Union after the Transfer of Power, were there by virtue of their leadership of the people through the long years of the struggle for freedom. Later on their assumption of powers was ratified through the democratic processes of a free election on the basis of adult franchise, so there could be no question about their being placed in the position of power and trust through the will and the consent of the nation.

Our chosen leaders had enormous enthusiasm and a profound theory about the functioning of a democracy with all the attributes of freedom. They had supreme faith in the intrinsic goodness and staunchness of the peoples they had led in the bitter struggle for freedom that started so many

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decades back. But they had no experience in the intricacies of administration whatsoever, particularly where it meant dealing with the corrupt practices and anti-social activities of powerful groups of totally unscrupulous businessmen and financiers with insatiable lust for illicit gain and, further, they were blissfully unaware of the extent to which corruption had spread in the general administration of the country and the political organisation of the Congress. The result was that Organised Corruption had a free field to work its evil designs on the helpless peoples of India. No one talked about an anti-corruption drive at that juncture.

Some time later, when tax-evasion assumed colosal proportions, a Commission was set up to investigate and assess the extent to which it had been done, under the Chairmanship of ex-Chief Justice Varadachari. The results of the survey was not made public but it is known that excepting just a very few of the old-established industrial concerns, almost all the other big businessmen and entrepreneurs were indicted. But some of the most powerful had dug themselves into the good-graces of the most powerful men at the top, so they were let off on condition that they paid the Government its back dues in instalments running over 20 years in certain cases!

That was the time for the formation of a Sadachar Samiti, but despite warnings from all thoughtful peoples, the Great Ones went along their blissful way, unheeding and over confident.

So it is late in the day but, however, it is better late than never—provided it signifies a sincere determination on the part of of the majority in the Cabinet to root out the evils of corruption. No half-hearted measures, no reservations and no interference by party bosses must be allowed to prevail. And no political luminary with a shady or doubtful reputation, however high the position or office he might have climbed into in the past, must be allowed to hold places of vantage in the Samity, if it is to be an efficient instrument—and it should be remarked in that context that quite a few of the shadiest will do their level best to get in, once they are convinced that the powers-that-be mean business. In any case, our best wishes to Shri Gulzarilal Nanda for success in his extremely difficult but vitally important venture.

The Chief Minister's Conference

The three-day Chief Minister's Conference at New Delhi, which ended on June 26, has had a more satisfactory result, where the common man is concerned, than was expected of it. It has led to certain decisions which are likely to have a reassuring effect in these days of uncertain food supplies. It is not that all the decisions were clear-cut and conducive towards ending the complications of foodgrain supply immediately, but they do indicate the determination of the Government to grapple with the problems of soaring prices of essential foodstuffs. A decision was taken at the end of the conference to set up adequate machinery immediately for the proper enforcement of all control measures and to prevent profiteering, black-marketting, hoarding and other anti-social practices. The measures decided upon are as follows:

The conference decided that a scientific study should be undertaken immediately with a view to fixing maximum prices of rice and wheat in different States.

The proposal to form a foodgrains trading corporation as a commercial organization was fully discussed but could not be given a final shape. There was divergence of opinion whether these corporations should be formed on a regional basis or one central corporation should be constituted.

Maximum control of prices and distribution of foodgrains in West Bengal will continue as at present. The Government of India has given the assurance that adequate quantities of rice and wheat will be made available to the States.

Wheat zones as constituted at present will be maintained. The Central Government will, however, make arrangements for supply of adequate stocks of wheat to deficit States.

The conference is understood to have decided to fix ceiling prices at wholesale

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and retail level as an immediate short-term measure to check the rising prices.

There will be no restrictions of any kind, formal or informal, on the movement of coarse grains or pulses from one State to another or within a State. All such restrictions that may have been imposed by any State Government will be withdrawn immediately. Movement of gram from certain States which had been regulated with the approval of the Central Government will, however, continue to be so regulated.

Movement of grains between the States should be on State to State account. The conference decided to establish three rice mills in the public sector to begin with. Of these one will be located in the Madhya Pradesh.

It must be remarked in this context, that it is still to be seen whether these decisions will be given effect to with the firmness and efficiency that is needed to counter the anti-social tactics of the profiteers and black-marketeers that infest the trade in essential commodities. Deterrant action is urgently called for and it is to be hoped that the authorities at the Centre and in the States would henceforward devote their attention on concentrated executive action against the profiteers, black-marketeers, hoarders etc.

The Prime Minister's speech, at the conclusion of the conference was forthright and heartening and it is to be hoped that those in charge of the working-out of his ideas would follow the lines of action suggested by him. The failure of the administration, both at the Centre and in the States, has been largely caused by the indifference of the executive towards the interests of the people in general resulting in neglect of duty which has assumed colossal and criminal proportions in all Government departments —motivated partly by pure indolence and in other cases by more base considerations. The speech summary is appended below:

New Delhi, June 26.—Prime Minister Shastri today told the State Chief Ministers that they could not "afford to lose a moment" in taking long-term measures to solve the food problem.

They should aim at the objective of increasing production, and reaching a stage in "five year's time or even a little more" when the supply of foodgrains to States, whether indigenous or imported, would not remain a Central responsibility.

Mr. Subramaniam (Union Food Minister) had said that he would more or less delegate most of the work to the State Governments, Mr. Shastri said, and added: "I am thinking of the day when the State Governments should not ask for a single foodgrain from the Central Government. It should be entirely the responsibility of the State Governments." If there were deficit States, it should be the duty of the neighbouring States or other States to help them. "Let the Chief Ministers meet and discuss matters and decide among themselves." If they liked their Food Ministers might participate in the Zonal Council meetings, but even that was not necessary.

He envisaged that in the long run the Centre would intervene only when there was a serious or extraordinary situation. It should not become a general practice.

The Prime Minister hoped that the trade would realise its responsibility and respond to the needs of the present situation. "If they don't, we cannot allow them to play with the lives of our people," he warned.

In this connection the Prime Minister recalled that at the time of the Chinese invasion the Delhi foodgrain merchants and association had told him that they would not enhance the price even by a single paisa. They fulfilled the assurance. "They will of course, have profits, they cannot become saints or sadhus. As the situation is today they must realise their own responsibility."

Mr. Shastri said the Finance Minister, Mr. Krishnamachari, in his address to the Conference, had mentioned "one of the most important things,—a heavy reduction in government expenditure."

The Prime Minister added: "May I appeal to you, we should not be tinkering with the problem. If there is a surplus department, the department may be eliminated completely. I know if the secretariat so desires, and if it is earnest about it, it can cut down expenditure by 25 per cent. We may also be partly responsible—the politicians

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or ministers—because those who are retrenched start coming to us, and we sympathise with them and create difficulties for officials. In this matter, we will have to be somewhat hard-hearted."

He said that if expenditure was not cut down, the whole population would suffer and commodities would get dearer. He hoped every State would take care of this problem.

It is certainly necessary that a due warning should be given to the trade that the Government "Cannot allow them to play with the lives of the people," but the Prime Minister should remember that, that is precisely what the Governments at the Centre and in the States have allowed it to do all these long years. The trade now consists largely of hardened "anti-social elements whose chief attribute is insatiable greed. We hope the Government has worked out a plan of action against recalcitrant traders. Pious exhortations or mild admonitions and small fines are not likely to have any more effect on them than on other hardened criminals. The position is too acute today, as can be seen from the news item appended below, to allow of any tardy action. The news item is :

Wholesale prices in India are now at the highest level ever reached, revealed Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri.

The general price index at 144.5 on May 30, 1964 is 8.6 per cent above the level a year ago.

Prices of foodgrains and other agricultural commodities in particular have risen sharply in the past year. While prices of food articles have gone up by 13 per cent, cereal prices have increased as much as 16.5 per cent.

The Prime Minister said that this rise in prices imposes extreme hardship and inequity on a large section of the people, and it is naturally the foremost problem in people's mind today.

Besides foodgrains there are other essentials like fats and oils and suppliers of protein that are essential for the life and well-being of the people. In West Bengal there is a gamble going on in mustard oil which has reached almost criminal levels. The oil-seed comes from other provinces and a closely guarded ring of importers control the prices in the markets at Calcutta. Needless to say they are of the same ilk as the "anti-social" traders in foodgrains. The result has been artificially created shortages with the attendant evils of sky-rocketting black-market prices. The State Government has asked for action at the Centre as was reported sometime ago.:

To deal with hoarders in mustard oil and seeds, the West Bengal Government has approached the Centre for enforcing immediate regulations to licence stockists of mustard oil and seeds on an all All India basis.

The State Government has requested the Centre to adopt some measures immediately for the control of mustard oil prices all over the country.

The question is likely to be discussed by the Chief Minister, Sri P. C. Sen during his stay in Delhi.

Lastly, to illustrate the way of the profiteer we apend an advertisement below which appeared in local dailies a few days back. It should be noted that just a few weeks back the charge for the 2½ Kg. tin container was in the neighbourhood of five paise.

Packing Nett wt.	Price of Oil	Packing & Tin	Ex Mill Rate.	Wholesale Rate.	Retail Rate.
1/2Kg.	Rs. 1.54.	00-54nP.	Rs. 2.08nP.	Rs. 2.11nP.	Rs. 2.16nP.
1 Kg.	Rs. 3.09	00-81nP.	Rs. 3.90nP.	Rs. 3.96nP.	Rs. 4.06nP.
2 Kg.	Rs. 6.18.	1-36nP.	Rs. 7.54nP.	Rs. 7.66nP.	Rs. 7.86nP.
4 Kg.	Rs. 12.36.	2-09nP.	Rs. 14.45nP.	Rs. 14.69nP.	Rs. 15.09nP.
16.5Kg.	Rs. 50.98	3-91nP.	Rs. 54.89nP.	Rs. 55.88nP.	Rs. 57.53nP.

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Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Centenary

The Centenary Celebrations of the birth of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee were inaugurated on the 29th of June, his birthday, by our President Dr. Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, who himself was one of the earnest and scholarly younger professors selected by Sir Asutosh to fill one of his Chairs for post-graduate teaching. Sir Asutosh in his quest for talent for the purpose of equipping the faculties with suitable men, looked for keenness of intellect and scholarly attainments and equipment only. To him youth was no disqualification nor were there any parochial limitations or considerations preventing the choice of candidates from out side provinces. The President, in his inaugural speech particularly stated that there were heads of departments in post-graduate teaching in Sir Asutosh's time who were between thirty and thirty five years of age, which was an example that the Educational departments of the Central and State Ministries might well follow profitably.

Dr. Radhakrishnan began his address by paying his tributes to the three great sons of Bengal—Rabindranath Tagore, Swami Vivekananda and Asutosh Mookerjee—who had contributed so immensely, directly and indirectly, to the political awakening and cultural emancipation of the country. They had, he pointed out, recently celebrated the centenaries of the first two and today they had the privilege of inaugurating the birthday centenary programme of Sir Asutosh.

Nobody felt more keenly than Sir Asutosh how the Indian universities in those days were creating a disinherited section in our motherland and how scant was the attention they were paying to the culture of our own country. A democrat, Asutosh opened the gates of the university to all and introduced the democratic basis of education of all kinds in the country. Anybody, rich or poor, was, under his new system, entitled to find a place for university education provided he possessed the merit to go in for the same.

Sir Asutosh also tried his best to make sure that people in the universities of India remained true to the culture and heritage of their own country. They should acquire whatever they could from other countries of the world, but at the same time he taught them to remain steadfast to their own self. He also wanted to ensure that men who had made Indian culture great found an honoured place in the Calcutta University.

Dr. Radhakrishnan pointed out how Asutosh had made distinctive contributions to the educational progress of the country by emphasizing for the first time the importance of scientific research and technological progress and, in the second place, by stressing the importance of Indian languages in the educational set-up of the country. He made Bengali as the medium of instruction in Bengal and his example was soon followed by other universities in various other parts of the country.

The Vice-Chancellor of the University of Calcutta, Mr. Malik, mentioned, while proposing a vote of thanks to the President, that the University today was unable to accommodate many qualified and deserving students due to lack of funds and space. We do not know whether any measures are being taken to remedy this State of affairs, which includes, according to Mr. Malik, the question of teacher-student ratio, the non-existence of tutorial classes and some other essentials of academic equipment. There should be an attempt to devise ways and means, despite the acute scarcity of available funds, to provide venues of higher education for those who deserve but cannot get the requisite accommodation. That would be the fittest tribute to Sir Asutosh.

New Departure in Food Policy

At last the Central Government has decided that the mentality of the food-grain traders is corrupt beyond any redemption, where the principals are concerned. Mr. C. Subramanium said at his first Press Conference as Union Food Minister, that "unaccounted money"—by which he meant money dishonestly earned and illicitly hoarded and employed—was "playing havoc" with the country's economy, and was largely responsible for holding back food stocks from the market.

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He also announced that the Government was now working on the details of the proposed Food Trading Corporation. It might be one corpration for all commodities and for the whole of the country. Alternatively there might be Zonal Corporations. He said these details would be finalised and put forward to the Central Cabinet before long. The expert body to advise the Government on fixation of maximum prices for food grains would also be set up soon.

But the most heartening announcement made was that no new licences would be granted to private parties to set up rice mills. The Public Sector or the Co-operative bodies will set up 2000 rice mills progressively by 1970. The Food Minister said that by July 15 a team of food officials would go to West Germany, Italy and Japan to obtain machinery for the new rice mills. The existing rice mills in the private sector will not be allowed to remodel their machinery.

On being told that there was an impression amongst the traders that the threats and workings to the trade were, "idle," Mr. Subramanium replied "We go on hissing some time. Later on, if it becomes necessary, we will have to bite also."

Let us hope that there is substance behind this statement. The Government has been fiddling with vital problems too long.

New Chief Minister in Punjab

The Das Commission report having led to the resignation of Sardar Pratap Singh Kairon from the Chief Ministership of Punjab an uncertainity prevailed in the Congress circles regarding the choice of a successor. There were warring groups within the Congress in Punjab and there were faction-leaders who were constantly jousting for power and office. There were opposition groups which stood to benefit from these schisms within the Congress group as some of them had objectives which cut across party affiliations. So the choice of a leader of the Congress party after the resignation of Sardar Pratap Singh Kairon posed problems of extraordinary complication because every claimant for leadership seemed to have almost as many bitter opponents as followers within the party.

Finally the different groups decided to leave the choice of a new leader to the High Command and agreed to abide by its decision. The prestige of the Punjab Congress was enhanced by this move but the burden of responsibility imposed on the High Command became heavy in the same measure because of the critical situation in the Punjab P.C.C. The obvious solution, by the nomination of Mr. Swaran Singh of the Central Cabinet, was excluded from consideration because he could not be spared. The result was a fortnight of tussle between the two rival groups, led by Messrs Kairon and Darbara Singh respectively, both pressing their claims before the High Command The names of Mr. Mohan Lal, Giani Zail Singh, Mr. Darbara Singh, Mr. Bhimsen Sachar and Dr. Gopichand Bhargava were all put forward by their followers and supporters. They were all men of standing in the Congress party but none could offer the prospect of peace amongst the rival factions.

The High Command evidently decided to steer clear of controversial personalities and to look for a long record of service and unchallenged integrity in preference to a strength of following in their choice. Mr. Ram Kishan has been the choice, and to judge by the unanimous approval of the party leaders the choice has been happy.

The choice of Mr. Ram Kishan after the choice of Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri as the Prime Minister seems to indicate that the High Command desires to put an end to the rule of party bosses. If so, it is a happy augury.

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Current Affairs

By KARUNA K. NANDI

PRICES AND THE FOOD CRISIS

The mountain in labour, to wit the Chief Ministers of States who have lately been in conclave with leaders of the Central Cabinet in New Delhi with a view to devise ways and means to effectively combat the mounting food crisis in the country, appears to have produced not even the proverbial mouse, but merely a molehill. Preliminary indications, on the eve of the conference, of the thinking of the Central Government that were given out to the press, seemed to suggest that the Government of India had already decided on the pattern on action that would be required to deal with the recurring food crisis and had, perhaps, even been envisaging the type of machinery that would have to be set up to implement the pattern. They had only been waiting for the Chief Ministers to endorse their views in this behalf before actually getting down to the business for, after all, it would be at the State level that, primarily, implementation of the suggested measures would have to be undertaken.

Control and Rationing Sabotaged

Thus, Union Finance Minister T. T. Krishnamachari was reported to have averred that he saw no other way to effectively deal with the situation except by promulgation of physical controls and rationing. The young and intrepid Union Food and Agriculture Minister, Shri C. Subramanium, was said to have decided that to enable controls and rationing to be effectively worked, it would be necessary for the State to take over the foodgrains trade as well as rice mills. We frankly did not look upon with equanimity these tentative suggestions. We have already had fairly extensive and rather unhappy experience of public sector management of business enterprises and industry. The administrative resources at the disposal of Government simply do not seem adequate, both in terms of rectitude—and this, in our view, was of the supreme importance as we commented last month in these columns—and efficiency, equal to the stupendous size of the task involved. In retrospect even higher prices, as we said then, might seem to be a lesser evil. And we desired that other methods might be devised that would be likely to effectively meet the needs of the situation.

However, the Chief Ministers appear to have effectively sabotaged the Union Government's plans and desires in this connection. What, in effect, the much boosted conference appears to have yielded is the rather surprising decision to virtually maintain the **status quo.** They do not consider it either wise or necessary for the State to intervene in the goodgrains trade or to introduce physical controls and rationing. They seem to have decided that measures for developing consumer co-operatives on a large scale, an undertaking which has already been tried and signally failed to make any impression at all, should be fostered and, in the meanwhile, statutory fixation of prices and modified rationing much in the manner in which these have been essayed in West Bengal, would meet the case. To them, it would appear, the problem of food was one mainly of supplies and if the free movement of goodgrains from surplus to deficit areas with, of course, necessary reservation of powers to the States to cordon off areas in deficit to prevent outgoes from these regions and, additionally, if the Centre accepted responsibility for maintaining supplies to deficit areas, the crisis can be nipped out. The West Bengal Chief Minister appears to have been so elated with the decisions taken that he has already been patting himself on the back on the cleverness of his measures in this behalf which, he seems to think, may conceivably set the pattern for the whole country. As regards the proposal

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to take over rice mills, existing mills would not be touched as most of them were too outmoded and uneconomic and a scheme is said to have been evolved and agreed upon by which some modern mechanized units would be set up under the public sector at some date in the distant future. So, any hope that the Chief Ministers in consultation with the Government of India would devise immediate and effective measures to deal with the crisis that might have been generated, has now been most definitely dashed to the ground.

Not Merely One of Demand and Supply

We cannot agree that the problem of food, in the shape and manner it has been presenting itself, is merely one of supplies nor can we endorse the view that tinkering with it, as the West Bengal Government have been doing, by way of fixation of prices, which has ever been observed in the breach, and modified rationing, where supplies except during the last two weeks have comprised a small fraction of the units registered under ration cards, could even remotely deal with a crisis which, in its ultimate analysis, is far from being merely one of supplies, but of prices. In West Bengal, for instance, the aggregate monthly consumption of rice, according to official estimates, does not exceed 400,000 tonnes. According to revised official estimates, again, the yield of the last **Aman** harvest in November/December last in terms of rice aggregated 4.8 million tonnes (earlier official estimates had placed the figure at 5.4 million tonnes) and the expected yield of the **Aus** crop was a further 400,000 tonnes. So that the aggregate stock of the **new harvest** rice in the State should comprise a total of 5.2 million tonnes. Government are said to have had in their stocks a further 160,000 tonnes of rice upto end of May and expectation of supplies from Orissa and additional Central Government's promised subventions were placed at 300,000 tonnes each. So that the total stocks of rice in the State over the year and until the next harvest would be expected to comprise a gross 5.96 million tonnes against a gross estimated consumption of some 4.8 million tonnes. This, then, should leave the state with a comfortable surplus of some 1.16 million tonnes. Where is then the crisis of supplies?

The Nature of the Crisis

What has been happening really is that the Government are either unable or unwilling to assess the real nature of the crisis, which is clearly one of prices. And, short of complete physical controls and full rationing, it must be at this point that the problem will have to be tackled if effective results are expected to eventuate. All that the Government seem to think have been creating this price pressure are inadequate development and the resulting scarcity and inflationary pressures. What would seem to be completely lost sight of in this connection is the fact that the very measures and expedients pressed to service to obviate the situation so far applied, have themselves been containing distinctive and additional inflationary pressures. And, in addition, there are a variety of incidental and ancillary factors in operation in the market which have been intensifying this pressure to a very large extent.

Even at the risk of repeating ourselves for we have lately been discussing this aspect of the matter again and again in these columns —we feel it necessary to once again clearly restate our reading of the various contributory elements in the situation that, we feel have been mainly responsible for accelerating the steadily mounting price pressure and of which, we think, the crisis in the more easily vulnerable food sector is an inevitable incidental result.

Inadequate Development: Its Real Meaning

In the first instance there is this matter of what is being generally and comprehensively defined as inadequate development. On the face of it, having regard to the increasing allocations for development investments in the public sector, this would seem to be an obvious paradox. And the only remedy that, apparently, the Government seem to think would obviate the situation

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would be by further and more overwhelming allocations towards this end both in the public and private sectors. That increased investment allocations, by themselves, do not or would not lead to that measure of requisite development that would be able to establish a better balance between investment and production and thus correct the subsisting imbalance between demand and supply, is a fact which does not seem to have been accorded that measure of consideration which it would clearly seem to deserve. Basically, the content of development is inherent in the actual production yield that would flow from and must be commensurate with the measure of investment injected into the economy. That there has, all through the Second Plan, been a clear imbalance bewteen investment and yield in actual terms, would be obvious from the fact that while the measure of investments fully conformed to the targets envisaged in the Plan, the resultant yield has been measurably short of expectations in terms of the increase in the quantum of national income. While the Second Plan programmed for a national income level of Rs. 15,500 crores at the end of the Plan period, (and this, in itself, was a somewhat attenuated estimate compared to the target originally envisaged), the actual yield in terms of the national income that was obtained aggregated only Rs. 15,050 crores. Whether this shortfall in the achievements of the Second Plan was due to the pressures on the price level, as Shri G. L. Nanda, in his the then capacity as the Union Minister for Planning, contained, or whether the price pressure was itself the cause of this shortfall in development achievements, the fact remained that the shortfall has been most definitely there and the inevitable resultant price pressure which dogged the initial years of the follows Third Plan, commenced to gather accelerating momentum as the Plan progressed until it has reached the present critical level. This, clearly, has been helped to a considerable extent by the widening gap between investment and implementation in the Third Plan. Thus, while according to an estimate of the Planning Commission, aggregate investment would comprise over the Plan period more than 93 per cent of original estimates in this behalf, actual development yield in terms of the national income would fall short by a considerable margin. Even at the level of the very optimistic estimates of the Perspective Division of the Planning Commission recently released, the level of the national income at the end of the current Plan would not rise above Rs. 18,000 crores per annum although in realistic terms, the actual level reached, could not, by any means, reach far beyond Rs. 17,000 crores; probabilities are that it would be well below that level. But Plan investments have been goared to a national income target of Rs. 19000 crores. Thus development, in the manner it is being essayed, would clearly seem to contain within itself, very obvious and distinct inflationary potentials. It is essential that the emphasis on investment must yield priority to more commensurate yields to conform to capacity if the present imbalance in the economy has to be corrected with a view to arriving at a stable price situation. Incidentally, but not less importantly, investment priorities would seem to call for urgent revision and readjustments to obviate the pressures arising from that large area of already laid down but idle capacity in the economy. Clearly, therefore, a most essential and urgent need of the hour is to reorient the thinking of the Planning Commission and the Government alike to attain a more wholesome and healthy balance in Plan investments and priorities to obtain disinflationary results.

The Taxation Structure

One could wish most devoutly that this was all that needed to be done to obviate the present price crisis. Unfortunately, however, there are two distinctive and almost overwhelmingly potent factors that have been further complicating an already complex and confused situation from two different ends. The first of these is the obvious inflationary potentials in our tax structure to which we have referred more than once in these columns. Our gross revenue structure today comprises the overwhelming proportion of very nearly 74.6 per cent in indirect taxation. What is

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even more significant is that very nearly one half of this sector of our taxation measures are in the form of excise and other imposts upon a variety of essential and semi-essential consumables. Apart from the fact that such a tax structure inevitably lays far more than proportionately heavier burdens upon the poorer and more vulnerable sections of our tax payers which is fundamentally inequitable, and thus renders this vulnerable sector of the population progressively more vulnerable in the process, such a taxation structure also inevitably creates inflationary pressures upon the price structure. Shri Krishnamachari, in his last Budget speech, admitted as much, by implication, but there does not seem to have been any clear indication of his or the Government's intentions for devising actual measures for correcting the situation in the measurable future. One does not deny the obvious difficulties involved in such action but the crisis in prices that has already eventuated does not clearly admit of pursuing a policy of drift.

Credit Black Market

Then, there is that large, wholly unregulated credit market operating in the country which seems to be completely beyond the influences of any fiscal discipline that has been an almost overwhelming factor in the dismal price situation in the country. This credit sector in the country has been responsible for exploiting every point of imbalance in the economy for profiteering advantages which has been mainly responsible for the price crisis in the more vulnerable sectors of the economy covering essential edibles. Agricultural shortfalls have clearly helped them in their nefarious and anti-social activities. Increased agricultural production might have been a partial corrective, so far as essential edibles were concerned, but the fact cannot also be overlooked that progress in increased agricultural output itself can and is being subtantially hampered by the operations of this all too obvious but strangely undetectable credit market in the country. Unless measures, immediate and effective, can be devised to immobilize this sinister factor in the economy, price complications, in large measure, will inevitably continue to arise. This has even been officially admitted although greater strength would appear to have been lent to the elbows of this sinister group by also admiting the Government's virtual impotence to deal with it.

However much, therefore, Shri Prafulla Sen of West Bengal may give self-congratulatory pats on his own back to delude himself or the public he has to deal with, that he has found the panacea to obviate the food crisis or, however relieved the Government of India may feel that the Chief Ministers of States have saved them from having to face a most unpleasant necessity that of contending with the consequences of rationing, the essential fact remains that the present food crisis is only one, though a vital facet, of the general price crisis in the country. The factors that have variously and in different measures contributed to the crisis have been identified and their natures disccussed. And unless ways and means can be found to deal with this basic problem, although determined administrative measures at State levels may, perhaps, temporarily lessen pressures on the food front for the time being—it is quite uncertain that it may do so—it will continue to remain an ever-recurrent factor in the economy and will be bound, eventually, to vitiate the entire structure of planned development right down to its very foundations.*

CONCENTRATION OF ECONOMIC POWER—AN ASSESSMENT

The question, inspite of the rather vague findings of the Mahalanobis Committee on distribution of income and wealth, has begun to be seriously asked as to whether the pattern of concentration of economic power in individual hands in the private sector is not being far too much exaggerated out of proportion to its real size and intensity. This has especial reference to the rapidly growing size of the public sector progressively under successive Plans.

* The above comments do not necessarily represent the editorial view on the question.

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The pattern of industrial investments under successive Plans in the public sector would seem to have been growing at a very fast rate as the following figures would reveal:

Industrial Investments in the Public Sector

First Plan	Second Plan	Third Plan Appropriations
1950-51—1955-56	1955-56—1960-61	1960-61—1965-66
Rs. 60 crores	Rs. 770 crores	Rs. 1330 crores

Thus investments in public sector industries would seem to have increased in the Second Plan by approximately 1283.3 per cent compared to those in the First Plan and in the current Plan by approximately 172.7 per cent over those in the Second Plan. In other words, compared to investments in public sector industries in the First Plan, investments in the Third Plan have been scheduled to increase by as much as roughly 2217 per cent.

Comparably, investments in the private sector would seem to have been gradually showing down in proportion. The order of investments in the private sector is found to have been of the following magnitude:

First Plan	Second Plan	Third Plan Appropriations
1950-51—1955-56	1955-56—1960-61	1960-61—1965-66
Rs. 338 crores	Rs. 850 crores	Rs. 1,275

Thus the per centage increase in private sector industries in the Second Plan would be found to have been of the order of roughly 251.5 per cent of those in the First Plan and investment appropriations for the Third Plan are approximately 150 per cent higher than in the Second Plan. The gross per centage increase of private sector investment in industries in the Third Plan compared to those in the First Plan would thus seem to be of the order of roughly 377 per cent.

This should be taken as evidence enough, on the face of it, of the growing area and influence of the public sector in the process of planned industrialization of the country. Admittedly, considering the size of the residual investments in the private sector and the continuing and still fairly large size of new investments under the Plans, the private sector continues to weild considerable influence in the over-all industrial pattern in the country. But in view of the fast growing size of investments in the public sector which, in the Third Plan, is over 104 per cent of those in the private sector, the scope for concentration of income and consequent economic power in a few hands in the private sector should normally be correspondingly attenuated.

Some indication of the actual state of affairs in this matter should, ordinarily, be available from the incidence of the income groups assessable to the Income Tax. From the Income Tax Administration Report for the year 1960-61 it is found that the total number of assessees for the year aggregated 952,000 in all of which the number of individuals were 828,000. Of these, the total number of individual assesses whose incomes have been assessed at over Rs. 40,000 per annum, comprised 38,700 persons which, against the gross population of the country in that year at 437 millions, comprised just over .008 per cent of the population. Their aggregate income, as assessed to the income tax, works out to a total of Rs. 517 crores. This, with the gross national income in 1960-61 (end of Second Plan) at Rs. 15,050 crores (this was the revised estimate confirmed by the Planning Commission), comprises a little over 3.4 per cent. In other words, .008 per cent of the top income earning section of the population's appropriations comprised over 3.4 per cent of the gross national income. Here is an obvious depth of concentration of economic power which, on the face of it, is fairly overwhelming.

But these figures, by themselves, are

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not wholly revealing. Those in the income group of above Rs. 500,000 number only 900 but their aggregate appropriations comprise over Rs. 250 crores, which is 1.66 per cent of the gross national income. Thus the topmost income earning 900 persons, comprising just .00002 per cent of the population appropriate 1.66 per cent of the wealth annually produced in the country. The depth of concentration of economic power in this very very microscopic sector of the population would thus seem to be almost fearsomely large.

But even this is not entirely all that can be said on the subject. There is a great deal that one knows about, but which it is not possible to reduce to terms of factual analysis, of the accumulated wealth in selected microscopic areas of the private sector derived largely from black marketing in essential and semi-essential consumables and consequently by large tax evasions over the years which goes to deepen this undue concentration of economic power at such levels of the community which seem to be wholly impervious to fiscal and other disciplines of the State. Shri T. T. Krishnamachari was reported to have once hazarded the guess that the size of the unregulated credit market would be almost as large as the organized credit market in the country. One does not know of its actual size ; it may, indeed, be even larger or, perhaps, somewhat smaller in dimensions ; it is impossible to arrive at any reliable estimate. But some indication should be available of the strength of this credit sector from its obvious but behind-the-curtains operations.

Thus, for instance, the extensive black market operations in essential edibles which have been creating a deepening economic crisis over the years and which have admittedly been assuming alarming proportions since last year, could alone have been financed from these unidentified and unregulated credit sources. The Government and the people as a whole would appear to have been held to ransom by these operators and it would be deluding ourselves by merely blaming the small-time known operators in the trade for the present situation. It would also be self-deluding to hold that the present and fast deepening food crisis in the country has eventuated from a crisis in production and supplies. One does not claim that we have large surpluses in the supply of essential edibles, but production has been large enough, especially during the last harvest, particularly in cereals, to just about cover the country's current minimum requirements. Imports from abroad, which though they have fallen in quantity are still large enough, should yield a marginal surplus although not quite a comfortable one. It is quite clear that the present crisis in supply and prices have been deliberately engineered. It should be equally obvious that such manouvres would have called for very large, practically astronomical finance to sustain them. Where does this finance flow from? Not from the organized credit market whose operations are fairly strictly circumscribed by the fiscal disciplines imposed and enforced by the Reserve Bank of India ?

The obvious source of these very large finances is therefore inevitably that unregulated and hidden credit market which is completely beyond the disciplines of the community. Unless these sources of large credits are discovered and prized out into the open, there would be no means of breaking the back-bone of the process of concentration of economic power. For, here is an instrument of accelerating concentration that must have been adding its tremendous power to the whole process. The widening public sector has so far proved to be too weak and ineffective to check the process primarily because of its low productivity and high-cost production. Its contributions to the supply and price position in the country has, upto-date, been quite the reverse of beneficial.

Two measures, simultaneously applied and wholesomely conceived, might play an important part in restoring a certain balance to the economy. First and foremost, must be a measure to wholly freeze the hidden and unregulated credit market. This is an essential and immediate need which would admit of no soft or dilatory measures. Secondly, but no less urgent, is the need to restore an element of competition and effi-

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ciency in the productive machinery which alone could, in our view, effectively break the back of the present arrogant sellers' market. It is unreasonable for the State to encourage and indulge inefficiency and price cartels for the benefit of a cumbrously conceived and indifferently operating public sector which, instead of progressively eliminating, would seem, on the contrary, to have been assisting the process of concentration of economic power.

REORIENTATION OF PLAN STRATEGY ?

'Planning for growth'—that has been the favourite expression of leaders of Government since the beginning of Planning—appears, so far to have been a strangely abstract, one is almost inclined to call it dehumanized, process. Throughout the last two and a half quinquennia of so-called planned development of the country's economy, acute periods of economic distress, frequent recurrences of near famine conditions and, of course, a progressively accelerating—its tempo having now assumed almost a fearsome pace, have eventuated from time to time. Accusations have been voiced that the huge masses of our poverty stricken people have grown even more abjectly poorer in the process of planned development. The Government and their "super cabinets," the Planning Commission, appear to have remained strangely indifferent to these results of planning. They seem to have remained satisfied with their show pieces and the little addition to the national income in terms of increased production even though the latter has not been—as much has also been admitted by accredited spokesmen of Government from time to time,—filtering down, in the largest proportion, as it normally should have been to invest "development" with any sustainable meaning, to the bottom levels of the economy.

It appears, however, that a slow dawning of a sense of reality has, at last, been in evidence. According to a recent news report, "changes in the basic strategy" has now become "unavoidable to deal with the related problems of unemployment and economic distress. The changes" it is added, "would perhaps have been necessary even otherwise."

Shri Ashok Mehta, Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, was stated to have explained that "the shortfalls, particularly on the farming front, has brought the need for a careful reappraisal to a head even before Mr. Nehru departed the scene." This need for a reapraisal and revision of Plan strategy would appear to have assumed an added urgency in the new Post-Nehru regime conditioned by its corresponding need to "win a vote of confidence from the people by producing concrete and quick results. This implied that the emphasis in planning might have to shift towards immediate improvements in well being."

In other words, it is assumed, that the Plan would have to accord a certain measure of priority to enterprises which would yield immediate returns in terms of both job opportunities and development of consumer production in precedence to those which would be calculated to build up the sinews of future growth, atleast over a temporary period, Shri Ashok Mehta is reported to have qualified his assessment in this regard by adding that the shape of the Fourth Plan would be largely conditioned by the next two harvests which, if plentiful enough, might make for a change in the objective circumstances and thereby favour a continuance of planning for future growth rather than for immediate well being.

One of the Fourth Plan drafts, it is understood, envisages stepping up of investments by such a huge margin that it would be necessary to increase the rate of savings from 14 per cent in 1965-66 to as much as 21 per cent by 1970-71. This, it is said, is intended to be achieved mainly by higher taxation which has been conceived to be of the order Rs. 690 crores over the five years of the Plan above current levels, and higher profits to be derived from public sector enterprises. It is also assumed that personal savings over the period must double.

What, in sum, the changed strategy of planning that is said to be in view, would appear to have under consideration, is a swing to the other extreme from the present basis of planning. So far, except in the matter of farm production—and here programmes would appear to have been merely glibly laid down on paper without providing for the requisite bases which would be re-

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quired for their practical realization—planning has been overwhelmingly producer-oriented with the inevitable pressures upon prices, especially in the sector of essential consummables, particularly upon edibles. Increasing taxation, which should normally act as a brake upon inflationary pressures, in the manner in which it has sought to have been designed—its one and only objective would seem to have been the quickest and shortest way to requisite resources for plan-development and the accelerating cost of administration—would appear to have, on the country, further contributed to this pressure. And there was, of course, the additional complicating factor of a huge sector of unaccounted money which has been operating to the detriment of any kind of price stability.

A swing in plan strategy to the opposite extreme as seems now to be seriously under contemplation might, we are afraid, jeopardise the very basic objectives of planning and might indefinitely hold up growth to within the severely circumscribed areas of a static agrarian economy. While the basic postulate, in any programme of economic growth, of a sizeable farm surplus must, we feel, be ensured and the necessary machinery towards an early attainment of this objective created, it would seem to be equally important that the emphasis on the growth of key producer industries must also not be attenuated in any sizeable measure.

What would seem to be needed is that a balanced adjustment between the requirements of growth of farm production and other essential consummables—here small and medium industries, especially village inhustries could play a most crucial part—on the one hand and that of key producer industries providing for the potentials of future growth on the other, is arrived at, the adjustment of priorities as well as investment quotas of these different sectors to ensure a healthy and dynamic balance would, unquestionably be a very complicated enterprise. But then planning, especially in the context of a mixed economy with the different and varying pulls that such an economic structure would be boond to occasion, is itself basically a complicated business. To plan for developing one particular sector after the other is an oversimplification which would appear to have been one of the principal factors in the present impasse.

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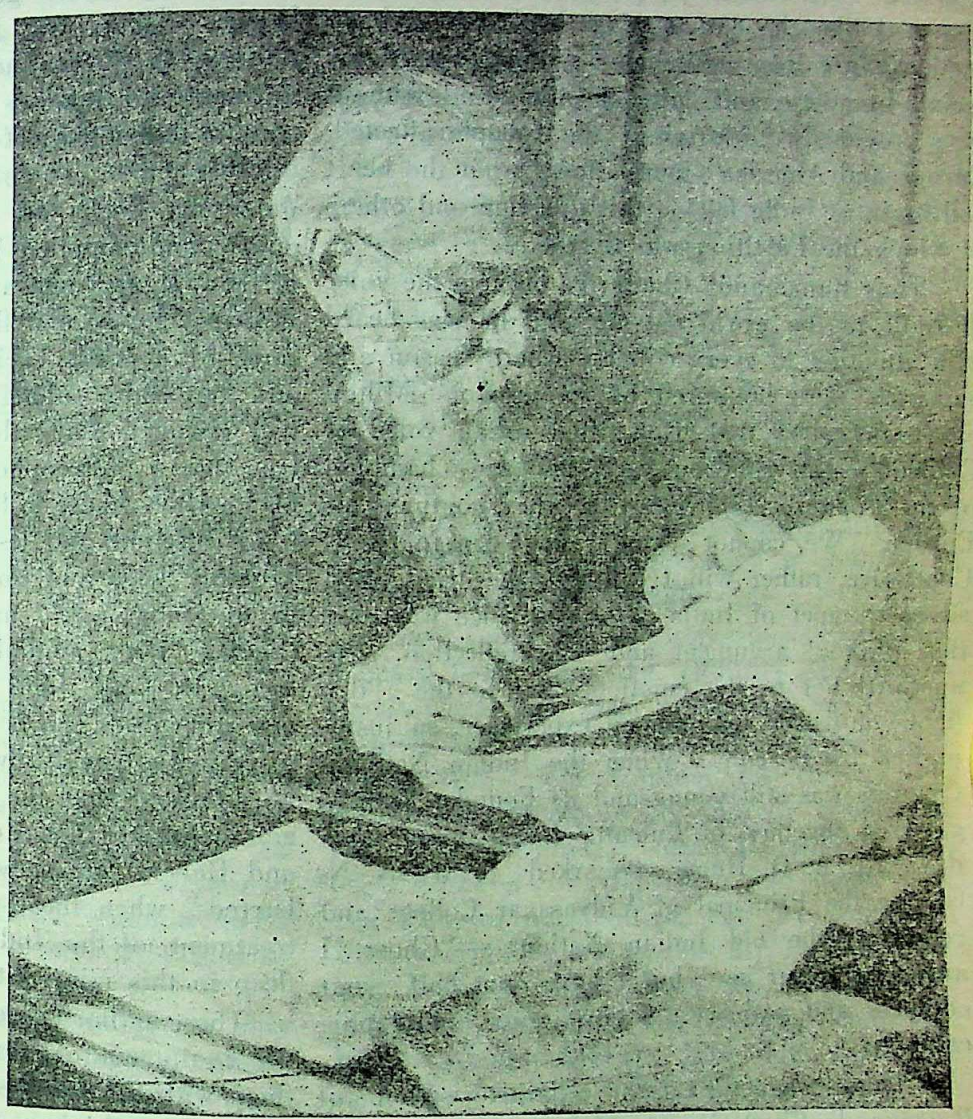
RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE—INDIA'S AMBASSADOR TO THE NATIONS

By the late Sir JADUNATH SARKAR, Kt., C.I.E., D. Lit.



WALTER Bagehot characterised "the first thirty years of the 19th century as a species of duel between the *Edinburgh Review* and Lord Eldon," the Tory Lord Chancellor. We may say with equal truth that the first forty years of the 20th century in India were marked by a still longer duel between the *Modern Review* and the Tories in power over India's destiny. The first editor of the *Edinburgh Review* lived to see his efforts bearing fruit in the passing of the Reform Bill of 1832 and the spate of liberal legislation that began with it. The first editor of the *Modern Review* has just now (30th September 1943) closed his eyes with the struggle for India unsolved. And The *Modern Review* meant Ramananda Chatterjee far more than the term 'editor' does elsewhere. He had begun it even earlier, in 1901, through on a necessarily smaller scale and in the Bengali language, in his *Prabasi*, which had at once seized the first place among the vernacular monthlies. And now in January 1907 he gave to that unrelenting struggle for light, liberty and human progress, the more universal appeal of an English garb. He edited the paper and impressed it with his personality, wthout a break for over 37 years. Unlike Francis Jeffrey of the *Edinburgh Review*, Ramananda Chatterjee was not the agent of a group or party; he was the founder and steersman of The *Modern Review* and made this paper what it has become.

And yet, at the outset, it was a most hazardous adventure for a man who had no accumulated wealth, who had just thrown up his salaried post as a college head on a question of principle, and who declined to take service anywhere else, though he had a growing family to think of. His paper, from its first number, set an example of neat get-up and fine coloured illustration, which were then unique in Indian journalism—and very costly too. In fact, this Review, at the end of the first eight months of its working, showed a debt of Rs. 1800 (as he then told me).

But it supplied a crying need of India at the time and immediate and rapidly growing recog-

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nition of its value came to his help. A year earlier the Partition of Bengal had given the people a concrete demonstration of how India can be dissected like the carcas of a dead animal by a sudden *ukase* from whitehall,* without regard for racial, linguistic and cultural unity, and without even previously informing the people affected. Europe and America must know what the heart and brain of India felt on this question and others of which the Partition was a type.

Thus Ramananda Chatterjee became the voice of India to the world outside, and he was heard with attention in every country where reason and humanity were honoured by its thinkers. Milton has been called the "God-gifted organ voice of England"—the sonorous and majestic champion of the *Populo Anglicano* to the continent of Europe. We cannot apply that image to R. Chatterjee, rather will I call him the "God-gifted silver trumpet of India"—for his voice was ever that of cool argument and wise reflection. He appealed not to the emotions, but to the "dry light" of reason and human experience, so justly praised by Beacon. When the Indian National Congress was still young and its Founder Fathers gathered together in Calcutta for planning, one day Mr. A. O. Hume remarked to Mr. N. N. Ghose (the Principal of Vidyasagar College and editor of the old Indian Nation) :—"Ghose, I am twice your age but I have not half your coolness and patience. I envy your phlosophic calm."

That was the right characterisation of Ramananda Chatterjee, too.

He was the "senior classic" (if I may borrow an English analogy) of his year (1885) among the graduates of the Calcutta University, being first in First Class Honours in English and also the first student in order of merit in the whole University. He also distnguished himself in the same subject at the M.A. Examination. Besides English he cultivated a wide range of subjects, including Physics, and specialised in Economics, Political Science, and History by unceasing private study. His residence at Allahabad for 13 years (1895—April 1908), as Principal of the Kayastha Pathsala, led to a most intimate friendship with Major Vaman Das Basu, I.M.S. (retired), a profound reader, tireless writer and staunch patriot. Dr. Basu, early in his service at Peshawar, had purchased for the price of waste paper, twenty maunds of the back numbers of high class English magazines and papers, which an old colonel had collected during his long Indian exile and was now getting rid of, for retirement Home. These Dr. Basu sifted patiently and reduced to 2½ maunds of clippings of valuable information, statistics and opinion, arranged the residue under subject-heads, and scrapped up the rejected mass. These helped him to write his numerous books on British Indian history and polity, and supplied him with the solid backing of facts, figures and authoritative pronouncements. It might be argued that the material was old,—some of it going back to the pre-Mutiny days,—and that India (along with the rest of the world) had changed since they were written. It is also true that a philosopher working on old papers in his closet is likely to look at persons and problems in a different and less realistic way than a man (equally wise and no less patriotic), who works in the busy world and has to grapple in daily practice with administrative problems in their actual working,—and who thus comes to discover new difficulties and new ways of solution on which mere books can throw no light. But then it must be admitted that the garnered experience of old adminstrators like Munro and Malcolm, Sleeman and Heber, cannot be lightly set aside as "time-barred," when they plead for liberalism in the treatment of the Indians. R. Chatterjee worked deep in this mine with V. D. Basu.

These authoritative opinions were only a part of the equipment of Ramananda. He supplemented them with the latest statistics and pronouncements of the best thinkers and prominent statesmen of Europe and America, which he patiently collected and systematically used. Those horrid things, the Indian Census Report Appendices, were his constant study. This fact gave a unique value to the Editor's "Notes" in The *Modern Review*, and placed his paper as a class apart above all other reviews. In fact, the first thing that most readers did on receiving a new member of The *Modern Review* was to turn to its Notes.

But Ramananda Chatterjee was a much greater thought-power than a mere columnist, however gifted. He laid the greatest emphasis on India's economic problems, her art, old and new, and the facts of her historic past so dimly known before. In the very first number of his *Review*, out of 15 articles, three were on economics, two on art, two on Indian history, and only one on politics—or two if we include a life-sketch of

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Dadabhai Naoroji in that category. In fact, so much prominence was given by him to India's past, in the pages of his paper, that a rival once remarked with blended malice and truth,—"The *Modern Review* has become a Review of Ancient and Medieval India."

A list of the contributors to the *Modern Review* from its foundation to 1943 will be an almost complete biographical dictionary of the leaders of the intelligentsia of India during 37 years, with some notable European and American sympathisers added. Hence the influence of the *Modern Review* in Vienna and New York no less than in Madras and Lahore.

For, The *Modern Review* is far other than an English version of the same editor's Bengali magazine The *Prabasi*, as the ignorant sometimes suppose. Its outlook has, from the first, been all-Indian, and even cosmopolitan, in its humanism. From its first number, Bengal's special interests took an infinitely small proportion of its space while Maharastra and the Punjab, Dravid land and the Indian States occupied the foreground of the picture. Herein lay its catholic appeal. India is one; whatever concerns one province of India cannot be a matter of indifference to any true son of another province.

By nature, Ramananda Chatterjee was the antithesis of the platform orator, whose one aim is to sweep the audience off their feet by rhetorical effervescence and emotional appeal. Ramananda's life-long endeavour, on the contrary, was to build up opinion by an appeal to sober thought and reflection. Sweet reasonableness (as Mathew Arnold has finely called it)—enlivened frequently by a flash of humour (very tersely put), was the character of his style of writing.

Among the most frequent and valued contributors, up to the time of her death in 1911, was sister Nivedita, and even after her sad departure from our midst, her unpublished papers continued to adorn the pages of the *Modern Review* till they came to an end. She converted educated India to the recognition of the true principles of art, and also instructed the new school of "Indian Art" in Bengal by her wise criticism of their paintings. This Indian art became the special feature of The *Modern Review*. Ramananda Chatterjee was the first to publish colour blocks of pictures in an Indian magazine, and he was the first to give publicity to the Indian painter by the generous provision to three-colour blocks and black and white illustration of their work along with studies of their lives and criticism of their style. The very first number of The *Modern Review* contained an article on Ravi Varma withsix blocks (one of them in tri-colour). Dhurandhar, Nandalal Bose, Abanindra, Gaganendra, A Haldar, Ukil, Chughtai and many others came later, and so also did Molaram and the Kangra school for their share of his publicity. No expense was spared to do justice to the paintings in their reproduction. The prints were a delight to the eye for an hour together.

Here I may tell an interesting story which I heard from him. In 1909 (?) Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee was summoned to Lahore as a witness in the Punjab Treasonable Conspiracy trial. The Counsel for the Crown, Mr. Bevan Petman, in his address denounced Mr. Cbatterjee as a disloyal agitator who ought to have been placed in the dock with the Punjabi nationalists, and he supported his invective by saying that Mr. R. Chatterjee had been dismissed from his chair at the Allahabad College for his seditous campaign in The *Modern Review*. The true facts are that the *Modern Review* was started in January 1907 and Mr. Chatterjee had *resigned* his post at the College *four months earlier*, and that too on a question of college management where he had insisted in vain on the observance of sound educational principles as followed in England. So much for the varacity of the *avocat* class.

Well, this very Mr. Petman when resting in the court after his speech, chanced to see some volumes of the *Modern Review* which Mr. Chatterjee had taken there with himself for reference if needed. Mr. Petman with the editor's permission borrowed the volumes and turning over the pages remarked that he was charmed with the beauty and ineffable *grace* of the modern Indian pictures reproduced there, and that he did not know befere that such artistic genius existed iu the country. The pictures (he added) would do

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credit to any European country aud their reproduction was worthy of the best magazines of England. Finally, he urged Mr. Chatterjee to publish them in the form of albums.

A curious testimony was borne to the power of the *Modern Review* by the *Times* of London only two years ago. In an obituary notice of Rabindranath Tagore, the English paper remarked that the wide spread of the poet's fame was mainly due to the very effective publicity given to his opinions and writings by the highly influential *Modern Review*.

Here it must be remembered that Rabindranath wrote directly for *The Modern Review* on exceedingly few occasions. But very large numbers of his essays, tales, poems, dramas etc., were translated from the original Bengali into English (mostly by other hands) and published in this *Review*; these formed for many years the most attractive feature and the most valuable portion of the English monthly.

But R. Chatterjee's Bengali monthly the *Prabasi* printed Rabindranath's contributions in an immense stream throughout the poet's life and even after. Except for a short period in the ninteen-tens, no number of the *Prabasi* was without a piece from Tagore's pen. That dark interval was one of about two years, when a rival paper (foredoomed to infant mortality) was started for printing *all* of Tagore's new writings on thick paper and large type, and not a single poem or paper from Tagore was offered to the *Prabasi*. At the end of the eclipse, Rabindranath himself renewed the connection by sending Mr. R. Chatterjee a long contribution with a note saying:

"It will not bring me money; but it will reach the largest number of readers. That's my consolation.

But these two were great friends, kindred spirits, twin-brothers as far as intellectual and moral sympathies went, modified by the veneration due from the younger to the elder sage. As Ramananda openly declared after Rabindranath's death:

"Tagore was to me what Arthur Henry Hallan was to Tennyson; more than a friend, more than a brother:

Dear as the mother to the son;
More than my brothers are to me."
(Im Memoriam, ix).

The profound wisdom of this silent thinker is, to my mind, best illustrated by one of his notes, written several years before the present World War No. II, when the Indianisation of the officers in a few selected sepoy regiments was offered to us by whitehall. Mr. Chatterjee then declared that India's military defence could not be considered as safely established unless and until Indians in fully *adequate numbers* were trained and equipped for service in the tank, artillery, wireless, airforce, army, medical and naval departments as well, with a proportionate reserve for expansion at any sudden need, and that the peace which the world was then enjoying was the best time for making such an advance. He added that the appointment of a few Indians as commissioned officers in a strictly limited number of infantry regiments was only the mockery of a scheme of national defence which would prove a fatal delusion and snare in our time of danger. The present war whent he Sepoy army had per force to be raised from 1½ lakhs to 20 lakhs with breathless haste, and when an utter dearth of trainers and of auxiliary service officers for the Indian army has caused despair among our military chiefs, has proved how true a prophet Ramananda Chatterjee was, and how he shared the usual fate of prophets by being scoffed at.

Here I may mention what I heard from Rabindranath Tagore in 1968. Sir K. G. Gupta, then a member of the Secretary of State's Council, was sent out to India during the cold weather to tour the country, sound public opinion, and ascertain how it was that our educated youngmen of respectable families turned to political murders and "hold-ups." He asked Rabindranath, whose reply was:

"Give our youngmen military training and the right to enter the commissioned ranks of their country's army, as in other lands; and then the natural appetite of healthy youth for the heroic and the dengerous will find its normal vent, whereas under the present exclusion policy it is driven into the channel of politicai murder and robbery,—the only things open to a demilitarised gentry."

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This is exactly what Ramananda preached for a life-time.

The founder of *The Modern Review* has died in the fulness of years, honoured and loved by the best minds of more than one country, more than one continent. But he has died poor in the world's goods, as he never compromised with meanness and vice, never stooped low to pick up lucre. He has never been a popularity-hunter; he has attacked corruption in high places, sometimes alone in the Bengal press. The very goal which he had been pursuing for 78 years seems to hava been blotted out by the horrid flames and smokes of war, the reign of law has been replaced by that of a daily avalanche of ordinances, D. I. O. No. . . . . *ad infinitum*, and the economic ruin of "native" India has been all but assured by the astronomical inflation of the currency, the control of every agency and material of production and transport, and the annihilation of a whole rising generation by the lack of food in a province known as "the granary of India." The outer world has grown unutterably dark to his closing eyes, but he has gone to face the great Judge in serene confidence because he had very early chosen as his life's guiding principle—

"Thou hast the right to work, but never to demand the fruit of it as the reward."

कर्मणि एव अधिकारः ते मा फलेषु कदाचन ।

AMERICA PAYS TRIBUTE TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

By PRAFULLA C. MUKERJI
Retired Metallurgist, Brooklyn, N.Y. U.S.A.

"The Prime Minister is no more. The light is out." This sad announcement by Mr. C. Subramaniam at the Lok Sabha was broadcast on the radio in America from early morning of Wednesday, May, 27. Already special editions of some of the daily papers were out on the street before dawn, carrying headliness about the demise of Jawaharlal Nehru. There was widespread sadness. Persons who had seen and talked to him within the last month or two had informed us about the condition of his health; so when the news of his second stroke reached us we had the feeling that the end was near. But we were hoping against hope. Finally when the news came that Nehru was no more, the shock was overwhelming. For those of us who have been part and parcel of India's struggle for independence, it is hard to dissociate Nehru from India, as he himself has put it, that his ashes are "to mingle with the dust and soil of India and become an indistinguishable part of India."

From the spontaneous reactions of the press in this country and also from the utterances of Government officials and responsible persons, it seems obvious that there exist a very high regard for the personality of Nehru in this country, though many of them have in season and out of season criticized him and often ridiculed him for his policy of non-alignment and have severely taken him to task for his Kashmir and Goa policies. If Nehru's policies in these matters had been otherwise, that is, if they were favorable to the allies of America, Nehru would have no doubt received smiles but not respect. This should be a lesson to many Indian politicians and college professors who have been visiting America recently.

President Radhakrishnan has truly characterized this period in India as Nehru epoch. Nehru not only put his heart and soul to win independence for India but he made the supreme sacrifice for the uplift of the masses and to make India a nation From the press reports from the various parts of the world during the past week, it is clear that expressions of grief and sense of loss are genuine and almost universal. America certainly shares these feelings, as are expressed by the leaders:

President Johnson in his message of condolence to President Radhakrishnan, said: "Once again we come together in grief over the death of a great and a beloved man —this time your own leader, Prime Minister Nehru. Yet his spirit lives on. The rich heritage he left us, his faith in his own

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people and in humanity, will, I know, serve to sustain you and yours as we strive together to translate his ideals into reality. History has recorded his monumental contribution to the moulding of a strong and independent India. And yet, it is not just as a leader of India that he has served humanity. Perhaps more than any other world leader he has given expression to man's yearning for peace. This is the issue of our age. In his fearless pursuit of a world free from war he has served all humanity. Peace was his ideal. It was his message to the world. It is my sincere belief that in his memory the statesmen of the world should dedicate themselves to making his ideal a reality. Our country is pledged to this, and we renew our pledge today in tribute to your great departed leader. A world without war would be the most fitting Memorial for Jawaharlal Nehru."

Former President Herbert Hoover said: "I extend my deep sympathy to the people of India for their great loss. Jawaharlal Nehru spent his life in the service of his country and his countymen."

Former President Harry Truman said: "I am as sorry as I can be to hear of Prime Minister Nehru's death. He was one of the great men of our time."

Former President Dwight D. Eisenhower said: "I am deeply grieved to hear of Prime Minister Nehru's death. Often he has disagreed with the leaders of this Government but none have ever doubted Mr. Nehru's sincere devotion to universal peace or his dedication to the welfare of India's vast population. For my part I valued every opportunity to meet with him on important problems and was proud to claim his friendship. Mrs. Eisenhower joins me in expressing our profound sympathy to his family and to the people he served so well."

Mr. U Thant, Security General of the United Nations, said: "I was deeply grieved to learn this morning of the demise of Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru. Few men of his age have left their mark on the history of their country as he has. Responsible as he was for the policies of one of the largest countries of the world, he has affected the course of world events. India should know that in her hour of grief, her sorrow is shared by all of us in the United Nations."

The General Assembly of the United Nations is not in session now. The Flags of the one hundred and twelve member nations were not on display on May 27; only the Flag of the United Nations was flown at half-mast. The Security Council was to meet for the consideration of Cambodia's complaint against the United States for its Air-force's aggression against Cambodia's territory. The debate was postponed out of respect for Mr. Nehru. Instead, the members paid tribute to the memory of Prime Minister Nehru.

Mr. Adlai E. Stevenson, the chief U.S. delegate to the United Nations, said: "India has lost its father and the whole world grieves. Within Nehru's frail body burned the fires of freedom, justice and hope. At a critical time for his country and the world, we have lost a towering leader whose wisdom is sorely needed. Pandit Nehru knew better than most that many of life's great decisions are painted not in black and white but in shades of gray. The hope of the world rests with leaders who have the gift of firmness and of flexibility. Prime Minister Nehru had both. He was one of God's great creations of our time." Similar tributes were paid by other members of the Security Council including the delegates from Soviet Union, United Kingdom, France, Nationalist China, Brazil, Ivory Coast, Morocco etc. Mr. B. N. Chakravarti, the permanent delegate of India was absent on account of illness. Mr. Naren Singh thanked the delegates on behalf of India.

Debates in both houses of Congress—the Senate and the House of Representatives—were suspended and tributes were paid by the leaders of both the Democratic and Republican parties. They all emphasised that Jawaharlal Nehru was a great statesman and a world leader. Senator Mansfield, the leader of the Democratic Party, said "Mankind has been greatly diminished by his loss. Few men have cast so large a luminosity on the world." Senator Hubert Humphrey, the floor leader of the Democratic Party, said, "The world has lost a great

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statesman and India has lost a great leader. He dedicated his life to peace and democracy and progress." Senator Fulbright, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, said: "The death of Prime Minister Nehru was a great shock to us. He was a very great leader of a very great people. The world is poorer today." Senator Cooper, former U.S. Ambassador to New Delhi, said, "Prime Minister Nehru was a leader not alone in his own country but one of the few who, since World War II, have influenced the thoughts and affairs of the world." Senator Yarborough of Texas, said "Prime Minister Nehru was one of the apostles of peace of our time; his passing is a world loss.

Carl Albert, leader of the House of Representatives, sent condolences to the people of India, on behalf of the House and said "The people of India and of the world have lost a great leader. Nehru was a tower of decency and character. He embodied part of our hopes for peace in the world.

Nelson A. Rockefeller, Governor of New York, sent a message to the President of India, saying, "Prime Minister Nehru was one of this century's greatest statesmen, whose struggle for the well-being and freedom of the Indian people will forever be remembered."

John D. Rockefeller, brother of the Governor and President of the Asia Society also sent a message: "His passing is a great loss to people everywhere. He was one of the outstanding men of our time."

Many other leaders in America sent messages of condolences. Among them are former U.S. Ambassador to India, Prot. Galbraith, Ambassador Chester Bowles, Robert F. Wanger, Mayor of New York, John W. McCormack, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

The Herald Tribune of New York, said editorially on May 28, the day after Nehru's death that Nehru was the great enigma of Asia. "He is certain to pose many problems for the historian of the future. For in himself he united many of the contradictory tendencies of his countrymen—the humanitarian statesmanship of an Ashoka; the narrow pride of a Rajput kinglet; the idealism of Gandhi.....Gandhi led a revolution; Nehru built a state. And in the building Nehru displayed a devotion to democracy and social progress for India that is almost unique in the troubled world of new nations. His power over the Indian people was largely moral, and it was nearly absolute.....All of this is testimony to a greatness in Jawaharlal Nehru, to a stature which he alone, of all the revolutionaries of a revolutionary era, really possessed. His greatness is genuine. And India, the world, will be poorer without him."

The New York Times which had criticized him often in former days, paid a tender tribute on May 28, in an editorial titling "The Heart of a Nation." "Jawaharlal Nehru and India bore great love for each other; and it was India's love for this man, this man who could be so demanding, so tender, so impatient, so involved, so aloof, so merry, so brooding, that gave him the greatest of all powers—the power to rule through the heart of a nation. Lesser leaders have used the love of their people wantonly, to master their people. But Nehru refused to turn power into despotism. Dictatorship was within his grasp and at times India seemed to be thrusting it upon him. He refused. The insistence upon an India free in independence was his gift, born out of love, for his country.....Jawaharlal Nehru was an Indian and he was a revolutionary. He was educated abroad and he travelled widely, but only on the soil of India was he happy and at home and did life have purpose. What he did, he did for India. He was a sensitive man who knew India could not live isolated, protected, by mountains and seas. He knew the glories of India and her moments of tranquillity and he knew her wretchedness and despair and he could not separate himself, ever, from any of them, nor wished to."

"A disciple of Gandhi, he was a revolutionary. He was in revolution against foreign rule, and everybody remembers it. But what is so often forgotten is that he was in revolution for things as well as against them—for a reassessment by every man and nation of the kind of world in which men

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starve and go cold and are aching with disease. Within his own society he was a revolutionary, constantly haranguing his own people about their own superstitions and encrustments. He was a revolutionary in international councils, and a successful one, in that he was the first to prove that a nation without military might could and would be heard by the militarily mighty.

"The records, books and the newspapers of the past few decades are dotted with great events and conferences in which Nehru played a role. But none of these played a larger part in the character and formation of Nehru than a passing incident that took place 44 years ago—a visit by Nehru to an Indian village. He saw there what he had not seen often before—the anguished peasant face of India—and he wrote: "They showered their affection on us and looked on us with loving and hopeful eyes, as if we were the bearers of good tidings, the guides who were to lead them to the promised land. A new picture of India seemed to rise before me, naked, starving, crushed and utterly miserable. And their faith in us, casual visitors from the distant city, embarrassed me and filled me with new responsibility that frightened me." Jawaharlal Nehru whom India called her jewel, never laid down that fringhtening responsibility. He loved India and he died beloved by her."

C. L. Sulzberger the well-known writer on foreign affairs, in a lengthy article on Nehru in the **New York Times** of May 30, remarked among other things: "Certainly Nehru had the opportunity to make himself an autocrat but he was never corrupted by power. He sought to preserve individual liberties against any temptation to revolutionary short cuts. Nehru showed more emotional sympathy for Russians than Americans. He was an intellectual snob and United States always irritated him. But he was never dominated by petty bias. He was pragmatic, not dogmatic and although vaguely socialist, was not doctrinaire. He thought all contemporary states were tending toward socialism through economic necessity but India sought its own policy and there was no ideology in it. Nehru's basic hope was that the culture and traditions of India's past might be used to cement a modern nation. Perhaps some day this could be confederated with Pakistan and Burma. India was lucky to have Gandhi and Nehru in its renascent years. Gandhi, seen as a saint, was also a crafty politician, stubborn leader and visionary patriot. Nehru was no saint, but he shared the other attributes; and both men were astonishingly loved by their followers. Though sometimes he has despaired, Nehru was convinced that its vastness in space and historical depth in time guaranteed India's future."

The Nation of June 8, 1964 said editorially: "In his youth Nehru prepared for greatness. In middle age, in association with Gandhi, he achieved it. Baffled by insuperable contradictions and conflicts he was still a cut or two above the other statesmen. The world and not India alone recognized this superiority."

A number of Nehru Memorial meetings were held in many cities of this country. We have not received all the reports yet.

Tagore Society of New York held a meeting on May 28 at the India House where condolence messages were adopted. Two messages were sent, one to Srimati Indira Gandhi and the other to Shree Gulzarilal Nanda the Acting Prime Minister.

To Indira Gandhi

In Memory of Jawaharlal Nehru

Peace, my heart, let the time for the
Parting be sweet.
Let it not be death but Completeness
Let Love melt into Memory and
Pain into Songs.
Let the flight through the sky end
In the folding of the wings o'er
the nest,
Let the last touch of your hands be
Gentle like the flower of the
night.
Stand still, O Beautiful End, for a
moment
And say your last words in
silence.
I bow to you and hold up my lamp
To light you on your way.

Rabindranath Tagore.

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As we offer this poem by Rabindranath Tagore to the Memory of your loving father, Jawaharlal Nehru, our hearts go to you and your dear ones and to the millions in India, in this hour of great sorrow. In his demise India has lost one of her noblest sons and the world one of its greatest men and a valiant crusader for peace and international co-operation and good-will. One of the chief architects of India's independence, Jawaharlal Nehru gave his life so that India may live.

Today we all share your grief and offer you our heart-felt sympathy. May the noble example of his life give us strength and make us fit to carry on his unfinished task.

Shree Gulzarilal Nanda
Acting Prime Minister of India

In this dark hour of sorrow we send you and the people of India our deepest sympathy at the demise of our beloved Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru.

"At the stroke of the midnight hour when the world sleeps, India will awake to life and freedom. A moment comes, which comes but rarely in history, when we step out from the old to the new, when an Age ends and the soul of a nation, long suppressed, finds utterance. It is fitting that at this solemn moment we take a pledge of dedication to the service of India and her people and to the still larger cause of humanity." Thus spoke Jawaharlal Nehru on that memorable midnight of August 14, 1947, when the British flag came down and the Flag of Free India was unfurled over the Indian Parliament. These words like those of Abraham Lincoln at Gettysburg, will remain in the hearts of people everywhere. The world will bear witness, Jawaharlal Nehru kept his pledge.

"Guided by Mahatma Gandhi and aided by his compatriots, Jawaharlal left to the world a Free India and inspired many other struggling nations of Asia and Africa to achieve their freedom. Above all he has left for the people of India and for all humanity—the Dhruba-Tara—the shining example of his noble life.

"It is a fitting tribute to Jawaharlal Nehru that the United Nations has designated 1965 as the International Co-operation Year which he so convincingly sponsored. May we all be fit to follow his foot-steps."

A memorial meeting was held at the New York Ramkrishna-Vivekananda Center where Swami Nikhilananda, Rev. Dr. Donald Harrington and delegates of U.S.S.R., Czechoslovakia, U.S.A., to the United Nations spoke.

In Washington at the Nationl Cathedral a Memorial Service was held for Prime Minister Nehru. It was attended by President Johnson and his family, by the members of his cabinet and their wives and most of the Corps Diplomatique and their families besides the members of Congress and the Indian community. Mr. Ellsworth Bunker, former U.S. Ambassador to India made the principal speach.

Philadelphia Tagore Society had a Memorial service the next day when Mr. Sunil K. Roy, India's Consul-General, made the principal speech.

Similar memrial services were held in Chicago and Boston. On Sunday, June 7 a public Memorial Service for Jawaharlal Nehru was held at the New York Community Church. It was sponsored by the Community Church, The Tagore Society, The Asia Society, Indian Students Association and India-America League. At least 1500 persons were present. It was a solemn ceremony. Affactionate tribute was paid by His Excellency U. Thant, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Chakravarthy, Narasimham, Assistant Secretary-General, Dr. Donald Harrington and others. A candle was lit and a red rose was placed in front of his portrait.

Like Rabindranath Tagore, Jawaharlal Nehru was a person with many facets. One can speak on any of these facets of his life. We can speak of his heroic struggle for India's independence under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. We can speak about his prison life—he spent about 14 years in prison out of the last 25 years before India's independence. There he not only dug ditches but also produced some of his best literary works—Toward Freedom, Discovery of India, Glimpses of World History. They

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are a rich legacy to young India. John Gunther the noted American author said of these writings that there were not more than six persons living who could write as good English. Nehru was not a professional historian but his large volume 'Glimpses of World History' shows what a scholarly and rational approach he had about world events. He was a person of great intellectual integrity. We can speak of him as an architect of Free India's democratic and secular constitution, which guaranteed equal rights for men and women of all faiths and races. We can speak of him as the initiator of planned economy in India—his plan of village panchayets and village co-operatives. We can speak about his great concern for the masses and his utmost affort to raise their standard of living. We can compare him with Rabindranath Tagore as a person of deep humanism and an active worker for peace and international co-operation. All these will make a very instructive study. We hope young Indian scholars will do research on these various facets of Nehru's life and put them in writing.

I wish to refer briefly to two of such facets which I consider to be two of his major contributions to the world. First let us take his sruggle for India's freedom. It is true that he fought hard and suffered much to win independence from England. But really he was not fighting England as such. As is well-known he was educated in England. As a student he became attracted to the Fabian Society, where he came in close contact with some of the outstanding personalities—Bertrand Russell, Sidney and Beatrice Webb, George Bernard Shaw, H. G. Wells and others. This association had great influence on him. He cultivated liking for the English people and their institutions. So, what he fought was really not England but that hydra-headed monster called colonialism. He gave every ounce of his energy to efface from this earth this debasing colonial system. He, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, broke the backbone of this system, so that not only India but most of the other colonial countries of Asia and Africa came to the road to freedom. That seems to me to be a major contribution of Nehru. But the task is not quite finished yet. Imperialism though weakened is not dead. The world is sorely in need of a Nehru now. His demise at this time is a grievous loss to the world.

I consider his second major contribution is his insistence on the policy of non-alignment in a war-wearied world, in spite of very great pressure from outside. This inspired many other nations of Asia, Africa and other continents to follow the same road. Undoubtedly this policy of non-alignment has been a potent factor in preserving a semblance of peace in the world. Only recently some of the leaders in the West are realizing that this policy of non-alignment has been a boon to them. Militarily unprepared countries will remain grateful to Nehru for his courage to withstand tremendous harassment.

As we pay our tribute to the memory of Jawaharlal Nehru today, our heart goes to Lal Bahadur Shastri and his colleagues on whom will fall the responsibility of guiding the nation. It is our fervent hope that tears from the eyes of millions of men, women and children throughout the length and breadth of India, will give them living faith in their own destiny and that they will overcome all difficulties and withstand all temptation and lead the nation in unity, freedom and human dignity. That will be the most fitting tribute to the memory of Jawaharlal Nehru.

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RABINDRANATH TAGORE AND THE SAN FRANCISCO TRIAL

By KALYAN KUMAR BANERJEE,
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The *Modern Review* for June, 1918 had a fairly long note[1] on the German-Indian Conspiracy Trial held in San Francisco from November, 1917 to April, 1918.[2] Resenting the intriguers' efforts—"to connect Sir Rabindranath Tagore's name with the conspiracy" and the insinuation made by the Madras Mail, the *Modern Review* characteerized the German lies and the *Madras Mail's* insinuation as "too contemptible and ridiculous to deserve any serious refutation." *The Madras Mail* suggested that Tagore should offer an explanation to enable the Government to say whether they are satisfied with it. The alleged complicity of the poet was sought to be established by certain documents which were produced in the course of the trial.

One of the documents was a telegram from Herambalal Gupta of New York to Ram Chandra of San Francisco (both prominent Indian accused in the Conspiracy trial) dated October 13, 1916. The telegram said, "Received reports about Tagore. Read your fine articles. Send all his speeches specially on national questions. Have not found them here. Consider very important." In reply to a defence counsel's question, "Tagore is not one of the defendants?" the prosecution attorney Mr. Preston said, "No, he is not. We overlooked him in our haste."[3] The other document is a letter addressed to one Officers of Amsterdam. The letter is postmarked Washington, dated November 21, 1916 and the decipherment is as follows : "Rabindranath Tagore has come at our suggestion and saw Count Okuma, Baron Shrimpei Goto, Masaburo Suzuki, Marquis Yamanouchi, Count Terauchi and others; Terauchi is favourable, and others are sympathetic."[4]

While reporting the proceedings of the San Francisco trial the *New York Times* published prominently the news of Tagore's alleged complicity.[5] The news item was published under the heading—Link Tagore's Name With German Plots. The report said, "secret papers introduced by the Government purported to show that Sir Rabindranath Tagore . . . . had enlisted the interest of Counts Okuma and Terauchi, former Japanese Premier and present Permier respectively, in the movement to established an independent Government in India. . . . . The name of Wu Ting-Fang, former Chinese minister to the United States, also was mentioned in the document as one of the persons with whom Tagore had obtained a friendly interview."

Tagore, it has been pointed out, was not a defendant. The authorship of the letter dragging the poet's name could not be established by the court. Dr. R. C. Majumdar who raises the question of the poet's alleged association with the Indian revolutionaries in the United States has no conclusive evidence to offer. Dr. Chandra K. Chakravarty, another prominent accused in the San Francisco trial told him that, "the statement was true, but could not furnish any corroborative evidence." Dr. Majumdar's suggestion that it is, "worth consideration that Rabindranath never formally contradicted such a serious allegation published in the *New York Times*"[6] is, however, misleading. Neither is it warranted.

For, the poet did formally and emphaticaly contradict what he considered a 'lying calumny.' When the newspaper report in which he figured reached him some months later, he immediately wired to President Wilson : Newspapers received concerning Conspiracy trial San Francisco wherein prosecution counsel implicated me. I claim from you and your country protection against such lying calumny.—The wire was sent from Santiniketan. The cable was received in Washington on May 13, 1918.[7] It was followed by a strongly worded letter to the American President, dated May 9, 1918, in which the poet said, "Though I feel certain that my friends in America and my readers there who have studied my writings at all carefully can never believe such an audacious piece of fabrication, yet the indignity of my name being dragged into the mire of such calumny has given me great pain. It is needless to tell you that I do not believe in patriotism which can ride roughshod over higher ideals of humanity, and I consider

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it to be an act of impiety against one's own country when any service is offered to her which is loaded with secret lies and dishonest deeds of voilence. I have been outspoken enough in my utterances when my country needed them, and I have taken upon myself the risk of telling unwelcome truths to my own countrymen, as well as, to the rulers of my country. But I despise those tortuous methods adopted whether by some Government or other groups of individuals, in which the devil is taken into partnership in the name of duty. I have received great kindness from the hands of your countrymen, and I entertain great admiration for yourself who are not afraid of incurring the charge of anachronism for introducing idealism in the domain of politics, and therefore I owe it to myself and to you and your people to make this avowal of my faith and to assure your countrymen that their hospitality was not bestowed upon one who was ready to accept it while wallowing in the sub-soil sewerage of treason."[8]

The letter was received on July 31, 1918. This was followed by an exchange of notes between the Department of Justice and the Department of State. On August 3 of the same year Leland Harrison of the Department of State wrote to Charles Storey of the Department of Justice asking for his "opinion as to how the letter (Tagore's letter to Wilson) should be answered." Storey's reply of August 9 ran as follows :

My dear Mr. Harrison,

I am in receipt of your letter of August 3, 1918 enclosing copy of a letter from Rabindranath Tagore to the President. This suggestion may possibly appeal to you.

If you approve, we will write to Preston in Sen Francisco asking him to submit copies of the transcript of record in every instance where Tagore's name is mentioned and if it appears that the newspaper articles which Tagore saw are not borne out by the record we might be able to convince Tagore that the Government was not responsible for the calumny to which he was subjected.

When Preston was on here he told me that Tagore was not in any way implicated in the plot and I think that probably the record in the case will bear out this statement.

Very truly yours,
Charles M. Storey.

Harrison agreed with the suggestion in his reply on August 14. A sequel to this correspondence was the following letter of September 5, 1918, from La Rue Brown, Assistant Attorney General (who signed for the Attorney General) to the Secretary of State, Washington, D.C. (Attention of Mr. Leland Harrison) :

Sir,

Referring to previous correspondence relating to certain references to Sir Rabindranath Tagore during the course of the so-called Hindu trial, I enclose to you herewith photographic copies of portions of the transcript of that trial in which Tagore's name appears.

Mr. Preston, who tried the case, states in the accompanying letter that his remarks appearing in the colloquy with Mr. Healy, one of the counsels for the defendants, which appears in connection with the introduction of exhibit no. 140, was intended to be facetious and should not have been recorded by the reporter. He adds that it did not become the subject of a press comment. The Department is further advised by Mr. Preston that no evidence implicating Sir Rabindranath Tagore in the Hindu Conspiracy has at any time come to his attention.

By an irony of fate, however, Tagore's cable and letter remained unanswered. There is no iota of doubt that the poet had been cleared of the vile charge. But the exoneration unfortunately, was confined to the files and neither the aggrieved party nor the public were informed of these findings. This lapse on the part of the U.S. Department of State can be best explained in the words of Stephen Hay. "Brown went on to reprove Harrison for communicating with Storey instead of with the Attorney General, thus creating 'the danger of difficulty arising from papers going astray in the File Room.' (State Department Index No. 862. 20211/1448.) Brown was apparently so perturbed at Harrison's failure to follow prescribed channels that he forgot to enclose the transcript. Harrison, perhaps piqued at Brown's rebuke, decided to give Brown a taste of his own medicine, and wrote the Department of State's Diplomatic Bureau asking them to remind Brown to snd the papers. This was done on September 19 by William Phillips, the Assistant Secretary of State, in a letter to the Attorney General. Brown, again somewhat absent-mindedly, addressed his reply to the Secretary of State, omitting to add . . . . 'Attention of Mr.

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Leland Harrison.' "The correspondence between the Justice and State Departments ended here apparently because the Secretary of State's office did not know for whom the transcript of the trial was intended. Brown's covering letter does not seem to have reached Harrison, and after one official had pencilled "So" on it and two others had added check marks, it was marked "File" and on October 29 was so disposed of. In any case, Germany and the Austro-Hungarian Empire had asked for an armistice on October 4, 1918, and from that time onward the highest officers of the State Department had turned their full attention to the all important problem of ending the war in Europe."[9]

Readers may be interested to know that the baseless allegation against Tagore had its repurcussions even before it was made public in the course of the San Francisco trial. In 1917 Tagore expressed his desire to dedicate his new book 'Nationalism' to President Wilson. George P. Brett, President of the Macmillan Company, in a letter to the American President dated March 9, wrote, "We have a cable from Sir Rabindranath Tagore requesting permission to dedicate his forthcoming work entitled Nationalism to His Excellency, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States.

We are sending you a set of proof sheets of this work and we should be much grateful if you would kindly give your permission to have this done."

The President referred the matter to Colonel House who in his letter of April 6, 1917 to Wilson said, "Wiseman has investigated the Tagore matter and advises that you decline to have his book dedicated to you. His reason is that when Tagore was here he got tangled up in some way with the Indian plotters and Wiseman thinks that it may embarrass you if these things should come out publicly about the time the book is issued."[10] Sir William Wiseman was Britain's special liaison agent in the United States.

The *Modern Review* tried to controvert the vile insinuation against the poet as early as June, 1918. It quoted from some papers of the west coast of the United States to prove that he was persona grata with the Indian conspirators in that country. The writer may be permitted to add another newspaper report which will be in harmony with the views of this esteemed journal.

"'Sir Rabindranath Tagore is not and has not been since his arrival here in any danger of assassination by Hindus of the Gadar Party.' This statement was made today by Ram Chandra, editor of the *Hindustan Gadar* and head of the party, in reply to the charge made to the local police yesterday that there existed a plot here to murder the Bengali poet and a Nobel Prize winner.

Whether the poet's fears are real or imaginary, they served to drive the venerable man from San Francisco to Santa Barbara last night, after he had canceled one of his lecture engagements here."[11]

Even after the excitement over the Hindu Conspiracy trial had abated, Tagore, because of the bureaucratic inefficiency in the matter of issuing a public and official exoneration, continued to be the victim of a lying calumny. This is evident from the uncharitable and dafamatory reference that a first-rate newspaper in America made in December 1920, when under Topics of the Times it said, "As a matter of fact, such products of British rule as he[12] including the more eminent Rabindranath Tagore, are a strangely ungrateful lot, and in themeselves the best proof that the British, instead of being too harsh as masters, have been unwisely kind."[13]

We do not know if our distinguished countryman was ever told that the U.S. Government were satisfied that the allegation against him was unfounded and that the sentiments expressed by the poet in his letter to President Wilson had been vindicated. But posterity should know without any shred of doubt, that the calumny to which he was subjected had no basis.

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1. *The Modern Review* for June, 1918, pp. 674-675.

2. The trial was held to bring to book the Indian revolutionaries in the U.S.A. and their German, American and other accomplices who were conspiring to overthrow British rule in India.

3. Volume 20, 1711 (U.S. Exhibit 140) in the trial record.

4. Vol. 43, 3783 (Exhibit 318). The writer is indebted to Prof. Stephen Hay of the University of Chicago who kindly lent him photostat copies of these two documents and also of others used in this article for which the source has not been indicated.

5. *The New York Times*, February 28, 1918, 3 : 3.

6. Majumdar : *History of the Freedom Movement in India*, vol. II, p. 546.

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7. Quoted by Stephen Hay in his paper—*Rabindranath Tagore in America*, American Quarterly, Vol. 14, No. 3, Fall 1962, p. 451.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 541. Photostat copies of the other letters quoted at length by the writer were kindly lent by Prof. Hay.

9. Stephen May, *op. cit.*, p. 452.

10. Copies of these two letters were kindly lent to the writer by Prof. Hay.

11. *The San Francisco Call*, October 6, 1916, p. 18.

12. Sailendra Nath Ghose who after a brillian career at the University of Calcutta evaded the Police, went over to the United States and championed the cause of India's independence. He was incarcerated. Years later Ghose came back to India and was for sometime Education officer, Calcutta Corporation and Principal of two big non-official colleges in undivided Bengal.

The New York Times comments were made in connection with the deliberation of the first annual convention of the Friends of Freedom for India held on December 5, 1920 in New York.

13. *The New York Times*, December 7, 1920, 12 : 6.

CRISIS IN LAOS

By S. V.

The present crisis in Laos is not an isolated episode, being enacted in a far-flung country, with which one could feel unconcerned. It is part of a well-conceived and properly organised armed conspiracy, being hatched in that part of the world (South-east Asia), to further the interests of a potentially aggressive communist movement spearheaded by China. Its manifestations are to be found not only in Laos, but these are even more evident and blaring in the neighbouring South Vietnam. The Communist control of northern Laos (Plain of Jars is situated there) is strategically very important, as it serves as a corridor for he prosecution of Viet Cong guerrilla operations against the non-communist regime of South Vietnam. Hence, the present intensified military operations undertaken by the Pathet Lao (Communist) forces are not only meant to finally bring about the entire country under Communist control, but also to secure firm control of communist supply lines passing through Laos and connecting Viet Cong guerrillas with their base in North Vietnam. This is sought to be achieved by pushing forward Pathet Lao-controlled political frontiers, so as to keep the evils of war away from the communist vital positions.

It may not be out of place here to briefly recapitulate the position regarding political alignments and forces in that strife-ridden country against a background of its political history since the grant of autonomy in 1949.

Two important political factions in the present Laotian crisis are headed by two important leaders of the Lao Issara movement, which was started during the short period of Japanese occupation to resist the return of the French political influence to Laos. When the French granted autonomy to Laos within the French Union in 1949, the Lao Issara movement was dissolved and its leaders, among them Souvanna Phouma, decided to associate themselves with the new Government, that was then formed. Prince Souphanouvong, his half-brother, had earlier left the Lao Issara movement to join the Viet Minh forces, at that time fighting to wipe out the French influence from the whole of Indo-China. Later, Prince Souphanouvong organised the Pathet Lao movement in the North-eastern Laos with the help of Viet Minh, with the avowed purpose of driving out the French. These two leaders are now at the head of two important political factions in the country i.e. Neutralists headed by Souvanna Phouma and Communist Pathet Lao with Prince

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Souphanouvong as their leader. By the time, of the Geneva Conference of 1954, which led to the French withdrawal from Laos, the Pathet Lao, with their own private armies, were strongly entrenched in the two northern provinces of Sam Neua and Phong Saly, and all subsequent efforts towards seeking integration of the Pathet Lao forces into the national Laotian army and make them relinquish political control of their positions in the north-eastern region met with failure. The possibility of a workable political agreement with Pathet Lao was becoming remoter with the appearance of the Americans on the scene; the Americans created a Right-wing pro-American political faction of fortune-seekers headed by General Phoumi Nosavan. This Rightist faction was opposed to any compromise with the Pathet Lao. This has led the Pathet Lao to steadily strengthen, consolidate and improve upon their position in north-east, which has presently brought them into clash with the neutralist forces of General Kong Le, who had once collaborated with them against the Rightists. The military success of the Pathet Lao in 1962 led the Americans to realise that the situation could only be saved through an international agreement providing for the formation of a coalition government representing all the three political factions and having a neutral international orientation. This was the essence of the 1962 Geneva agreement, which has been observed more in the breach. The Pathet Lao, supported by the Viet Minh, now controlling almost two-thirds of the country, are in no mood to seek political partnership with others, when success is almost knocking at their door. They have already cleared the Plain of Jars of neutralist positions. The present crisis, which has led to the expulsion of Neutralist forces from the Plain of Jars and brought the Pathet Lao within 15 miles of Vientienne, the Capital, was apparently provoked by a Rightist coup headed by Generals Kauprasith and Siho. The coup leaders, having been pressurised into accepting Prince Souvanna Phouma as the Prime Minister of the Coalition Government, continued to be the effective political power and presumably, at their bidding, the two left-wing ministers were forced out of the Cabinet. This was followed by the announcement of the merger of Neutralist and Rightist factions. This led the Pathet Lao to intensify their operations to wipe out the neutralist forces from their positions in the Plain of Jars and thus strengthen their bargaining power in any future political settlement.

The rapid Pathet Lao advances has created an explosive situation, with the U.S.A. threatening military intervention to stop further aggression and France, supported by Russia and India, proposing another international conference of the 14 nations that participaed in the Second Geneva Conference of 1962.

The U. S. Government is opposed to the convening of another international conference, lest this may be converted into a political platform to discuss the French neutralisation plan for the whole of Indo-China. They also fear that the Communists may utilise it to condemn and criticise the U.S. policy of active military involvement, especially in South Vietnam. However, the U.S.A. may, under pressure, agree to the revival of the 1962 Geneva Conference of 14 nations, if it is only confined to Laos and subject to withdrawal of Pathet Lao forces to their original positions held by them before the present offensive. The Laotian Government of Prince Souvanna Phouma has accepted the Conference idea subject to the proviso that the Pathet Lao should withdraw to their original positions. The Americans are agreeable a British proposal, which proposes the holding of an ambassadorial level conference of the powers represented at the 1962 Geneva Conference.

The French Government sincerely believes that there cannot be a military solution of the present mess in Laos and South Vietnam. Hence ,they favour a political settlement of this vexed problem, and this, in their view, could only be achieved through neutralisation of the whole of Indo-China. The U.S. Government feels that any acceptance of the neutralisation scheme in respect of South-Vietnam will amount to virtual acceptance of communist domination of that country, resulting in a seroius threat

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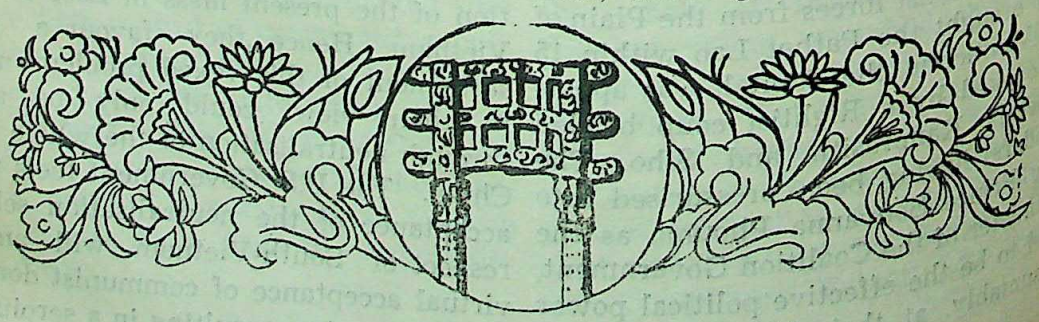
to the entire region of South-east Asia. Moreover, the neutralisation experiment, as tried out in Laos as a result of the Geneva agreement of 1962, has only confirmed the American apprehensions that this is only a cloak to cover up subsequent communist aggression and subversion.

The basic thing to consider is how far the Pathet Lao is in a position to independently make a political agreement, and, having once made, whether it could implement. It must be frankly conceded here that Pathet Lao is not an independent political force, whose main interest would be in visualising everything as it should affect or influence Laos. It has already been said that it is part of an all-comprehensive struggle to serve and suit the interests of an aggressive communist movement, which aims at the destruction of democratic values in the region. China, the leader of this movement, is interested in establishing its hegemony over this region and use it as a springboard for further aggression. Laos is an important strategic position to further the aims of this movement. The conquest of Laos will secure the logistic link with Viet Congs, operating in South Vietnam, and hence contribute towards the final liquidation of its anti-Communist regime and incidentally, American influence in that part. The capture of Laos and South Vietnam will make Cambodia's position very much vulnerable (it is already playing the Chinese game) and pose a serious danger to Thailand and Malaysia—two strong bastions of anti-communism in South-east Asia. The military conquest of Indo-China will secure for the Communists the granary of this region,—Mekong delta—and thus relieve the serious food shortages, being currently faced in China and North Vietnam. It is this wider and sinister picture of the future of this region that accounts for much of the political rigidity of the American position. The French surmise is that the neutralisation of this region, resulting in the formation of really national Governments, will reduce their present dependence on the Chinese and thus may create national resistance against their exploitation in the interest of Chinese nationalism. The French may be visualising a united or federated Indo-China, which will be a strong bulwark against Chinese expansion in the region. It may be noted here that the French have not spelled or interpreted their neutralisation plan in such specific terms, but this seems to be the intent and purpose of their scheme. Of course, this also reflects the desire of the present French Government to play a vital and independent role in their former enclaves.

The present stalemate would presumably be broken by the convening of another international conference, which may produce another blueprint for peace-keeping in Laos. But whether another international agreement will finally resolve the problem in the interest of peace in the region, is very doubtful. The problem could, perhaps, have been solved long before, if various political factions, particularly, the Pathet Lao and the Rightists had not been only instruments of wider politics. The utmost danger is now posed by the Pathet Lao movement which is controlled and guided by party cadres from North Vietnam; the Laotian political figures of the movement appear to be only figure-heads. The Communist Party of North Vietnam, in its own turn, is very much subservient to the Chinese Communists, whose game it is playing.



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TEN YEARS OF ORGANIZED EFFORT FOR KHADI AND VILLAGE INDUSTRIES

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(Contributed)

> Anything done to secure production in Agriculture, animal husbandry, small-scale and village industries will immediately increase the income of those at the bottom level. This will considerably help integration among the different levels at which our people live.
>
> —Jawaharlal Nehru

The idea behind the formation of the All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board and of the Khadi and Village Industries Commission was to bring into existence an organization for formulating and organising programmes for the production and development of khadi and village industries, including training of personnel, manufacture and supply of equipment, supply of raw materials, marketing and research and study of economic problems pertaining to different village industries. The organisation was also to function as a clearing house of information and experience relating to those industries. The All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board functioned for four years when it was succeeded by the Khadi and Village Industries Commission in April 1957. The Commission's functions are generally in line with those laid down for the preceding Board. Seven years have elapsed since the promotion of khadi and village industries was undertaken as an organised effort with financial assistance and other types of aids from the Government. This period does not represent a very long time especially in the field of rural economic development in a country where even the basic facilities are not available. Nevertheless, it may not be out of place to review the work done so far so that steps can be taken for further development of these industries.

Efforts for the development of village industries have to contend with special problems. The worthwhileness of the programme is not judged by production or sale alone, but by the extent of employment opportunities created in the rural areas and the dispersal of the programme to as large a number of villages as possible. There are more than 5,64,700 villages in India, of which 1,60,549 have a population of less than 5,000 each. As a point of fact 4,68,765 villages have a population of less than 1,000 while 3,49,568 villages have a population of lesss than 500, and 1,76,384 villages have a population of less than 200. The villages are spread all over the country. The very large number of villages is a measure of the magnitude of the task that faces those who are charged with the responsibillity for bringing about regeneration of the village economy.

Limited Availability of Finance

The allocation for khadi and village industries during the First Plan amounted to Rs. 14.82 crores which worked out at 0.44 per cent of the total plan provision. A sum of Rs. 84 crores (1.24 per cent of the total plan allocation) was allotted for khadi and village industries in the Second Plan. The allocation for khadi and village industries of Rs. 92.4 crores during the third plan works out at 0.78 per cent of the total allocation. In other words, out of a total allocation of Rs. 21,910 crores, in the three plans, only Rs. 191.22 crores or about .87 per cent was allotted for the development of khadi and village industries. The actual disbursement was of the older of Rs. 143.57 crores up to March, 1963.

Five Principal Considerations

In evaluating the work of the Board and of the Commission during the past period of more than a decade it is necessary to bear in mind the objects which were expected to be served and to see how far these objectives have been served. Of the several important considerations mention may be made of the following: (1) expansion of production, (2) provision of employment, (3) popularising the programme, (4) extension of financial assistance, and (5) promotion of sales.

During the period of the First Five year plan, khadi was the only industry in which there was, on the basis of an existing scheme of working, a programme drawn up for further development work. There was no similar basis available in the field of other village industries except that

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some work was being done in the fields of processing of cereals and pulses, village oil, palm gur, gur and khandsari and bee-keeping. It was ony in 1956-57 that systematic work was started in respect of the following industries: processing of cereals and pulses; village oil; village leather; cottage match; gur and khandsari; palm gur; non-edible oils and soap; handmade paper; bee-keeping and pottery. Subsequently, work was started on the improvement of carpentry and blacksmithy, the limestone industry and the manufacture of methane gas and manure.

The difficulties met with in collecting information on rural conditions in general are well-known. These difficulties are experienced equally in the collection of information on khadi and village industries which has to be collected from thousands of small units spread all over the country, many of which do not have the proper personnel to maintain records in a manner which would make them suitable for being incorporated in a systematic report. The handicaps in this regard are yet to be overcome. It is, therefore, not possible to give figures of production, employment and sales in the field of village industries other than khadi which could present a realistic picture of developments. But available reports indicate encouraging results.

Khadi Production Up by 676 Per Cent

The production of khadi (including silk, woollen and ambar) rose form 115.63 lakh sq. yards in 1953-54 to 896.12 lakh sq. yards in 1962-63 indicating a rise of more than 7 times (676 per cent). It is customary to judge progress by the impact on production. Viewed thus, the record is not altogether discouraging. (Table 1).

TABLE 1

Variety-wise Production of Khadi

1953-54 to 1962-63

Quantity: Lakh. Sq. Yds.
Value: Rs. Lakhs.

Year	Traditional Cotton		Self-Sufficiency		Woollen		Silk		Ambar Mixed		Total	
	Quantity	Value	Quantity	Value	Quantity	Value	Quantity	Value	Quantity	Value	Quantity	Value
1953-54	93.34	177.35	10.10	12.98	11.31	24.20	0.88	4.50	—	—	115.63	219.04
1954-55	166.79	309.31	18.17	24.91	5.78	15.03	1.92	9.05	—	—	192.66	358.30
1955-56	219.42	416.03	58.00	82.65	5.40	27.61	6.22	28.04	—	—	289.04	554.33
1956-57	263.82	519.66	130.89	188.15	15.63	51.76	7.00	30.07	18.79	32.88	436.13	822.52
1957-58	282.84	521.59	177.11	254.64	28.07	121.39	12.59	55.73	111.45	195.04	612.07	1148.39
1958-59	338.31	630.86	99.80	144.35	30.37	118.15	14.46	61.69	240.38	420.38	723.32	1375.72
1959-60	319.44	632.49	95.67	112.89	28.87	136.34	15.39	83.88	256.49	448.86	715.86	1414.46
1960-61	301.34	582.99	55.48	76.36	43.28	222.37	13.42	85.10	234.25	456.67	647.77	1423.49
1961-62	346.67	640.40	77.30	173.18	58.52	298.79	15.45	105.19	264.08	536.98	762.02	1754.54
1962-63	404.72	748.83	78.35	103.90	76.00	415.89	18.33	121.26	318.72	731.68	896.12	2121.56

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Employment Up Nearly Five Times

Employment in khadi went up from 3.79 lakhs in 1953-54 to 17.99 lakhs in 1962-63, a rise of more than 375 per cent. In 1962-63 khadi and other village industries were providing employment to 25.35 lakh persons (17.99 lakhs in khadi and 7.36 lakhs in village industries) of whom 71 per cent were employed in the khadi sector. Table 2 below gives details of employment in khadi, traditional and ambar, over the decade :

TABLE 2

Employment in Khadi

(000's)

Year	Spinners Traditional	Spinners Ambar	Total	Weavers	Others	Grand Total
1953-54	348.0	—	348.0	19.2	11.4	378.6
1954-55	474.1	—	474.1	29.4	14.1	517.6
1955-56	596.2	—	596.2	43.6	17.7	657.5
1956-57	743.6	45.8	789.4	60.1	31.2	880.7
1957-58	858.6	144.6	1003.2	73.5	59.2	1135.9
1958-59	1007.4	245.0	1252.4	80.3	67.0	1399.7
1959-60	1089.9	321.6	1411.5	119.8	75.8	1607.1
1960-61	1144.4	363.9	1508.3	124.7	81.2	1714.2
1961-62	1163.7	373.4	1537.1	124.7	84.4	1746.2
1962-63	1186.7	377.4	1564.1	149.6	84.7	1798.4

Wider Geographical Coverage : Diffusion of Initiative

This increase in production and employment was not brought by the concentration of efforts in a limited number of centres but, in keeping with the objective of decentralised development, was achieved through the extension of the programme to a wider field in all the States of the Union. The programme has reached a lakh of villages. Geographical coverage apart, initiative is also spread over a large number of institutions and co-operatives.

The number of organisations engaged in khadi industry rose from 186 in 1953-54 to 1,614 in 1962-63, that is, by 768 per cent. Of these, in the latter year, 925 were societies registered under the Societies Registration Act, 15 were State Boards and 674 co-operatives.

15000 Co-operatives

The policy is to promote the development of co-operatives. From that point of view also progress has not been inconsiderable. More than 15000 co-operative societies have been brought into existence during the period. Practically the whole of the village industries sector (other than khadi) is covered by co-operatives. The following table 3 shows the position of co-operatives under each industry.

TABLE 3

Co-operatives in the Field of Khadi and Village Industries as at the end of March 1963

Khadi	674
Village Oil	4,237
Palm Gur	3,016
Leather	2,574
Handpounding of Paddy	1,898
Pottery	1,236
Gur and Khandsari	582
Carpentry and Blacksmithy	444
Soap	399
Fibre	233
Beekeeping	157
Handmade Paper	102
Match	23
Lime	23
Gobar Gas	1
Total :	15,599

Even in the field of khadi where the institutions registered under the Societies Registration

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Act have traditionally been active the progress in organizing co-operatives has been encouraging. The number of khadi co-operatives went up from 42 in 1954-55 to 674 in 1962-63. The proportion of co-operatives to the total number of organisations (1614) engaged in khadi which was little over 18 per cent in 1954-55 rose to 42 per cent in 1962-63. The following table 4 depicts the progress of co-operativization in khadi.

TABLE 4

Co-operatives and Registered Institutions in Khadi

Year	Registered Institutions	Co-operatives	Total
1953-54	N.A.	N.A.	186
1954-55	190	42	232
1955-56	244	60	304
1965-57	279	166	445
1957-58	319	236	555
1958-59	392	304	696
1959-60	449	319	768
1960-61	733	419	1,152
1961-62	876	541	1,417
1962-63	940	674	1,614

Fifteen-fold Rise in Sales

In a sound programme, growth in production and organizational progress is bound to find reflection in appreciable improvement in marketing, which is dogging the path of every small producer. Here also there was marked progress. The sales of khadi rose from Rs. 129.98 lakhs in 1953-54 to Rs. 2037 lakhs in 1962-63 or a rise of over fifteen times (1463 per cent) in ten years. (Table 5).

TABLE 5

Sales of Khadi and Village Industries Products

(Value in Rs. Lakhs)

Industry	1961-62	1962-63
Khadi	1877.54	2036.78
Handprocessed Cereals and Pulses	272.59	318.35
Village Oil	1495.21	1543.36
Village Leather	131.28	199.91
Gur and Khandsari :		
Gur	N.A.	384.27
Khandsari	—	10.11
Non-edible Oils and Soap	41.77	52.56
Handmade Paper	20.96	26.23
Village Pottery	42.24	68.59
Fibre Products	11.80	30.78
Carpentry and Blacksmithy Products	1.18	2.60
Palm Gur (neera)	23.03	39.43
Beekeeping (Apiary honey)	22.60	24.73
Lime products	—	3.45
Cottage Match	2.56	2.94
	3942.76	4744.09

Over Six Lakhs Trained

An important part of the programme is the training of personnel. In all 6,13,597 persons were trained during the past eleven years under the aegis of the Khadi and Village Industries Commission. Of these 5,42,808 persons were trained in khadi and 70,789 in village industries. Further breakdown of the figures shows that 5,25,778 persons were trained under the ambar charkha scheme, while 17,030 persons were trained under the traditional charkha scheme. Since a decision was taken not to introduce the new 4-spindle ambar charkha but to concentrate on renovation of existing charkhas or their conversion to six-spindle units and to organize model centres for raising the level of productivity, there has been reduction in training in ambar spinning.

Financial Assistance

Finance is among the main problems confronting the small producer. Therefore, one of the urgent tasks before the Commission was to evolve a pattern of assistance which would ensure speedy availability of funds to producers, while enabling the Commission to exercise normal checks in the disposal of the funds. The total disbursement on account of khadi and village industries rose from Rs. 109.14 lakhs in 1953-54 to Rs. 2757.22 lakhs in 1962-63.

Supply Equipments

Among the other principal functions of the Commission are ; making arrangements for supply of implements to producers and to provide facilities for marketing of khadi and products of village industries.

So far 3,73,341 ambar charkhas have been distributed. No additional charkhas were dis-

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tributed during 1962-63 save in hill and border areas. During the year 21,281 charkhas were remodelled and 8,623 charkhas were converted into six-spindle units bringing the total number renovated to 29,904. In the case of other village industries also encouraging progress in the supply of equipment has been made. In the processing of cereals and pulses industry 75,771 ball-bearings, 11,973 paddy chakkis, 26,025 atta chakkis, 623 winnowing fans and 1,012 dhenkis have been distributed. They are all of an improved variety. During 1962-63, 3,407 paddy chakkis, 2,474 atta chakkis, 57 winnowing fans and 51 dhenkis were distributed.

Under the village oil industry programme, 19,850 improved ghanis have been distributed.

Under the village leather industry schemes, assistance was given for constructing or repairing 25698 pits for tanning. They were estimated to have produced goods valued at Rs. 129.45 lakhs in 1962-63.

Under the gur khandsari industry nearly 20,000 bullock-driven crushers were introduced by the end of 1962-63 employing 55,541 persons. Some 389 power-driven crushers were also supplied. Under the village pottery industry, 1,130 wheel attachments, 2,122 new model wheels, 379 chain-driven wheels, 284 mould sets, 30 screw presses, 32 tile presses and 561 bhatti kilns were provided. Under the fibre industry, batara charkhas, that is a hand-operated machine for spinning higher counts from these fibres and also from grasses, rope-making machines, machines for extraction of fibre from sisal and date-plam leaves, machines for carding sisal jute, ambadi and sann, banana fibre scrapers, and looms for weaving chair seats and matting from sisal jute, ambadi and sann, were distributed.

Nearly 1,700 machines were distributed under the fibre industry of which 1,280 were in Punjab alone. 804 batara charkhas, 1500 carding machines and 150 scrapers were also distributed in Punjab, Kerala and Madras.

Progress in Village Industries

Encouraging results have been obtained in recent years in respect of village leather industry, the value of production of which went up from Rs. 35.50 lakhs in 1960-61 to Rs. 144.16 lakhs in 1962-63. Other industries in which good progress was observed were village oil and fibre industries where the production went up respectively from Rs. 1,354.70 lakhs in 1960-61 to Rs. 1,628.53 lakhs in 1962-63 and from Rs. 6.56 lakhs in 1960-61 to Rs. 55.17 lakhs in 1962-63 respectively.

The following table 6 shows the rise in production for different village industries between 1960-61 and 1962-63.

TABLE 6

Production in Village Industries

(Value in lakhs of rupees)

	1960-61	1961-62	1962-63
Processing of cereals and pulses industry	341.12	395.00	411.68
Village oil industry :			
Oil	1,354.70	1,670.39	1,628.53
Cake	314.42	399.99	352.37
Palm gur	422.80	295.20	475.99
Village leather industry	35.50	91.17	144.16
Non-edible oils and soap industry	65.59	71.94	90.78*
Handmade Paper Industry	24.23	23.99	30.95
Cottage Match Industry	1.43	2.56	5.20
Gur and Khandsari	—	—	394.83
Village pottery industry	41.98	49.08	79.82
Beekeeping industry	17.38	22.60	24.73
Fibre industry	6.56	14.18	55.17
Carpentry and Blacksmithy	—	1.80	2.97
Limestone	—	—	3.21

* includes seed collection, oil extraction and soap making.

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Village Leather Industry

Flaying of dead animals and recovery of all valuable materials to the fullest extent is the underlying objective of the village leather industry. The effort of the Commission in this direction have met with good response.

At present work is carried on at 244 flaying centres, 11 intensive flaying centres, 209 tanneries and 56 marketing depots. Co-operatives numbering 2,574 are working under this industry. Employment provided under the schemes has risen from 65 in 1953-54 to 8,168 in 1962-63. The value of aggregate production in 1962-63 was 144.16 lakhs. The production in tanneries was to the tune of Rs. 129.45 lakhs in 1962-63. Financial assistance was given for the construction of new pits and for effecting repairs to old ones numbering 25,698 till the end of 1962-63.

Village Oil

Production of oil, under the village oil industry scheme, showed a steady increase from 0.76 lakh quintals in 1956-57 to 6.77 lakh quintals in 1962-63. Production of oil-cake more than doubled from 4.94 lakh quintals to 10.58 lakh quintals during the same period.

There are 22,960 registered ghanis, of which 11,283 are improved ones. The industry provides employment to 31,958 persons on full-time basis and to 20,555 persons on part-time basis.

Handmade Paper

It has been possible to start production of varieties of paper like drawing paper, document paper, jacquard paper etc., which were previously imported. Further, with the adoption of techniques used in the Japanese handmade paper industry, the production of stencil paper, tissue paper, artistic wall paper, decorative packing paper and other varieties which have export value has become possible.

The production stands at 1,511 metric tonnes valued at more than Rs. 30.95 lakhs. Of the 265 units of all sizes assisted by the Commission only 134 centres have so far commenced production. The other units which are in the various stages of erection are expected to raise production to 5,500 tonnes when commissioned.

Processing of Cereals Industry

Provision of employment on a large scale in rural areas, and ensuring higher percentage of rice recovery from paddy during dehusking are the basic objectives of this industry which has recorded substantial increase both in production and employment.

Production rose from Rs. 53.96 lakhs in 1953-54 to Rs. 411.68 lakhs that is by more than seven times or an increase of 661 per cent. Employment went up from 4,000 to 57,538 (wages Rs. 27.72 lakhs).

Organisationally, there was steady growth. In 1954-55, 148 co-operatives and registered institutions were functioning. Their number rose to 1898 in 1962-63, that is, increased by nearly 13 times or by 1182 per cent.

Palm Gur

The palm gur industry had covered, by the end of 1962-63, 7,165 villages and there were 3.54 lakh tappers on its rolls at the end of the year; co-operatives engaged in the industry numbered 3016.

Production of palm gur and other products was valued at Rs. 476 lakhs as against Rs. 295.20 in 1961-62. The industry provided employment to 3.54 lakh persons on part-time basis.

Non-edible Oils and Soap

The accent in this industry is on the creation of wealth by collection and processing of non-edible oilseeds which go waste in the countryside. This helps diversion of much-needed edible oils for human consumption the availability of which is deplorably low in our country. Collection of oilseeds, crushing of seeds and soap-making are the main features of this industry. In 1962-63 non-edible oilseed worth Rs. 18.51 lakhs were collected. It deserves to be noted that in this work of collection of seeds the principal beneficiaries are adivasis. Oils of the value of Rs. 21.40 lakhs and soap valued at Rs. 50.87 lakhs were produced.

Organisationally, the number of working units has gone up from 21 in 1955-56 to 609 in 1962-63, that is, by 29 times. In 1962-63, 23,632 persons were employed in seed collection and 5,008 persons in the processing of seeds.

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Bee-keeping

The primary object behind the programme of the beekeeping industry is to educate the public in methods of scientific bee-keeping and its processes, and to provide technical guidance to bee-keepers. The extraction of honey may become secondary in importance when compared with immense beneficial effects of beekeeping on agriculture.

The industry under the Commission has expanded steadily. The number of colonies rose from 800 in 1953-54 to nearly 1,63,016 in 1962-63, that is, by more than 200 times. The value of honey production rose from Rs. 0.20 lakhs to Rs. 24.73 lakhs in 1962-63. The industry has covered 11,000 villages. There were 33,834 registered bee-keepers on the rolls at the end of 1962-63.

Gur and Khandsari

Gur and khandsari industry which is the largest agricultural processing industry, provides seasonal employment for 4 to 5 months in a year. The production of gur rose from 6.47 lakh quintals in 1954-55 to 15.66 lakh quintals in 1962-63—that is more than doubled—and of khandsari from 10,436 quintals valued at Rs. 8.40 lakhs in 1955-56 to 54,000 quintals—an increase of more than 5 times—in 1962-63.

The production of gur rose from 13.61 lakh quintals in 1961-62 to 15.66 lakh quintals in 1962-63. Khandsari registered a smilar rise viz., from 26,000 quintals in 1961-62 to 54,000 quintals in 1962-63. Employment rose from 3,063 to 55,541 in 1962-63, *i.e.*, increased by more than 18 times or by about 1,731 per cent. Wages distributed worked out to Rs. 43.11 lakhs.

There are 20,000 bullock-driven crushers and 609 power-driven crushers. The development programmes of this industry have covered 3½ lakh acres of land accounting for 6 per cent of the 58 lakh acres which are under cane cultivation in the country.

Pottery

Production under the pottery industry is no less impressive. Schemes were formulated and regular work was started in 1955-56. Production in 1956-57 was valued at Rs. 1.11 lakhs which steadily increased and in 1962-63 it added up to Rs. 79.82 lakhs—the rise being 6,190 per cent or of more than 71 times.

There are 1,236 co-operatives. The industry provided employment to 23,245 persons in 1962-63.

Fibre Industry

The Commission's programme under the fibre industry includes educating the artisans in the countryside to make articles out of fibres some of which are otherwise going waste at present. Specific mention deserves to be made of the manufacture of *bardans* or *bataras* which have made notable progress in the northern parts of Mysore.

The sale of fibre articles amounted to Rs. 11.80 lakhs in 1961-62 which increased to Rs. 30.78 lakhs in 1962-63. Production rose from Rs. 14.18 lakhs to Rs. 55.17 lakhs during the same period. Between 1961-62 and 1962-63 production increased nearly 4 times while sales increased by three times. During 1962-63 there were employed 7,589 artisans and 3,474 families on full-time basis while 450 artisans and 4,844 families got seasonal employment. As at this date 233 co-operatives are functioning under this industry.

Carpentry and Blacksmithy

The industry has been taken up only recently by the Commission. Upto the end of 1962-63, 127 units were allotted—10 A type, 2 B type and 115 C type. The production and sales during 1962-63 are respectively Rs. 2.97 lakhs and Rs. 2.60 lakhs. At present 183 persons are employed in this industry.

Limestone

This industry which is also a new addition to the schedule of village industries has tended to respond favourably to the efforts made during the last one or two years. The programme is implemented at present through co-operatives of traditional lime burners, 23 of which were registered during 1962-63. A major step was taken to bring all the 80 co-operative societies known to be existing in the country within the purview of Commission and to build up an effective organisa-

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tional framework for this industry. Most of the 92 production units are in the preliminary stages of construction.

Production and sales during 1962-63 are valued at Rs. 3.21 lakhs and Rs. 3.45 lakhs respectively. One technical extension service centre has started functioning for providing training and technical services. Arrangements were also made to train technical personnel at the research and experimental centre at Poona.

Gobar Gas (Methane)

There were 23 registered institutions and one co-operative society functioning under the industry. The Commission has allotted 32 gas plants—18 to Gujarat, 7 to Maharashtra, 3 to Uttar Pradesh, while Bihar, Kerala, Mysore and West Bengal had one each. Of these, 6 plants in Gujarat and 4 in Maharashtra have started operation. The others are still under construction. The gas plants working in Gujarat and Maharashtra produced 270 tons of manure and 9.50 lakh c.ft. of methane gas.

The Commission has organised a small laboratory for conducting research in technical matters. Though the laboratory could not begin its work on a large scale it condcted research in the following directions viz., (a) reduction in the space required by the digester ; (b) shortening the period required for digestion; and (c) optimum use of a unit of gas.

Research

Research is very important for all industries. It is still more so for small industries and village industries because normally in the main research is being done on lines from which the village industries sector cannot derive much benefit, though its results can be helpful to the organized large-scale industries. The problems of the decentralized sector are significantly different from those of the organised sector. It is again difficult to attract talented minds for research in the field of village industries inasmuch as scientific workers find it easier to adjust themselves to the demands of the mechanized sector than to the requirements of the decentralized sector. Even then through intelligent efforts it has been possible to associate a number of qualified scientists with the research projects for different industries coming under the purview of the Commission. In research, however, it takes time to obtain results and one cannot guarantee in advance any achievement. Liberal grants have been made to promote research. The Commission has also established a Central Research Institute for Village Industries at Wardha which is known as Jamnalal Bajaj Central Research Institute for village industries. The Prayog Samiti of Ahmedabad has been mainly responsible for technical research in khadi. Substantial sums have been spent on research, as a result of which improved implements such as ambar belni, ambar charkha, dhunai modhia, improved ghanis and chakkis have been introduced opening out possibilities of raising the productivity and income of the persons employed.

A technical committee consisting of experts appointed to suggest modifications in ambar charkha so as to secure increased earnings, has found that with certain modifications in the ambar charkha an artisan can earn one rupee by working for 6 to 7 hrs.

Programme for Hill and Border Areas

The Chinese aggression highlighted the need for developing the economy of hill and border areas. The remoteness of the hill and border areas from the developed regions, their relative inaccessibility and the educational and cultural level of the inhabitants of the hill and border areas render it difficult to develop many units of large-scale industries there. On the other hand, the introduction of khadi and village industries can immediately provide the people in hill and border areas with opportunities for gainful employment. The Commission has thus been making special eforts to take the programme to the hill and border areas. In several border states, state level advisory committees have been set up with the Chief Minister at the head to advise on the implementation of the programme there. The all-India Advisory Committee helps in the co-ordination of efforts in various states.

Programme for Weaker Sections of the Village Population

Although the programme for khadi and village Industries is itself intended to help the weaker sections of the village population, it has

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been found from experience that the various schemes of aid need to be made more flexible in order to be useful to the backward people in the rural areas. The tribal people and many of the members of the scheduled castes have been unable to take advantage of the programme because of their extreme poverty and backwardness. Therefore the Commission has formulated a special programme for the welfare of the weaker sections of the village population.

Gram Ekai

Experience has emphasised the need for increasing co-ordination in the efforts for the development of the rural economy which has to be considered as an integrated whole. This realization has made it necessary to correlate the programme for the development of khadi and village industries with other programmes for rural development. *Gram ekai* (literally meaning a village unit) envisages bringing about such co-ordination and integration of efforts in a number of selected areas in the country. The target in the Third Five Year Plan is to set up 3,000 units each with a population of 5,000.

Free Weaving Scheme

A natural corollary of the concept of *gram ekai* is the free weaving scheme which promises to augment the supplies of cloth in the rural areas by inducing more people to take to spinning. Weaving facilities provided free of charge will undoubtedly, lead to a greater consumption of locally produced khadi cloth in rural areas. Among the several important advantages of the scheme may be mentioned as being the following:

First, it would ensure the supply of cloth practically without any charge to the spinners in villages who also grow cotton. To a very large number of people in the villages who otherwise find it extremely difficult to buy cloth for want of purchasing capacity but who have the time to do work and are willing to do so, the scheme will certainly be a boon.

Second, it would ensure to the spinners in villages who do not grow cotton, supply of cloth at a very nominal charge, say thirtyseven naye paise, per square yard. The significance of this can only be understood if it is considered against the background of the living conditions of the people in the rural areas.

There is no doubt that more and more people in the villages would be attracted to spinning becacse they would get their cloth just at the cost of their labour.

Thirdly, those in the villages who do not spin would get cloth at a very low price which would be much more competitive in relation to the price of mill cloth than at present. Because most of the yarn spun will be woven locally into cloth which in turn is expected to be consumed locally, thus leading to a saving in transport cost.

There is thus a real possibility of an expansion of the market for khadi in the rural areas under the new scheme and the dependence on the urban market for the consumption of khadi produced may conceivably be reduced in course of time.

Fourthly, in the urban areas, consumers will get khadi at about the same price as they are paying now. There is, therefore, no reason why khadi should not continue to be patronised by the people who are now going in for it.

Disseminating Information

One of the important functions of the Commission is to serve as a clearing house of information and experience relating to khadi and village industries. The Commission has been publishing two periodicals which are being increasingly read and commented upon, and has also brought out a number of standard publications. So far 178 titles have been published making up for 24,42,313 copies. In addition assistance is being extended to the different State Khadi and Village Industries Boards to bring out periodicals and publications in their local languages.

Efforts are being made to start a systematic campaign for public education in the technical aspects of the industries. It is proposed to bring out small booklets describing the manner in which to approach the setting up of units and run them.

Proper Orientation for Progress

The village industries differ from one another in significant respects and it is not possible to evaluate their progress by any standard formula. The intensity of capital, the skill, the organisation of production and sales and the direction of

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research vary from industry to industry. The industries are useful not only because they provide employment and earnings to the unemployed—which they undoubtedly do; their importance lies also in the fact that they add to the national wealth by directly contributing to the production of consumer goods in common demand and thus reducing the strain on the national economy caused with the consumption requirements of a growing population or else the necessity to import from abroad. All these aspects of the industries deserve consideration.

For example, if the local production of handmade paper enables the Government to curtail import of any particular variety of paper, to that extent the industry will deserve encouragement even if it does not provide employment to a very large number of persons. Similarly, in the case of village leather industry if, by a better organisation of flaying and utilisation of carcasses, it is possible to meet more effectively the demands of national defence and popular consumption, the industry should be promoted. In the case of the non-edible oil industry, the collection of non-edible oil seeds which would otherwise go waste, should itself be considered a desirable activity since it will augment the supplies of much-needed oil and provide a useful source of supplementary incomes to the adivasis and other low income groups.

Farmyard manure is perhaps the best type of manure for agriculture. In our country much of this valuable manure is wasted by being burnt as fuel. The introduction of cow-dung gas plants will not only prevent this waste but can aslo provide an alternative source of power in the villages where the prospects of electrification are, to say the least, distant.

Again, the bee-keeping industry is not only desirable for honey and supply of wax (the importance of which has increased as a result of heightened defence requirements) but it can make a very valuable, if indirect, contribution towards the growth of agricultural and especially horticultural production. It is well-known that bees are one of the agencies for pollination. As such, wherever bee-keeping is followed on any significant scale, agriculture flourishes.

Housing conditions in rural areas defy description. They are extremely bad. There cannot be any improvement in the standard of living of the people in the rural areas without an improvement in housing conditions. As is well-known, building materials have become prohibitively costly; at any rate so far as the majority of the village population is concerned they cannot afford the price even of very ordinary building materials. It is the duty of all concerned to see that something is done towards improving these conditions. The promotion of village pottery and village limestone industries can certainly be expected to go a long way towards helping the villagers in improving their housing conditions.

Multiplication of Efficient Units

Efforts will have to be made to explore the different directions in which the potentialities of these industries can come true. The problems of development of village industries are unique. It is not difficult to set up and run a central large scale unit efficiently and profitably. It is, however, far from easy to multiply such units throughout the country with its varying regions, with their uneven distribution of resources and skills and differing popular aptitude, initiative and talent. No formula has so far been discovered to solve this problem of multiplication of efficient production units in lakhs of spread-out villages. Evidently we hope for a way out. But the way can only be found if we keep on persevering. Past experience provides us with enough encouragement to do so.

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AMERICAN CHRISTIAN MISSIONS IN INDIA IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

By D. C. KAMOJI, M.A.

Introduction

The history of the American Christian Missions in India is a story of Love at work : it is a story of love of man towards man. From the opening of the nineteenth century, American missionaries have come to India and have opened educational, medical, philanthropic, literary and evangelistic missions.

The American Board for Foreign Missions

Origin :

The American Board for Foreign Missions eventually proved to be the first and one of the largest missionary bodies of the United States of America ; but its origin was as humble as its fame became great. In 1906, a few students of William's College in Massachusetts met under a group of trees for the usual prayer. An oncoming storm drove them to take shelter under a haystack. The students under the haystack discussed the imperative necessity and the approximate possibility of sending American missionaries to the East to spread the Christian message. During this period in America, there was a tide in the spiritual life of the country and the students were not untouched by it.

Society of Bretheren :

The prayer-meeting resulted in the foundation of the "Society of Brethren," the avowed object of which was to carry the Christian message to the heathens. Twentyone months later, some of the fathers of the Church met to discuss the subject with the students. The next day, Dr. Spring and Dr. Worecester drove in a chaise to the present at a meeting of their Church, and as they were driving, the idea of the "American Board for Foreign Missions" was conceived in their minds. They laid the idea before the General Association of congregational Ministers which consisted of eighteen members at the time. Seven persons in all were prepared to go to the Orient as missionaries, but only four persons, Judson, Mills, Notts and Newell, signed the petition and the other three withheld their names so that the idea of supporting seven missionaries should not appear too much to bear. One of the three, Gordon Hall, had already made up his mind to go to the East whatever the decision of the General Association.

Raising Funds :

The next step in the life of the American Board was raising the necessary finances to support the misionaries. Judson was sent to England to negotiate for help but it was soon evident that they had to depend on themselves. But on 6th February, 1812, an incident occurred in the old Church of Salem in Massachusetts which almost amounted to a miracle. The Church was crowded to its fullest capacity on the day to witness the consecration of five men as missionaries. Before that day, only a quarter of the expenses required for maintaining the missionaries for only one year was collected. The effect of the Church service and the consecration on the minds of the people gathered was so great that before the missionaries sailed off for the East, huge amounts of money came pouring in and all the immediate expenses were met with.

Missionaries to India :

In February, 1812, Mr. and Mrs. Judson, Mr. and Mrs. Newell, Mr. and Mrs. Nott and Messrs. Gordon Hall and Rice sailed for India. On 11th February, 1813, Gordon Hall and Mr. and Mrs. Nott arrived at Bombay harbour where they had to face disappointment, opposition and sickness. They were told by the British authorities that they will not be allowed to work in the territories under the dominance of the British. The missionaries consequently appealed to the Directors of the East India Company in London for permission. In the meanwhile, Mr. and Mrs.

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Judson and Mr. Rice broke away from the rest and the American Board to join the Baptist Communion on grounds of conscience and conviction. This caused much convulsion in the hearts of the missionaries. To this was added the sorrow of sickness among them. Yet, the missionaries lived in sufferance in Bombay till November, 1815, when they were told by the officials of the Company that their appeal had been placed before the Directors in London and that the Governor was at liberty to allow them to work in Bombay. When the opinion of the Directors was received in Bombay, Sir Evan Napean, the Governor, communicated to the missionaries: "I can now answer you that you have my entire permission to remain here, so long as you conduct yourselves in a manner agreeable to your office. I shall feel no difficuty in allowing you to go to any part of this Presidency and I heartily wish you success in your work."

Gordon Hall:

From 1814 onwards, the streets and the temples of Bombay became increasingly familiar with the appearance of Gordon Hall, who was only 28 when he came to India. On one Sunday, he would preach in nine different places and the next day he would take up his stand in six new places; he would sit on the floor of a hut reading to a dozen persons something of a sermon; he would haunt the precincts of the temples and accost the people in the streets; he would go to the burning ghats of the Hindus and visit the burial grounds of the Muslims; and he would see the Sadhus and meet the Jews to talk to them about someone called Jesus. He worked hard at learning Marathi and Sanskirt and two years later he began the study of Marathi; he translated most of the Gospel of St. Matthew and prepared a small tract. He also worked at Gujerati and Hindustani; besides all this, he found time to supervise the schools.

Tracts and Books:

Hall, Newell and Bardwell wrote tracts and books, bought paper and set the type themselves to print the books. They procured a printing press in 1816 and the next year were printed the two scripture tracts and the Gospel of St. Matthew. The "First Book for Children" in Marathi was probably prepared by Messrs. Hall and Newell. "A Help in acquiring the English Language" in English and Marathi was prepared by Mr. Hall which ran to the fifth edition by 1828. Text books in Astronomy, Geography and Arithmetic also were produced by these busy missionaries.

Death of Gordon Hall and other Missionaries:

The hot climate of India, over work, food unsuited to their taste and lack of success hastened the death of many missionaries. During the short period of five years, 1821-1826, four of the six American men missionaries died: in 1821, Newell died of cholera, in 1824 Nicolls died of fever, in 1825 Frost died and in 1826 died Gorden Hall also of cholera. The latter had gone to Trimbakeswar and Nasik, where cholera was raging, to distribute medicines and books and to minister and preach. On his way back to Bombay, one night he halted at Dodi Dapur and at 4 a.m. the next day, he began to prepare for his jouney. Suddenly, he was seized by cholera and within eight hours he was no more.

In 1827, there were four American missionaries and the health of all of them was giving way. Of the thirty children, born in American missionary homes before 1832, eighteen died. In spite of this heavy cost in human life the number of missionaries coming to India remained steady and later gradually increased.

George Bowen:

The next missionary belonging to the American Board who attained some prominence was George Bowen. The christian influences in Bombay increased when, in 1949, George Bowen arrived in Bombay. He was born in a rich family and, when twenty-six, fell in love with a woman, Emma Morris, who died soon after. Her dying gift to George Bowen was a copy of the Holy Bible with a plea that he read it everyday. To fulfil his promise, he began to read the Bible and attend the Church. Soon, the Holy Bible produced its effect on him and he was baptized. He declared his intention to become a missionary in a foreign land. After a few years he was sent to Bombay as a missionary and on February 1, 1849, he decided to do away with the salary of the American Board and support himself by giving tution to the children of an Anglo-Jewish family. His life was extremely simple. He preached in the streets, tok part in

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the Church services, visited regularly some half a dozen vernacular schools, taught children and did all that he was generally asked to do.

George Bowen was a firm believer in, and a great exponent of, street-preaching. His views on religion and education were so much respected that Sir Bartle Frere, the Governor, used to consult him repeatedly on these subjects.

Growth of the American Board :

The American Board had sent missionaries to North Ceylon before A.D. 1833. Before that year, India was practically closed for the foreign missions due to the rulings of the East India Company, but in 1833, the memorable Charter of 1833 was passed which allowed the missionaries to work in any part of India. Soon after this, the missionaries in Ceylon crossed over to India and opened their work first in Madura in 1834, then in Dindigal in 1835, in Trivandrum in 1838, in Pasumalai in 1845, in Periacoppam in 1848, in Mandapasalai in 1851 and in Battalagundie in 1857.

Soon the American Board also established its stations in Madras where it has rendered conspicuous service. Mission centres were founded at Arni in 1854, at Vellore in 1855, at Palmaner in 1859, at Madanapalli in 1863 and Tindivanam in 1869. The Dutch Reformed Chruch of America took over the management of the centre of Tindivanam. At Vellore, the members of the Scudder family have rendered unforgettable service at the Medical Institution and due to their persevering and zealous service, the Medical Institution there holds still its own place of honour in the history of medical work in India. In 1851, the American Board had 22 missionaries in India.

The American Board also extended its fields of activity from Bombay. In 1831, they came into contact with the Mahars and Mangis in Ahmednagar. In 1842, the centres at Sirur and Satara were opened, at Wadal in 1857 and at Sholapur in 1861.

EDUCATIONAL MISSIONS

Schools of the American Board :

On year after the missionaries of the American Board came to Bombay, they opened their first school which was attended mostly by the Anglo-Indian boys. In 1820, the American missionaries were running seven schools in Bombay, seven in Mahim and its vicinity, two in Thana and five in the mainland, altogether claiming 1050 pupils.

Girls' Education :

The education of the girls was not neglected entirely. In introducing education to the girls, the wives of the missionaries, along with the missionaries, played a prominent role. In 1826, the American missionaries had nine girls' schools with 200 pupils, and in 1828 twelve girls' schools with 400 students. It was during 1825-1830 that the first Indian woman teacher was appointed.

A Difficuty of the Schools :

During 1828-1830, the schools faced many difficulties due to a cause of little importance. It was the practice in the schools that when the schools opened everyday, a prayer was held during which the non-Christian teachers were asked to stand up. This the non-Christian teachers resented and deserted the schools leaving them either to be closed or to be managed without teachers. In spite of it, it is gratifying to note that, by 1828, the American Board had 12 girls' schools and that the Brahmans, though reproached and condemned for their action, were willing to teach in the mission girls' schools.

In 1835, the American missions had seven schools for boys with 353 students and eighteen girls' schools with more than 400 students: this was, though encouraging, hardly sufficient in view of the population of the day.

An Educational Institution under George Bowen :

Under the encouragement of George Bowen of the American Board an educational institution was founded in Bombay in 1854 and George Bowen was placed at the head of it. He had foreseen great possibilities of doing good through this Institution. But its life was pitifully short : a delegation of some members of the American Board, to which the Institution belonged, came in 1854 to Bombay and ruled that the missionaries should exclusively concern themselves with preaching. George Bowen, there-

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fore, could not work in the Institution any more and the Institution, of course, came to be closed.

Schools in Orissa :

In 1873, the American Baptists had at Midnapur in Orissa forty-nine Santali schools with 987 Santali children among whom 62 were girls. There is also the Santali Training School training Santali boys in various arts and trades. An "Industrial School" of high standard also exists at Balasore.

Mr. and Mrs. Hume :

In 1875, two yong missionaries, Mr. and Mrs. Hume came to Bombay. Mr. Hume was the son of Rev. R. W. Hume, the member of the American Marathi Mission. At Mazagon, Mr. and Mrs. E. S. Hume started a Boarding School for Christians. In 1877, the School, was removed to the Mission House at Byculla.

American Marathi Mission :

The American Marathi Mission has co-operated in the work of Willson College at Chowpatty, Bombay, which during the early part of the twentieth century has produced many outstanding leaders from within its walls. The increasing co-operation of the American Marathi Mission manifested itself in the growth of the Wilsom College and in 1907 a new storey was added to the college and five years later a second residency for men students, later known as Mackichan Hall, was begun.

Medical Missions

Prejudice against Western Medicine :

Those were the days when the prejudice against the use of Western medicine ran high. The sick in need of surgical operation refused to take chloroform and shrank from the idea of undergoing a surgical operation ; women refused to allow themselves to be medically treated by a western medical doctor because they had to allow themselves to be touched by the doctor during the treatment ; young wives too denied any desire to be medically treated during pregnancy and delivery. Even during such a dark period, the American missions did not, for long, restrain from sending medical missionaries to India, to save the lives and minimise the sufferings of the sick. So much prejudice prevailed against taking medical treatment under the western male medical missionaries by the women that soon it became apparent that the sick among the women could be treated only by the women medical missionaries.

American Board :

But, the Society that took prominent lead in sending medical missionaries to India was the American Board. To Madura it sent Dr. Steele who worked there during 1837-42, Dr. Charles Sheldon, who worked there during 1853-67. Dr. Henry Scudder worked with his father in the Arcot district from 1851.

Dr. Otis Bachelor :

In 1840, the American Baptists sent Dr. Otis Bachelor who worked for many years in Balasore and Midnapore districts in western Bengal. Still, in 1858, the number of fully trained medical missionaries was as low as seven.

Women Doctors for Women :

Medical aid was rare for men and non-existent for women. Women were closed up in zenanas and the weight of customs and traditions rendered them inaccessible to men doctors. At the most, the women patients could be treated only by the women doctors. So a voice was raised which soon was heard in America : "We must have women doctors !"

Dr. Clara Swain :

Soon, in 1870, the American Episcopal Methodists wrote to their first woman missionary, Dr. Clara Swain, who was already in India since 1857, to start medical work in Northern India, under whom, later, was opened a Women's Hospital at Bareilly in Uttar Pradesh, on land donated by the Nawab of Rampur.

Dr. Sara Seward :

In 1871, another American medical woman missionary, Sara Seward, arrived at Allahabad, sent by the American Presbyterian Mission.

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The American Presbyterians :

The American Presbyterians had sent out Dr. John Newton in 1858, Dr. Carleton in 1881 and Dr. C. W. Forman in 1883 for medical and evangelistic work. Later, they sent out women medical missionaries for women at Ambala and Jagroan near Ludhiana. The American United Presbyterians opened hospitals for women at Jhelum in 1890 and at Sialkot in 1887. The American United Presbyterians in co-operation with the Church of Scotland also opened hospitals for woman at Chambala in 1894 and at Jabalpore in 1899. In India, Punjab has become a favourite ground of medical missions.

Medical helpers :

In the hospitals for men as well as for women, native medical helpers are needed to serve the patients in the hospitals day by day, to dispense the medicines for the patients and also to supply the need for competent and trained medical helpers whenver a new hosptal is founded or an existing one is extended. To fill this need, many mission hospitals have often introduced training classes in their hospitals to train some men and women as medical helpers. Even though such training was started during the fourth decade of the nineteenth century, the number of men and women could not be large, for obvious reasons. In the direction of such efforts also, the American missions took a leading role. From 1847, the American medical missions began to train medical helpers in their own hospitals, and among such efforts, those of Dr. Dease of Bareilly of the American Episcopal Methodists may be mentioned here.

Remark of a woman :

Soon the trained-women medical-helpers and missionary women-doctors began to alleviate the sufferings of the sick. Such medical work of the women missionaries was evidently closely linked up with the Christian religion. A poor Indian woman, who saw the women missionaries doing the medical work of curing the sick, made this characteristic remark : "your God must be a good God indeed to send us a woman doctor ; none of our Gods ever sent us a doctor !"

A Leper Woman Missionary :

Miss Mary Reed was a woman of great piety who spent most of the later part of her life among the lepers, in helping them as well as she could, and denied herself the pleasure of living aloof from them in ease and comfort which would otherwise have fallen to her lot. She was born in the village of Lowell in Ohio. In youth, she felt a desire to become a missionary and, in 1884, she came to Cawnpore as a teacher under the Episcopal Methodists. There, her health gave way and, she was transferred to the Girls' Institution at Gonda, with a view that her health might improve. But her health broke down still more and, in 1890, she was compelled to go back to America. There, she was entered the Deaconess's Hospital, which belonged to her Church at Cincinatti. In spite of expert medical examination and treatment, her health did not improve. She underwent many surgical operations in vain. Then one day in April, it occurred to her that her malady might be the early stages of leprosy. She consulted some books on medicine and ascertained herself that her fears were true. Immediately, she sent for the Secretary of the Women's Missionary Society of which she was a member and disclosed to her the idea. The Secretary arranged for the immediate examination of her disease by the most distinguished medical practitioners of New York and London and found that—she was a leper.

At Chandag :

She did not disclose this matter to her parents : only her dear sister shared the secret. During her stay in India, she had visited, during the holidays, the Leper Hospital at Chandag, and Miss Mary Reed decided to go there and live among the lepers : possibly she might prove of some help to them. She came back to India, and only after she had reached Bombay, did she write to her parents about her plans. She remained in the Leper Hospital at Chandag from then onwards. There she was almost cured of leprosy : yet she continued to remain in the neighbourhood, in the mountainous regions of Kumaon, and worked among the people on the frontier of Tibet.

Ludhiana :

During 1890-1900, when the Medical School at Ludhiana was opened, two doctors of the American Presbyterian Mission were asked

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to give an hour's lecture to the students every-day.

Vellore :

In south India, a Medical School for Women was founded at Vellore, west of Madras, under Dr. Ida S. Scudder of the American Arcot Mission.

PHILANTHROPIC MISSIONS

Famine of 1876-1879 :

During 1876-1879, a terrible famine shook the social and economic stability of all eastern and nothern India. Hundreds of thousands died due to the lack of food while the government and the missions joined their hands and resources together in alleviating the sufferings of the famine-stricken people. Many starving people were helped by the missionaries but as a rule no one was baptized during the famine. But a great number of people went over to Christianity during the days of 2nd, 3rd and 4th July, 1878, in the Ongole Mission ; 3,536 adults were baptized and the number of the baptized rose to 9.606 in a short time. The missions which most energetically worked in saving the famine-stricken people were the Methodist Episcopals in United Provinces, the American Congregationalists (American Board) in the Ahmednagar district and the American Baptists in the Telugu country. The American Baptist missionary, Rev. J. Everett Clough distinguished himself for his practical ability and useful philanthropy. He took on himself the responsibility of constructing a canal, three miles in length. which was to unite Madras with the Kristna estuary. It was an alleviating measure during the famine and with the help of the teachers and the catechists, Rev. J. Everett Clough was able to complete his task satisfactorily.

Mass Movement :

During the famine of 1876-79, there was a mass movement towards Christianity among the people of the Mala and the Madiga castes in the Telugu country. Thousands came over to Christianity and the task of educating their adults and children assumed enormous proportions. But the missions accepted the challenge and did their best to cope with the demands on their resources and activities.

Plague and Famine, 1896 :

In the autumn of 1896, India was attacked by the deadly Bubonic Plague which killed many thousands. Missionary work almost came to a standstill : bazar preaching and evangelistic tours were stopped ; zenanas were closed ; and the civil life in cities and villages was dislocated. But there was plenty of work for the missionaries in caring for the sick and burying the dead. The missionary and Christian doctors and helpers distinguished themselves by their self-sacrificing and devoted service among the sick and the dying. Mrs. Gilder, a lady missionary, met her death while engaged in such work.

In Bombay :

Bubonic Plague wrought much havoc and brought in its train famine and rioting. In Bombay, it caused feverish dislocation of industrial life causing much poverty and the closing, at one time, of seven hundred schools, in the Bombay Presidency.

American Marathi Mission :

When the famine attacked western India with all its vigour, the American Marathi Mission raised in America vast sums of money for the relief of the afflicted in India. The Congregationalists alone collected and sent about Rs. 375,000 while the total contribution of America in 1900 amounted to a very great sum. Some of the money was used in constructing a Church at Vadala, twenty-six buildings at Sholapur and a School building at Rahuri and in paying for the labourers.

Dr. Louis Klopsch :

Dr. Louis Klopsch, the indefatigable editor of "The Christian Herald" of New York, a German, appealed through his press to the people of America to contribute generously for the relief work in India. Not content with this, he secured 200,000 bushels of corn and, with the help of the American Government, sent them to India.

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Dr. Klopsch also seent 100,000 blankets for the poor. The American missionaries in India busied themselves in rescuing as many homeless, starving and deserted famine orphans as they could from the streets of Bombay.

Mr. and Mrs. Hume :

Over 3000 children were rescued from famine and on the last Sunday of 1897, Mr. and Mrs. Hume saw the baptism of 93 children. Some blind children were also rescued at this time and a home was established for them which later grew out to be the School for the Blind.

Deaths among Christians :

During the famine and plague, it was observed, the death rate among the Christians was low: this was undoubtedly due to the more humane aspect of Christianity and the greater cleanliness and neatness of the Christians. In the students' hostel of Wilson College, not one had plague.

Samuel Rahator of Bombay :

Before the plague and famine had come to a close, measures were to be taken to improve the conditions of the famine-stricken people. The missionary agencies in Bombay took up the task in their own hands before the Government had the time to launch upon such measures. An incident of starting and running of an orphanage by Samuel Rahator with little or no money on hand can be narrated in this place.

During the famine, Samuel Rahator took three half starved children from the streets to his own home. Then he met with two more such children whom he carried with him, one under each arm, four miles away from the city, to the Methodist Chaplain at Colaba where he got the assurance of the support of the two. The five soon grew to thirty and later to fifty-five. Then arose the problem of housing them but, at last, near the sea at Mahim, a house was found for them. Here the orphanage continued for many years. "Without a thought of himself, of how he would shelter or maintain them, he faced this responsibility with a buoyancy which startled most of his English friends—" writes his biographer. He gave the children food and clothes, and when there was not enough to go round, he went without himself. He taught them to read and write and how to use their hands and live . . . Once being in need of money, he had spent the whole night in prayer: the next day in the morning the Secretary of the Bombay Relief Fund knocked at the door of the Methodist Chaplain asking the latter to direct him to Mr. Rahator as he had money spared for his Orphanage, three pounds per child for fifteen children.

Julian Hawthorne :

During 1897, and the years following, India faced her most disatrous food shortage. "In the summer of 1897 at least 3,000,000 men, women and children had died of famine and pestilence—" wrote Julian Hawthorne, whom New York had sent to India.

The Christian Herald :

From January, 1897, *The Christian Herald*, the newspaper, published in every issue heart-curdling accounts of rib-protruding, sunken eyed, and starving men, of pitiful child-mothers reduced to skin and bone, and of children with swollen bellies.

Several agencies including the Missionary Society of New York and the Mennonites appealed to the public for funds. In *The Christain Herald* such appeals as "India's Dying people," "Plague in Bombay is slaying thousands of People," and "India's Bitter Cry" appeared in every issue along with such letters as, "Although I am a poor working girl, I would like, to add my mite toward the relief . . . . Enclosed find a dollar . . . ."

From Chicago :

To spur the public opinion, Klopsch, Talmage and Margaret Lettsch, a missionary of seventeen years' service in India, appealed to a vast meeting at the Chicago auditorium and as a result, a big sum of money and twenty-five car-loads of corn were pledged.

To a big audience in America, Klopsch told that he believed heaven could be found on earth: "it consisted of helping one's unfortunate neighbours." In such meetings the strings of the purse were opened generously.

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Rev. R. G. Hobbs :

Rev. R. G. Hobbs sailed to India with a cargo of corn, wheat and beans and delievered it to the Committee of the American Missionaries in India at Calcutta and Madras. Articulate Indians expressed warm thanks. Indians associated with the Tamil Mission in Madras wrote : "We feel profoundly touched with that love which has prompted you to raise in America such an enormous quantity of grain and a magnificent sum of money to feed the hungry in a foreign land like India . . . ."

In 1899 :

In November, 1899, again there was a famine in India. Klopsch persuaded the Secretary of State, Mr. Hay and the Secretary of Navy, Mr. Long, to provide transport and, this time, the government at the cost of a big sum chartered the ship "Quito." Its cargo included 200,000 bushels of corn and substantial quantities of seed suitable for sowing in India.

Klopsch in Bonbay :

On arriving in Bombay in May, 1900, Klopsch, after interviews with the Governor of the International Missionary Committee, cabled the sad story of the desperate need in India. Roving into the interior, he sent *The Christian Herald* heart rending accounts of the death and suffering that he saw. In July, *The Christian Herald* cabled some money. When the famine relief ended, the unexpected balance was applied to the support of 5,000 famine orphans in sixty missionary stations.

Thousands were saved during the famine by means of soup-kitchens, road making, church building and many other expedients resorted to by the missionary societies. The American Lutherans collected a sum of amount and to this was added the big sum collected by Dr. Klopsch from his readers. He undertook to support 5,000 orphans for five years.

Order of Kaisar-i-Hind :

Quite a number of missionaries were honoured with the newly created Order for public service "Kaisar-i-Hind," for their service to India during the famines. In 1900, Dr. R. A. Hume of Ahmednagar who belonged to the American Board received the gold medal of the Order and Julius Lohr of Bisrampur who belonged to the American Evangelical Synod and other men and women missionaries received the silver medal. Dr. Abbott of the American Board who worked in Bombay was also awarded the golden medal of the order.

Orphanages and Widows' Homes :

Much interest was taken by the missionary societies in helping the widows and the children and new orphaneages and the homes for the widows sprang up like mushrooms during the famines of 1896-97 and 1900. A Widows' and Orphans' Home was founded by Mr. and Mrs. Lawson of the Episcopal Methodist missionaries at Aligarh in United Provinces who cared for 1300 widows and orphans. Mr. and Mrs. Lee of Calcutta, who were also Episcopal Methodist missionaries, similarly founded an orphanage for boys and girls and cared for 280 children. In Ahmednagara, the American Board cared for 2,845 orphans and distributed seed rice to 24,665 small farmers besides asesiseting, 1,514 others in obtaining oxen to plough their land.

PANDITA RAMABAI

To England and America :

Born in a Brahmin family, Ramabai travelled widely during her twenties with her parents and suffered great difficulties during the famines of 1876-1879. She was well versed in Sanskrit and had the burning desire for improving the lot of neglected widows, girls and women. In 1883, to England she went to secure a training which would help her in emancipating the women of India and she was baptized there. Then she went to America where she remained for two years and a half where she studied the Froebel system, wrote for vernacular schools and issued her first book in English "The High Caste Hindu Woman" in which she narrated the sorrows and the silent agonies suffered by the Hindu women. Her book roused the interest of the American people in the sufferings of the Indian women which culminated in the formation of the "Ramabai Association" in Boston. It aimed at promoting education among the High Caste child widows in India.

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In India :

When she sailed from San Francisco, she was promised that all the necesary expenses for establishing and running, at least for ten years, a school for High Caste Hindu widows would be supplied to her. On 1st March, 1889, as a result, Ramabai opened the "Sarada Sadana," the Home of Wisdows, at Chowpatty in Bombay. At the end of the first six months there were five widows as boarders in the Sarada Sadana, and three as day scholars, while the total number of pupils in the School was twenty-five. In November 1890, the School was transferred to Poona where the cost of living was less and where the conditions of life were healthier.

Sarada Sadana :

But for the help and encouragement offered to Ramabai by England and America there would not have been a "Sarada Sadana" and there would not have come to light a 'Ramabai' who walked in the Way of Jesus Christ for twenty six long years, helping the poor, succouring the sick and emancipating the oppressed.

Home of Salvation at Mukti :

She rescued innumerable persons from starvation and death during the great famine of 1896 and established her Home of Salvation at Mukti where she had, by 1900, nearly 2,000 inmates. She translated the Bible into Marathi. She lived day and night a life of loving service and selfsacrifice. He can truly be said of her :

Herself, her story and her sufferings won,
Homage from men, as if she came from heaven,
In whose stout hearts she left a little leaven,
Whose sacred working may outlive the Sun.

Literary Missions.

Translating the Bible :

Along with educational and medical missions went on the literary aspect of the mission work which had its far reaching effects. In 1826, the missionaries of the American Board published a translation of the Bible. The translation of the Bible into Telugu was also being carried on by the missionaries of the various missionary societies of different countries. But the task proved very difficult due to the differences in the language itself in different places. Among the American missionaries, who co-operated in the task, may be mentioned the name of Messrs. Chamberlain of the American Reformed Church and Lewis who belonged to the American Baptists.

Pamphlets and Tracts :

The missionaries produced pamphlets and wrote books the ideas contained in which slowly infiltrated into the minds of the people. The people had in those days, no others books than those written by the missionaries or published by the Christian Tract and Book Societies. This situation particularly was helpful in diffusing Christian ideas among the people. The American Marathi Mission published pamphlets and small books and in 1834 the American press produced 1,13,746 copies of books, tracts and Gospels. The work of translation and publication of the Scriptures was always in view. Mr. Graves, the only survivor of the early American missionaries, was translating the Bible at the time. Though the pamphlets and tracts written in these days were lacking in human interest and readable taste, they supplied the only reading material available at the time which encouraged the growth of literature and cultivated among the people the habit of reading.

Evangelistic Missions

The evangelistic aspect of the work of the missionaries of the American Board suffered much disappointment in the early stages of the work. Evangelism stood high in the list of their desired duties but the missionaries had no opportunity of seeing even the remotest possibility of the fruit of their labour in this direction. In spite of it, with exemplary tenacity, the missionaries held their ground and continued the work of evangelism. But later, gradually evangelism began to yield fruit.

A characteristic feature of evangelism during 1880-1889 was a high tide of responsiveness to Christianity among the Muslims. Mr. Abbott, the American missionary, writes : "The largest audiences recently have been among the Muslims." When asked as to what was the cause of it, the Muslims would reply : "Street preaching"

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Mission Centres

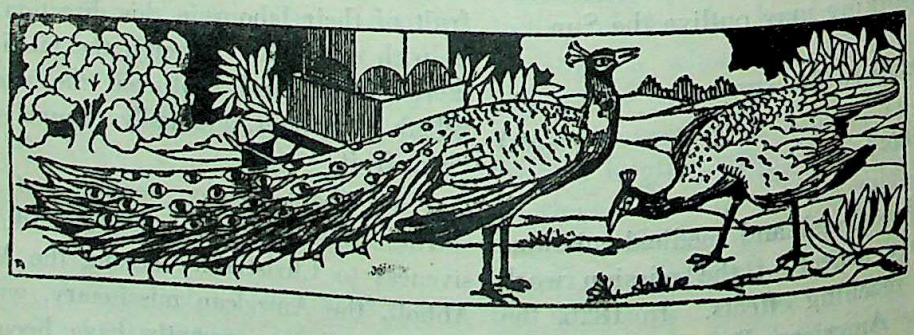
The American Marathi Mission began its activity in Ahmednagar n 1831 where it started its educational and evangelistic mission. In 1838, the American Free-will Baptists began their work at Balasore, in 1840 at Jellasor and in 1863 at Midnapur and Santipur. In 1840, the American Baptists began their Telugu Mission with Nellore as the centre and, in 1841, they started their Assam Mission beginning at Sibsagar and Nowgong in 1841 and at Gauhati in 1843. In 1848, the work of the North German Missionary Society amongst the Telugus at Rajamahendry was passed on to the American German Lutherans. In 1869, the work of the mission at Rajamahendry was shared between two separate yet harmoniously working American Lutheran societies, of which the Lutheran General Council opened its headquarters at Rajamahendry, and the other, the General Synod, established its headquarters at Guntur. In 1855, the American United Presbyterians began to work in Sialkot in agreement with the Established Church of Scotland. In 1868, the German Protestant Synod of North America started its work in the north-east corner of the Central Provinces on the upper Mahanuddy. It established its stations at Bisrampur in 1868 and at Raipur in 1871. In 1882, the American Adventists established themselves at Madras to work in the Tamil country along with the missions in Madras which were already working there. In 1882, the followers of Campbell, the well-known missionary, also called the Disciples of Christ, who came from North America, opened mission centres at Bilaspur, and Mungeli in the eastern part of the Central Provinces. In 1894 some of the missionaries of the Leipzig Tamil Mission separated themselves due to some dogmatic reasons and joined the Missouri Society of North America. The latter made good use of this and soon established new mission centres : at Krishnagiri in 1895, at Ambar in 1896 and at Vaniyambadi in 1898. Since 1898, the American Mennonites were working at Dhamtari in the Central Provinces.

Unattached Missionaries :

There were other missionaries who carried on missionary work but who did not belong to any missionary society. They came to India at their own initiative and worked in a region of their own choice. North Berar with its large and scattered population has proved to be a favourite field for unattached missionaries. The American Methodist, A. Norton, first settled here at Ellichpur and later at Baesdehi. At Ghoom, near Darjeeling, has worked the Himalayan Branch of the "American and Scandinavian Alliance."

Conclusion

The American Missions have been the forerunners of the welfare movement in India. Dr. Ida S. Scudder's mother had introduced, in 1870, weaving and spinning in the Mission School at Ranipet, long before Gandhi popularised Khadi cloth. In 1910, the Christian organisations were running hundreds of dispensaries, hospitals, primary, middle and high schools, industrial training centres, orphanages, widows' homes and educational institutions of higher learning all over India.



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ROLE OF MASS COMMUNICATION IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Sri P. C. ROY

The desire to communicate ideas, thoughts and feelings is as old as creation itself. It has acted as a great catalytic agent in breaking down barriers in human society and building up a complex machinery for transmitting information to a sizable and diversified audience. The figure that the pen is mightier than the sword has now been modernised by social observers, who claim that "the mass media are more powerful than the atom bomb." Others may differ but there can be no doubt that the media for communication with the masses have been indispensable tools in the hands of those, who have exercised power and authority from the days of remote antiquity. With the passage of time the media have changed their form, very often beyond recognition, under the impact of science and technology. But there have never been the slightest abatement in the desire or the need to communicate with the masses on the part of the administrators. If Asoka had to take resort to inscriptions on rocks and pillars to convey to the people at large the message he had for them, the rulers of the world today are making constant appeals through the press, radio and television to give wide publicity to their views to a larger audience at a given point of time. If the administrators have to face today the challenge thrown up by the advance in communication techniques, it has at the same time opened before them an opportunity which their predecessors could never think of. The remarkable increase in the use of under-sea cables, high frequency radio stations and television indicate the direction towards which the wind of change is blowing while the space satellites have begun to hold out the promise of stepping up world-wide mass communications. Mr. Blair, the Director of Space Commission in the United States, echoed a universal sentiment, when he said that we had indeed moved very far since "man tapped a hollow log and communication by sound was born, since speedy messengers carried messages over distances greater than those covered by drum or smoke signals."[2]

The administrators have been quick to respond to the challenge they faced from the growing media of mass communication in a changing society. The rising level of literacy combined with the demolition of barriers has created a situation which even a totalitarian regime has to reckon with. In the battle for winning the mind of the people a dictator with absolute power does not lag behind others in making effective use of the mass media at his disposal. Only at his own peril he can afford to ignore the ideas, which run counter to his own.

To talk to the people has become an essential function of the government, particularly in a democracy, which is based on the consent of the governed. Mr. Emery-Ault-Agee has said:

"To be successful, a political leader must convince the voters that he represents the view-point of the majority or that his policies are wise and should be endorsed by the voters."[3]

The representatives of the people, who run the adminitrative machinery in a state, work under an obligation to redeem the pledges given to the voters at the time of election. To remain in power, it is not enough for them to act according to the pre-election programme. The voters have to be told how far the administrative measures correspond to the promises made to them on the eve of election. But the media of mass communication operate in an atmosphere of freedom in a democracy. Generally they are not at the disposal of the State.

The exaggerated criticism of the Government in a free press often compels the Administrators to develop their own agencies for publicity. Sometimes an individual reporter of a news agency fails to analyse correctly the steps taken by the Government.

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The complex process of decision-making in a bureaucracy tends to obscure the factors which go into the making of a decision. In such an eventuality the information officer under the employ of the State is in a better position to clear up misapprehensions and supply the right facts and perspective. He can, for example, make more people appreciate why industrial location is largely determined by geology and how the benefits of a plant of national importance are indeed spread equitably throughout the country.

The lack of information is indeed one of the greatest obstacles in the successful working of a democracy. The free flow of adequate and up-to-date information to the public has long been accepted as the primary requisite of a democratic Government wedded to the philosophy of political freedom, the dignity of man and the right of individuals to differ from others. The mass media of communications play the most important role in disseminating information in contemporary society. It has been observed that they "illuminate the social fabric of the nation and influence the shape of its patterns. They are essential to the continued development of the economic fabric in a modern industrial state. And they continue to fulfil their historic role in protecting and improving the political fabric of a democracy."[4]

The danger inherent in a democratic society is that the flow of information may be tained at its source. In an economy of free enterprise, powerful business interests begin to own and control the mass media which enable them not merely to advertise their wares but also to reinforce exclusively their own point of view at the cost of other elements in society. When a few commercial houses, for example, own a chain of national papers, it is extremely difficult for the small and medium sized papers, holding independent views, to survive the uneven competition which they have to face. A democratic Government working genuinely on the principle of "let hundred flowers bloom" can not stand aside when the mass media are monopolised by a few trading interests. It is within its rights to take recourse to restrictive measures to prevent the process of concentration of ownership and regulate, limit or suppress discussion prejudicial to public interest. In justification of Governmental intervention Professor Chafee says :

"If we think of the flow of news and opinions as the movement of intellectual traffic, the restrictive action is like the removal from traffic of reckless drivers, gangsters and other objectionable persons. But the Government can also try to widen the channels and keep traffic moving smoothly."[5]

Supply of newsprints at a moderate price and issue of advertisements by the Government to the small and medium sized newspapers go a long way to ensure their financial health. The information departments of the Government can also make freely available to them for use feature articles, photo-blocks and other materials which they need badly but can hardly pay for.

There are again certain spheres of activity in which the commercial establishments generally have no interest to transmit information, ideas and attitudes. The production of newsreel and documentary films broadly fall under this category. The commercial interests are reluctant to invest their money in such enterprises as they are not likely to yield a handsome profit. The approach of a welfare state is widely different. The Government in such a state launches various schemes of social welfare. It considers investment in human resources more important than reaping profits in the way of trade and commerce. The Government makes extensive use of the powerful medium of film in order to create among the people the urge for a better living and foster a feeling of national integration even though such a visual representation brings no immediate monetary return. The digging of a canal in a desert area, drilling operations in search of liquid gold, construction of a dam or a thermal power station are not likely to attract film prducers. But here in India the Government makes the best possible use of these events in the newsreels and documentaries produced by one of its media of publicity—the Films Division. The wisdom of such a step is never in doubt. In a country where only 23 per cent of the population is

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literate and only four out of a thousand have radios, the film alone comes somewhere near a 'mass' medium. It can easily attract the people to whom seeing is believing. The screen can project, demonstrate and explain the country' sprogress on the basis of positive facts, which carry conviction and evoke enthusiasm. It would be wrong to suppose that the Government of India is alone in this field of mass communication. Even in a prosperous country like Canada the Government makes provisions for the National Film Board to enable the organisation "to give to millions glimpses of the varied life and culture of the Canadian people and present visual reports of some major happening."[6]

In developing countries or countries that have attained freedom recently the media of mass communications have become an essential part of the developmental process. No traditional or transitional society can gather the necessary momentum for a breakthrough without the active support and participation of the people for whom the developmental programmes have been envisaged. A democratic development requires that the individuals and groups in the society will have to chalk out for themselves new lines of advance and work continuously to reach the targets in different spheres of planning in education, agriculture, health, social welfare and industrial development. It seems likely that a large section of the people are largely uninformed regarding many problems on which they are expected to take decisions. They have to be informed clearly, and in some cases persuaded to adopt new views and lines of action. This point has been emphasized in a report of the study team which made last year a survey and analysis of the use of mass communication in fostering and facilitating India's large-scale development. It says that "efficient communication is as essential as any other aspect of development, because it has the power to mobilize human resources and thus speed the process of growth and change."[7]

Better media of information also means better education of the people. The lack of developmental consciousness among the people underlines the need for more sustained efforts on the part of the mass communication media to convey to the people the importance of the Plans. A good deal of dissatisfaction against the Government can be traced to the absence of a medium of communication, which may be called "mass' in the true sense of the term. If the developmental benefits are to go to the less privileged section of the community, who are many in number, a democratic Government has to impart educative information on the various aspects of planning, intended to check the concentration of capital and ensure the even distribution of the national income among the citizens. The increase in the number of enlightened public depends very much on the development of the press, the expansion of broadsasting, the increased production of films and newsreels and the introduction of television. The Government has not merely to exploit the media of mass communication, it has also to help the media to grow to make them effective instruments in the field of publicity. In underdeveloped regions media like press, radio or film have not only to be aided, sometimes communication agencies like television have to be brought into being. Manufacture of newsprints, production of low cost radio sets, setting up of raw film factory, institution of film awards and provision of training facilities to professional men in all the media, are some of the aspects of physical development in which the Governments in the developing regions are vitally concerned. In any developmental plan it has, therefore, been rightly suggested that "every Government must provide ample funds for building up what may be called the 'basic structure' of information media."[8]

In an emergency the media of mass communications assume an overwhelming priority. A whole people has to be informed of the crisis that has overtaken the nation and told how best to meet the situation. The media must have the power to bring within the orbit of the written or spoken word the different sections of the community. No one can be immune from the necessity of making supreme efforts to tide over the crisis, whether he is a comfortably placed urban intellectual, civil servant, thriving merchant or an illiterate villager, because his own survival will depend on the adaptation of

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the entire people to this emergency. As Miss Jean Joyce puts it:

"In short, people at all levels in Government and in private life would have to reach, and be reached by, the mass of the people not with a single fact but with a series of ideas, facts and instructions over a period of time, about a national issue, indeed about national survival."[9]

Such a crisis has overtaken India in the wake of the Chinese invasion in October 1962. It has put the problem of mass communication in the sharpest focus. The various media of information run by the Government have altered the complexion and content of their programmes in accordance with the requirements of the emergency to disseminate authentic information, counter rumours and Chinese propaganda, sustain the people's morale and promote national unity, emotional integration and patriotism. The challenge of Chinese aggression has revealed that in spite of a notable growth of the conventional modes of communication since independence, the mass media are not really 'mass' in the true sense of the word. There are still wide gaps in the communication service with which India is supporting her programme of counteracting the clever propaganda of her deceitful neighbours. The mass communication media cater as yet largely to the educated, the urban, even perhaps only to the fairly well-to-do because of their cost and scarcity besides their dependence on the low level of literacy, obtaining in the country. A report of the mass communications survey made by the Osmania University gives the information that as late as 1963 there were villagers living only 10 and 16 miles from Hyderabad city, who never heard of India's border dispute with China although it was not unnatural to expect that the news of Chinese hostility with its high emotional content would sweep through the masses rather easily. The report sadly concludes that it is "as if there are two worlds, existing side by side but without enough things in common for effective communication."[10] The Ford Foundation experts, as mentioned earlier, had a look at the facilities available in India for purposes of communication. The recommendations of the team, which the Government of India is going to implement in many respects, have a significance beyond the present emergency. The fuller use of radio, the introduction of television in India's larger cities, the fostering of a rural press and of the newspaper industry in general and of the motion picture industry have a vital bearing not only on the task of economic development but on forging together a well-knit nation and guarding it from separatist tendencies.

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TRANSPORT AND POWER BOTTLENECKS

By R. N. BANERJEE,

Asstt. Secretary, Bengal National Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

Of late, problems of transport and power bottlenecks have assumed serious dimensions which are on the verge of halting industrial growth as envisaged in the Third Plan. These shortages are by nature legacies of the past, and as such, cannot be removed overnight. But certainly something can be done from short period points of view and on this score the Government must adopt certain concrete measures.

In order to make a proper appraisal of transport and power shortages, the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry convened a Conference in September 1962. This Conference sought to probe into the specific causes of the stupendous problem by presenting a number of proposals to the Government. It must be admitted on all hands, that, in essence, these shortages are the results of incomplete co-ordination between the different sectors of the economy which primarily have arisen because of underdevelopment of coal and steel production and lack of alternative transport facilities besides railways.

It is obvious that what is urgently necessary is long-range planning specifically on power and transport. It might be observed that for this purpose more funds should be made available in the Third Plan on this score and plan targets on transport and power should be raised a little upwards which should be scrupulously fulfilled.

It is generally believed that in regard to transport, railways have yet to be developed more fully with introduction of improved Rolling Stocks. In this respect the following factors are important: (1) operational efficiency, (2) development of line capacity, (3) electrification or dieselisation, (4) movement of coal.

In a developing economy, railways alone are not capable of handling the traffic on a vast scale. It must be supplemented with other alternative transport facilities such as, road transport, coastal transport and inland water transport. On the question of road transport the most essential pre-requisites at the present moment are a very large addition to the number of lorries and trucks and immediate programmes of building new national highways, road links and bridges. Other important factors which are impeding the optimum development of road transport are, intra-state and inter-state restrictions, burden of taxation, nationalisation, lack of credit facilities to intending purchasers of lorries. Development of coastal shipping with provisions for additional berths and ports would also relieve the pressure on other modes of transport. To improve the transport situation, inland water transport should be facilitated wherever possible. In West Bengal, it is hoped, that after completion of Farakka Barrage navigability of Hooghly river would be improved.

As regards power shortage, the consensus of opinion is that a precise assessment of aggregate demand should be made well ahead of supply position. Especially, recent crisis in electricity in Calcutta must have hit hard the eastern region industrial belt. In the present circumstances, it is urgently necessary that the Planning Commission should make a thorough survey of the supply and demand positions of electricity for the Fourth Five Year Plan. In this respect it might be mentioned that the Sachdev Committee which recently examined the question in some details has estimated that even after taking into account the additional capacities of new schemes sanctioned for the Third Plan, the overall shortage of power in West Bengal would be as much as 128 MW by the end of 1965-66. In this connection, it might be suggested that a proper appraisal should be made about the suitability of Hydel Plants and Thermal Plants in supplying power which is conditioned by the supply of coal and adequate transport facilities.

It is obvious, that in such context the supply of coal is of vital importance which is greatly interlinked with transport bottlenecks. On the question of coal attention of the Government might be drawn to the following points: (1) Gradewise raisings and despatches to various categories of consumers, (2) measures for improving quality of coal through setting up of

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coal washeries, (3) unsatisfactory licensing policy in private sector, (4) adoption of a reasonable price policy.

In order to obvitate the present difficulties in generating power, it might be suggested that immediate steps should be taken to grant licenses to private investors to set up thermal power generating units. This was unfortunately turned down by Mr. Nanda on the plea that power expansion fell within the jurisdiction of the public sector in pursuance of the Industrial Policy Resolution, and therefore no such licenses can be permitted to the private sector. But in fact, at this juncture of power crisis, the fundamental question is stepping up of supply and not any ideological considerations. It is also unfortunate to note, that on the same plea Mr. Nanda turned down some specific proposals of manufacture of power generators and electrical equipment in the private sector. Mr. Nanda boldly responded to the question of encouraging an increase in private generating capacity by amending the Electricity Act which keeps returns pegged to only 2 per cent above Bank rate.

With regard to the question of coal, shortages could be alleviated by alternative fuels like furnace oil, lignite etc. Also loading of coal for consumers other than steel works and washeries should be improved and on this question a central body should be set up consisting of members of government, consumers and industrialists.

Mr. Nanda, of course, accepted the very reasonable argument that, in essence, power shortage is inextricably linked up with transport difficulties, which requires long-range planning. Recently, the Planning Commission has announced the setting up of a eight-man Committee on transport policy which would be supplemented by a three-man technical group. But a similar interim report has been submitted by a Committee headed by Mr. K. C. Neogy which should be co-ordinated with the report of the present Committee. In this respect questions of industrial location is of paramount importance because this is related to the problems of goods traffic. Since 1952 the average load for goods traffic has risen by more than 20 per cent, largely because of coal movements which account for 32 per cent of all freight traffic. But opinions and co-operation of businessmen are urgently necessary on the question of industrial location as the decentralisation of industries is largely the function of the private sector.

It is to be admitted at the present stage of the Third Plan that transport bottlenecks cannot be removed solely by railways development programme, which must also be supplemented with a road development programme. But even in the railway sector, the development programme seems inadequate which is widely accepted now. The traget of additional supply of 242 wagons per day in the first year of the Third Plan remains unachieved. Lukeworm policy should be avoided if industrial growth is to be accelerated.

What is now necessary in this regard is a well-defined road transport policy and motor-vehicle industrial policy, apart from railway development programme. Sir L. P. Misra has opined that 70 million tons of traffic would move by the end of the Third Plan, against less than 20 million tons in 1960-61. According to his estimate, the existing fleet of 200,000 vehicles should be stepped up to 500,000 in future. This is only possible if the target of 60,000 lorries set for the Third Plan is raised considerably. It must be realised that the road transport system can be developed much more quickly and with much less fund than railways. Therefore, from a short period point of view, more stress should be laid on this aspect and in this respect the Neogy Committee might be of considerable help. It is suggested that restrictions on inter-state movements of trucks should be removed in order to relieve the pressure on railways in the Bengal-Bihar region of the Coalfields.

As regards power shortage in West Bengal the latest situation is that recently six Czechoslovakian "package" power plants ordered by the State Electricity Board have arrived in Calcutta and four of these are being immediately diverted to the Coalfield areas to relieve the acute demand there. With a capacity of 1.5 mW each, these plants have been obtained on rupee payment basis at an estimated cost of Rs. 15. mill.

The Agarwal Committee appointed by the Union Government in January 1962 to assess the power needs of coal mining industries in India has estimated the current year's requirements for West Bengal Coalfields at 40 mW. In the next three years of the Third Plan the requirement is estimated to be 49, 61 and 66 mW. The present production in the area was about 35 mW—13 mW from the generating units of collieries and 22 mW

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from DVC. The current year's deficit is likely to be met largely by the package plants; but after this the prospect is dismal. To overcome this danger the Agarwal Committee suggested the diversion of the surplus production from Rihand in U.P. to the Coalfield areas and requested Hirakud Project to review its production in such a manner as would enable it to supply part of its power to the Coalfields in West Bengal and Bihar.

We should not, however, be pessimistic about the bleak situation of power shortage. It is gratifying to note that the Government lately has applied its mind to an reappraisal of the entire situation of demand and supply conditions in the context of perspective planning. With this object the Central Water & Power Commission had prepared a perspective plan (1966-1981) and draft outline of the Fourth Five Year Plan. The draft outline envisaged the addition of 11.46 mill. KW of power. A planning group consisting of representatives of the Central Water and Power Commission and the various Ministries concerned has been set up for this purpose.

With a view to giving concrete shape to the contemplated programmes of power development, the Union Ministry of Irrigation and Power has now drawn up tentative plans to increase the installed capacity for power generation during the Fourth Plan period by 11.46 mill. KW. By 1966, it is expected that the country's present capacity of about 5 mill. KW will have been raised by 7 mill KW. The new plans, therefore, will mean that power generation will be virtually double during the Fourth Plan. The rise in the installed capacity during the Fourth Plan period is expected to be completed at a cost of Rs. 2,230 crores and the construction of the power plants for the purpose is expected to begin in the last two years of the present plan. Part of the requirements of power plants and equipment needed for the purpose will be met by the three heavy electrical plants in Bhopal, Hardwar and Hyderabad which are expected to go into operation in the next few years.

It is, thus evident that although power and transport bottlenecks are serious, they are not altogether devoid of solution if the Government moves forward with some such concrete measures and realistic plans with all earnestness, keeping in view the country's evergrowing demand for more power and transport in future days to come.

MIGRATION OF POPULATION IN MAKING CIVILIZATION

By Prof. BINOD SANKAR DAS, M.A., L.L.B.,

The Problem of migration of population in the birth and development of human civilization in all ages is an important subject of study. This problem is connected with two other co-related problems. First, the problem of searching out the original abode of the civilizations or, rather, it may be more preceisely put like that, whether a common centre of human civilization can be traced from where successive waves of influx had been made in ancient times. The second problem is rather a challenge to the Hegelian concept of the march of civilization from the east to the west. Even if it is accepted that human history endeavours to unfold man's consciousness and to bring it from darkness to light it cannot possibly be accepted as a historical truth that this process of development starts from Asia to Europe from a long before the pre-Christian era to the modern times.

In ancient times the birth of civilizations took place in the river valleys and in the coastal territories. But it may be contradicted that racial immigrations had always taken place through water routes. The paucity of relevant materials but availability of learned conjectures make one point clear that there is no common land of origin from where the racial movements had taken

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place resulting in the birth and development of human civilizations throughout the world.

About four thousand years before the birth of Christ civilization dawned in the Nile valley not by the original settlers of the soil but by an immigrated people of the semitic stock from Asia and by the transplanted people from Punt which stands for the modern kingdom of Ethiopia. This people gave to the world a solar calender and an irrigation system and curiously enough a conception of the Hereafter which found expression in the three gigantic pyramids of Khufu, Khafre and Menkure.

Rapid tribal wanderings also took place in the Tigris-Euphrates river valley, in the Mesopotamian Sumer and Akkand, in the city states of Ur, Kish and Lagash. If the Pharaonic civilization of Egypt offered to the world the hieroglyphic script, the Babylonian civilization was responsible for the birth of a cuniform script. The kingdom of Sarukkin paved the way for the well-administered empire of Hammurabi and these had all been possible for the easy tribal mobilizations and transplantation of populations which were so frequently taking place on the eve of the Iron Age.

The great influx of population which completely revolutionised the civilization of the ancient middle east was the advent of the Hittites, Syrians and the Phoenicians from an unknown land. The learned historians had their arguments to prove that these Hitties, Mittanians and the Syrians or the Assyrians were hailing from the common Aryan stock. But the result was the growth of a civilization of war centering round Nineveh. A long line of war-lords including Sennacherib carried fire and sword into the land but incessant warfare and forced transplantation of population throughout the Empire resulted in the collapse of the Assyrian military might in a single stroke of battle and the consequent rise of Neo-Babylonian Empire under Nebuchadnezzar. The same Aryan-Hyksos impact was felt in the pharaonic Egypt too. But this resulted in the monotheism of Ikhnaton and the empire of Thutmose-III. The immigration of the Hebrew jews from the bondage of Egypt, *i.e.*, the Exodus was a marvel in history as it has been made immortal by the Old Testament. This immigration resulted in the settlement of the jews under Moses, the law-giver of Israel. But the people could not live there happily for a long time. The prophecy of their learned divines came to light when they began to travel throughout the world leaving their homeland with the advent of the Persian invasion and the consequent decay in the Phoenician commerce.

In India centering round the river valleys civilizations had dawned and their growth had been stimulated by frequent intermixture of immigrated races, linguistic groups and tribes coming from outside. This non-Aryan civilization which had its birth and development about two thousand five hundred years before the birth of Christ, was the genesis of Indo-Aryan civilization of the early Christian era.

The advent of the Iranian military might had synchronised with the dawn of the Iron Age in Asia and Europe and it also witnessed the decay of the monopolistic commercial enterprise of Phoenicia in the Mediterranean region. This period witnessed the invention of fire which resulted in the fire and sun worship as the source of all human energy. Human endeavour also turned in this age to domesticate the wild horse which gave them force and a certain velocity that converted tiny city-kingdoms into ever expanding empires. And lastly, this period witnessed the invention of iron and its application to human life and completely revolutionised man's eternal struggle against nature and human beings.

It has been noted previously that the advent of the Iranian Empire had synchronised with the decay in the Phoenician commerce. The Phoenician merchant class was responsible for introducing money-ecomony to the Hellenic world. This money-ecomony changed social relationships, led to the emergence of a rich burgher class in the cities of Athens and Piraeus, Corinth and Megara and this also paved the way of the democratic movement for the change of oligraphical governments. It also brought a change in the scale of warfare so much so that the emphasis on hoplites or the heavy-armed infantry was transferred to the navy and to some extent on cavalry. This was significant as it pointed to the fact that henceforth naval warfare had replaced land battles. The results were many, such as expulsion of the Persian military movements and Europe was forever saved from their onrush only to produce a political vacuum which was later on filled up by the mighty Romans. It also paved the way for the rise of the Athenian Empire from the nucleus of the Confederacy of Delos. The

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Empire was, of course, lost in the Peloponnesian war but a great influx of the Hellenic population took place in Asia towards India during the reign of Alexander of Macedonia and afterwards.

As soon as Greece ceased to expand and her population movements stopped, the political vacuum which was thus created was captured by the Roman war-lords. The expansion of the Roman city state and its eventual absorption of Carthage, its monopolistic business in the Mediterranean region, contradict the long-prevalent theory of peaceful co-existance of equally strong powers in the same place. The history of expansion of a single city-state of Italy, *i.e.*, Rome, throughout Europe in each stage unfolds its march from republicanism to the Empire. It became a power of the world and a conquerer of Asia. The Assyrians could not conquer Babylon. The Romans also failed to subdue the East for a long time. Christ, the son of God, was an answer to the God Emperor, the Augustus, and he was crucified. With the spread of Christianity and a new Christian community in Europe the ecclipse of the Empire in the West took place. Similarly Buddhism and Jainism were also answers of the warrier-caste to the process of Aryanisation of Eastern India. In India also with the fall of the Maurya Empire a new influx of population of the Eu-chi tribe, of the Heung-us peoples from Central Asia took place. For the time being the Imperial Guptas endeavoured to maintain the unity but successive invasions of the Mongols, Tartars and the Turks, brought India face to face with a new civilization and a new type of challenge from the outside world.

Medieval Europe also witnessed the same type of challenge from the rising Islam and from the invasions of Moslem Persia, from the Abbasid Caliphs, the Seljuk Turks and from the Mongols. It is known to all the students of history how the crusaders in the medieval period led to the easy movements of populatinns and intermixture of different European linguistic groups. The major event of medieval European History, *i.e.* Investiture Contest or the struggle for power between the Emperor and the Pope was no less shaped by the outside forces at work. The impact of Islam in Asia and Europe brought on an unprecedented influx of population in those two continents as well as in Africa. The threat of Islam to the disunited Christendom of Europe and Hindustan of India produced the same synthesis of cultures between the East and the West. The Renaissance in Europe and its attendent Reformation movement and the cultural rapprochment during the reign of Akbar took place in the same 15th and 16th centuries. It gave way to the geographical explorations and a new scale of immigration of the European peoples to the non-European world. The history of this penetration of the whites in the non-white lands is a well-known story of exploitation, bloodshed and tyranny. This story may here be closed with the mention of a very interesting event of Midnapur and the adjacent jungle and nimki mahals to illustrate the point how rapid transplantation of population took place throughout India with the immigration of the British population here. This was the migration of the landless labourers from the revenue-paying to the non-revenue paying neighbouring tracts of the marathas. The large-scale immigration of labour-class, frontier incursions, so clearly manifested in the then records, produced a headache to the British rulers. The battles and wars which were waged here between the British rulers and Indian Chiefs were not military in character but rather economic and political. And what was the ultimate result ? This was, in the language of Firminger nothing but the overpowering of the native military potentiality by the British military might.

In the Post-Second World War period new types of exodus of population had ushered in a new age. Divided Germany and India, creation of Pakistan and the impact of socialism in Asia and increasing pressure of the Chinese population in South-East Asia have produced new problems the solution of which lies in the future course of events for which the students of history shall have to wait.

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THE CZECHOSLOVAK THEATRE

By Dr. JOSEF DVORAK

One of the most important elements in Czechoslovak culture is the theatre whose future evolution is well supported by a great tradition.

The Czech theatre had a renascent and revivalist character already in former days and also today it desires something more than merely to entertain its audience, for it aims at educating the public's artistic taste and showing the way to a better life.

The theatre receives full support from the State and all-round care is devoted to it as testified both by the thick network of theatres (the densest in the world; 73 professional theatres) and the rich subventions. Theatre tickets in this country are very cheap and so the theatres are not self-supporting despite their great attendance (more than 13 million tickets are sold every year, while the total population is also nearly the same).

Today, the greatest attention is devoted to the Czechoslovak theatre and especially to dramaturgy. The repertoire comprises not only classic and contemporary Czechoslovak plays, but also plays by many foreign authors both from the East and the West. The plays selected from foreign production are of a high artistic standard with contents which express humanist ideas, call for world peace and racial tolerance, and seek to develop man's moral and ethical qualities. Very popular are, for example, the plays by the American author, A. Miller; the English author, Osborne; the Swiss, Durrenmatt; the French, Sartre, the German, Brecht and the Italian author, Filippi. The plays of these and similarly thinking writers acquaint the Czechoslovak public with the life and problems in the author's country. Both Russian classics and plays by contemporary Soviet authors are also presented in the Czechoslovak theatres.

Modern New Plays

An important place in the repertoire is held by domestic production. The aim of the Czechoslovak theatre today is to present modern new plays which fulfil the social function demanded by the public with a high cultural standard. This is no easy task and the playwrights are coping with it with more or less success. Nevertheless, within recent years many plays have been presented in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic which satisfy these requirements. They attempt to solve the problems of our times, to criticize all that is wrong, and to teach people to appreciate all that is beautiful and good. Pessimism and defeatism have no part in these plays some of which have met with success abroad. Pre-eminent Czechoslovak playwrights are Stehlik, Kohout, Drda, Karvas, Blazek, Pavlicek, and others.

In addition to the permanent theatres also diverse experimental and avantguard theatres appear in Czechoslovak towns which are founded by young enthusiasts who cultivate various small theatrical forms. Some of these have later become professional theatres as, for example, "Na Zabradli" ("On the Blaustrade"), a small theatre whose leporellos philosophize on life and the world around us. Also the pantomine ensemble of this theatre which is led by L. Fialka, is well-known abroad through its numerous successful tours. In this way also originated the Prague literary cabaret "Paravan", the "Rococo", a theatse specializing in political satire, the "Semafor" known for its songs, theatres of poetry, etc.

A kind of synthesis of stage and film art is the "Magic Lantern", whose live artists and motion pictures are integrated in the dramatic action. The "Magic Lantern" has travelled widely in Europe and evoke lively interest in this new art form.

In the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic where the greatest care is devoted to children, it is only natural that also the theatres for children and young people are of a high standard. There are puppet theatres with various kinds of puppet techniques and

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regular children's theatres with actors. The Spejbl and Hurvinek Puppet Theatre, whose spiritual father was Professor Skupa, is world famous.

Also the "black" theatre where invisible actors move phosphorescent puppets and masks is popular both in Czechoslovakia and abroad.

Opera and Ballet

Seventeen of the seventy-three theatres which form the main theatrical cadre have, in addition to their dramatical, also operatic, ballet and operetta ensembles. Prague has two specifically operatta theatres.

In addition to the traditional classic repertoire these theatres also present contemporary novelities whose contents and form impart a new character to this branch of the theatre.

As elsewhere in the world, opera is trying to achieve a higher histrionic standard. This depends in the first place on the directors and then also on the singers themselves. No longer is it solely a question of achieving beautiful tones, but also a cultivated histrionic expression and the new works in this field further support this new trend.

Not only do the ballet ensembles of the Czechoslovak theatres co-operate with the opera and operatta but, when possible, they also give independent ballet performances. Apart from classic ballets such as The Swan Lake", "The Sleeping Princess," "Gisela," etc., also novelties from home and abroad are performed. Because the majority of them take their inspiration from folklore (in Czechoslovakia "Victoria" by Vostrak, "The Wedding Shirt" by Novak, and Soviet ballets such as "Gajane" by Khatchaturian and "Youth" by Chulaki) it has been necessary to find a new form of dance language, and so the basic classic technique, combined with modern dancing and folk elements, is taught at the dance conservatoriums which will soon be changed into 10-year dancing schools.

Most pressing of all is the problem of modernizing operettas. Side by side with the classic operettas presented in Czechoslovakia for their fine musical qualities (Lehar, Strauss, Offenbach, and Kalman) are appearing contemporary works which demand modern interpreters who are at the same time actors, singers, and dancers. The lack of good musical plays which would satisfy the criterions of dramaturgy and suit the tastes of an educated public is a serious problem. The Czechoslovak public is no longer satisfied with cheap commercial comedies. It wants to see clever, witty plays which would entertain them in their specific way by criticizing human faults and outmoded ideas.

Amateur Clubs

Speaking of the theatre we must not forget to mention the 11,000 dramatic clubs, the more than 10,000 cultural clubs, and the 7,000 works clubs which unite all would be Thespians who devote their free time to the theatre. In addition to amateur theatrical performances the rural audiences in Czechoslovakia also enjoy professional theatrical performances. Visits to permanent theatres are organised and touring theatres perform in Houses of Culture whose numbers are rapidly increasing. All these performances are held before packed houses and so, through the co-operation of professional theatres and folk art—whose ever-higher standard can be seen during the annual festivals and competitions and which is participated in by increasingly greater numbers of people from year to year—the theatre in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic is now enjoyed by all Czechosslovak citizens.

Before World War II, Czechoslovakia had a total of about 30 permanent theatres, which were ruined by Nazi occupation. After the liberation in 1945 (this year on May 9, Czechoslovakia celebrates the 19th anniversary of her liberation), theatres also got revived as part of the general plan for national reconstruction and soon the number of permanent theatres reached 73 with 105 companies (dealing with drama, opera, ballet, puppetry, mime etc.) and four dramatic schools.

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INDIAN UNIVERSITIES TODAY

By GOPAL CHATURVEDI

At present there is a great deal of discontent against the higher abodes of learning, namely the universities. Some deplore the falling standards while others designate these temples of learning, as factories manufacturing curious products of frustrated hopes—the educated unemployed. Teachers are accused of neglecting their duties, students are condemned for ignoring theirs. Platform and press join in the attack, illiterate leaders lend the political weight of their loud voices to the same cause. Some ascribe the present prevalent evils of the universities to the general cultural deterioration after the collapse of the traditions of Indian liberalism and the wiping out of the memory of European humanism. What has emerged as a consequence is "The culture of puerility" wherein intelligence is rapidly being replaced by intrigue, seriousness by servility and mediocrity or the worship of the obvious, intrinsic eminence by propaganda, pursuasion by force and the rule of law by the rule of whims and caprice. How can this parochial self-contained universe of small minds and crushed egoes produce quality? But is all this outcry justified? Who is responsible for this sad state of affairs when slogan raising and strikes have become all too common occurences? These are pertinent questions, simple in appearance but complex in nature. Had they been merely academic some scholarly treatise would have solved them. Had they been only political, our shouting demagogue would have answered them. But these problems, besides being academic and political, are cultural and economic as well, and hence their complex nature.

The twentieth century, whether we like it or not, is overwhelmingly an age of politics, in the same sense as the Middle Ages were the age of religion. The use of political methods, of forming parties, the faith in securing of ends to the subordination of means, and ruthlessness in obtaining them, only confirm the above statement. Specially such political obtrusiveness is witnessed in newly independent countries with backward economies, undergoing the inevitable industrial revolution in a hurry. The reasons are not far to seek. All revolutions are caused by the co-operation of intellectuals as they are the most vocal and volatile section of the community in any society. The Indian freedom struggle has been no exception and the intelligentsia made no little contribution to bringing it to a successful conclusion. The nascent indusrial societies are motivated by the idol of success; in its worship moral considerations are contemptuously set aside and in the process old moral values are slowly undermined. Hence periods of transition witness spurts of unscrupulous political activity and dominance. Perhaps, Indian Universities suffer from this deeper malady of crisis in values. We have before us the example of the successful application of political methods in the past, we conveniently forget that the goal to be achieved through them was a noble one—the winning of India's Freedom. The teacher politician applies the same methods to secure not so noble aims. They are fascinated by the halo of publicity that surrounds politicians, they envy the petty principalities every Minister carves and controls. Instead of the cloistered activities of the quiet study room or the hum-drum task of delivering dull routine lectures, they take to the interesting pursuit of positions of power in the academic world. Contesting elections for the University-bodies, seeking ministerial favours becomes veritably their full time activity.

In another sense also the politicians prevail. Universities have, as a matter of fact, ceased to be autonomous bodies. From the appointment of the Vice-Chancellors down to that of Lecturers, dependence is on

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the benediction of political powers that be. It will be interesting to count the number of outside Vice-Chancellors; those who had no connection or even remote contact with the academic profession, till they suddenly reached the top. The engineering departments and institutes are controlled by experienced engineers; medical colleges and hospitals are headed by competent doctors but the post of Vice-Chancellors, the highest academic honour and distinction, may go to any retired judge of High Court or defeated minister. A few years back the Education Ministry of Madhya Pradesh created a unique precedent of bureaucratic arrogance when it appointed the Divisional Commissioner of Indore, a promoted officer of the I.A.S., to act as the Vice-Chancellor of Vikram University.

Similarly, subservience to politics may be demonstrated by another trend peculiar to the Universities of this country. Most of the convocation addresses are delivered by pampered politicians instead of erudite scholars, most of the functions that are held are usually presided by the same species of talking machines. But this tragedy has its comic relief too. A so-called leader while giving away the prizes after the annual games, also invented a new game, of course, inadvertently when he began his speech by saying—"games are good, especially team and outdoor games like Cricket, Football, Hockey and tournament". However, once somebody starts seriously considering the implications of such apparently venial mistakes, their frequency gives them a new dimension of magnitude. And consequently they assume the form of the fatal flaws of our national life. The sooner the humiliating practice of inviting politicians on such occasions is stopped the better for the honour and dignity of our homes of learning. Why not call upon those seekers of truth and missionaries of knowledge who have shunned the lime light, to exhort and inspire the students with their precepts and example.

Another form of political interference has more to do with students. Following the adage "Catch them young" many political parties are active among the students. They work through the notorious "professionals," a class of students whose sole aim is to stay in the University Unions as long as possible, fomenting troubles, organising strikes and staging demonstrations. Such tendencies are especially rampant among the universities of the North. It is impossible to expect the political sheep to abstain from grazing off such rich and tempting pastures as the universities offer. Only political maturity achieved through years might provide a solution to this menacing problem.

Falling academic standards are a cause as well as an effect of the prevalent political intrusion. Lack of interest in studies results in students seeking other channels to expend their energies—and this probably is the consequence of political pulls and pressures determining university appointments, merit being relegated to the backgroud. Problems of discipline never arise in the classes of those who know their job well. But the "Old-Guard," who were devoted and proud of their profession, have vanished. The new-comers have neither their zeal for learning nor their sincerity to the profession. They come to university jobs in this age of success-seeking and status-craving, as spring-boards for administrative services or lucrative private firms. If they succeed they desert "For a handful of gold." If they don't, frustration like a cancerous growth, consumes and saps away their scholastic abilities. Indulging in University politics remains their only diversion and sole vocation. From bad teaching we come to an outmoded system of examination, by virtue of which parrots top and mediocres dominate. Like Indian agriculture it is a gamble of chance. Examiners are appointed not because of any particular eminence in their field of study, but for the compelling considerations of mutual adjustment in the form of barter. "Cash payment is not the sole nexus of man with man," Carlyle, after all, was correct!

The infusion of the principles of large scale industry in the sphere of the examinations, results in a huge pile of answer books to be valued and they are examined by proxy; either by senior students or by

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research scholars of the Professor concerned. The worst victims in this merry-go-round of money making are the meritorious students as there is no proper judgment in the indifferent cursory surveys of those who are forced to undertake the task of valuation. Such an examination system results in the production of keys, cheap bazar notes and guides, based on expected questions. Finally, the indiscriminate opening of universities, relaxation of rules of admission in the name of democratisation of education, coupled with monetary considerations as shown above put a premium on lack of quality. The only resultant progress is the progress in numbers.

Our education system has failed to develop useful attitudes. It merely provides a training of abilities. Even for the latter propper opportunities are lacking. Social needs accord with social dynamics Unfortunately, in the sphere of education this has not been possible. What Macauley devised was good for the needs of the "British Raj" with its growing requirements of white-collared babus. Besides, his system created a peculiar class of hybrid 'sahibs'—Indian in complexion and name but Western by mental attitudes and habits. Now those days are over. We should conceive clear goals and in accordance with them, plan and devise a national system of education. It is paramount to observe a clear distinction between literacy and education. The concept of universal education, laudable at primary or even at secondary stage, becomes ridiculous when applied to the Universities. This is what is happening today and hence the inevitable fall in the quality of knowledge, total absence of mental independence among students, and long queueing up for clerical jobs. Education, specially at higher levels, should be a preserve of an aristocracy of talent. Only those with proper aptitudes and abilities should be permitted to avail of it. Piling up degrees is the least socially useful task; wasting the prime of life in indifferent and unwilling encounters with outmoded examinations is even worse.

But can we succeed in transforming the universities by merely criticizing them? At least such on effort gives us a clear picture of the enemy positions and enables us to launch an effective attack upon them. Will our political and academic leaders rise up to the challenge or sink under its weight, is a mute question on the answer to which will depend the destiny of this country. Restlessness on the part of the student community provides us with some hope. Strikes indicate a blind groping towards some purpose. They are dangerous portents of impending change. Also they manifest vitality. There is some moving of waters. But the time is not far off when these slow streams will gather strength and turn into irresistible torrents and cross the dams of lethargy and patience. The nation expects effective leadership in the sphere of education, warnings and examples of history demand it; let us hope it is provided as man lives and has been living on hope and hope alone.

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RASHTRABHASHA AND THE SYSTEM OF OUR EDUCATION

By Prof. PRIYA GOVIND DUTT, M.A., B.L.

The political events that occurred some time ago at Jabalpur, Aligarh and other places, as well as in Assam, have probably been an eye-opener to our Prime Minister and those who are at the helm of political affairs of India. So time has come when every well-wisher of India should calmly think over these events and ascertain the basic cause of this unrest. To me it appears that the basic cause of this unrest is the hasty conformation of Hindi as the Rashtrabhasha. I say so because it has given birth to violent communal feelings and the feeling of superiority in the heart of those whose mother-tongue is Hindi. Much money is being spent on the publication of Government reports, speeches, proceedings and notices in Hindi. May I request our authorities to ascertain how many read and utilise these publications, and how many sincerely prefer them to their English version? A great section of our reading public consists of the members of the legal profession and the people associated with them. They not only use English in most of their activities but prefer it to Hindi unless otherwise forced.

The technical terms of the different subjects have been translated into difficult Sanskritised words never current in the last two centuries, and the easy current words have been mercilessly abandoned for what purpose, God knows. Once in the local post office I was advised to say "Antardesiya Patra" instead of simply "Inland" which is being used by most of the persons including women and uneducated people. The Arabic numerals are being used in all the offices and banks, but such is the fascination for Hindi that the Hindi forms of these numerals are being used not only by the merchants but also by the State and Central Government. All the School authorities have been ordered to use the Hindi forms of these numerals. But the Hindi forms of eight and nine are being written in many ways creating difficulty for the Non-Hindi people. In these days of kilograms and decimal coinage is it not idle and irrational to retain these Hindi forms of Arabic numerals? It does encourage the people of other states to write these nemerals in their own way. The Roman form of the Arabic nemerals should be made forthwith compulsory in all the schools and colleges and a definite date in some near future should be fixed for making it compulsory for all including merchants and businessmen. This will make the inspection of their account books easier.*

Another amusing and instructive outcome of the Rashtrabhasha has come to my notice. Previously the students of Bihar used to translate English words into Hindi in order to get a clear idea of these words. They were unfortunately never taught in the inductive method and were never encouraged to think in English. But after the introduction of Hindi as the Rashtrabhasha, Bihari students are being found to translate the important words and phrases of the Rashtrabhasha into English in order to understand them. Yet we are hopeful that a time will come when Hindi will be able to oust English completely from all the spheres of our activities? But can we reasonably hope that our factory workers will ever give up their simple current English words and adopt the new difficult words introduced by the Rashtrabhasha?

Once a Principal of a Government college claimed that he could efficiently teach the plays of Shakespeare as he was an Englishman. At this Dr. P. K. Ray, the University Inspector, asked him whether an English cobbler could teach English. Similarly it is being claimed that everyone whose mother-tongue is Hindi can teach Hindi. So the moment English was removed from the lower classes of High Schools and from the M. E. Schools, it was thought that every Bihari could teach Hindi, and so all the ill-qualified relations of the Secretaries and the Headmasters were appointed as teachers in all these schools. The result is that the standard of

* How can we hope to have a universal language all over India if we fail to have uniformity in writing these simple ten digits?

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teaching has frightfully deteriorated. Our teachers do not know that the basic principle of learning is reflective understanding and not cramming.

A girl student of a Government High School sent up for the School Final Examination was found unable to read a sentence of her English Text-book. She had learnt how to transcribe a given passage in English. She pretended to read a passage in English though in fact she fixed her eyes on the passage and reproduced from her memory that particular passage.

The introduction of the assessment system was suicidal, both for teaching and for learning. Our teachers found no time for teaching as they had to examine a large number of assessment copies. Students were asked to write out some marked portions of their books as answers to some given questions or copy out answers from some note book. Thus students were kept very busy in copying out answers from note books and guess papers and found no time for learning any thing at home or at school. In this way the pious intention of the assessment system was completely frustrated. Our teachers did not know how to work out this assessment system. The result was that our students failed to read any book, failed to learn anything from any book and failed to write the alphabet correctly. Happily the present Minister of Education has abolished this harmful assessment system. But we should be very careful of those teachers who are the products of this system. There are many professors who will deceive you by borrowing a large number of books from the library and quoting a large number of authors yet they fail to learn anything from books and they fail to derive any joy out of reading any book. They have not the patience to go through any book and critically examine its contents and ascertain the message of the book.

About pronunciation the less said the better. *God* is often pronounced as *Goat*. A professor was found to say '*Bake from Patna*' and another said *cementry for cemetery*. When a well-known foreign scholar came to deliver a learned lecture in English, many of our college teachers absented from the lecture as they failed to follow him on account of his unusual pronounciation. Equally, if not more difficult is to read, remember and pronounce the harsh outlandish words that have been thrust into the current easy Hindi used by the Hindi speaking people. I doubt whether any of the ministers of the Central and State Governments know all the new words of the Rashtrabhasha. When we go through these words we seem to be so many Alices lost in the world of Dam and Dee. If these be so, what is the good of having these gymnastics with the Rashtrabhasha and compelling the innocent clerks and teachers murder the innocent people of our hard times?

Very few people know how our professors are teaching their students now-a-days. In our days every professor of English read and explained every line of the plays of Shakespeare prescribed for our studies. In explaining them he demonstrated the dramatic emotions hidden in it. It was customary for the students of the Calcutta Scottish Churches College to stage a play of Shakespeare. Our Scottish professors joined hands with students in staging such a play. This enabled the students to have an insight into the spirit, beauty and excellence of these plays and into the mind and art of the master dramatist. We derived great joy in going through these plays again and again and found no difficulty in reading and understanding any book written in English. But now-a-days the method of teaching has changed altogether. Books are not read and explained in the class. Professors finish a play of Shakespeare in five or six lectures and thereby finish their students as well. In the first lecture they speak about the life and time of Shakespeare. In the second lecture they speak about the works of Shakespeare, his style, craftmanship and place in world literature. In the third lecture they speak about the story of the play and in the remaining three lectures they discuss the various characters of the play. Thus in six lectures they finish the trouble of teaching a play of Shakespeare. Students are not encouraged to read any play and derive joy out of it. They are rather advised to get by heart some selected cooked up answers given in some note book. The nature of these answers are sometimes ludicrous. The question was: Account for the greatness of Hardy in creating female characters. The learned professor claimed to be the author of a popular key brought out by a well-known Patna firm begins his answer as follows:

I do not admit that Hardy was a great writer. He was much inferior to the great Victorian authors like Tennyson and Arnold. Besides, Hardy's English is defective. He has used the split infinitive at different places, etc.

These grand-motherly criticisms and lecutures

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are leading our innocent students into blind lanes where they are failing to have any illumination, enlightenment or inspiration. Thus books written in English have come to be a terror to our students and instead of reflective understanding most of them are relying on guess papers and the cramming of cooked answers. Students of schools and colleges now prepare their Text-books in English by reading the Hindi summary of the books. They never take the trouble of reading the English text-books. They have deteriorated to such an extent that they fail to read and understand the questions printed in English. Students generally rely on the legalised system of getting grace marks and the effort of the university not to lower the percentage of success. By cramming the selected answers given in guess papers they want to qualify for the grace marks.

Students also rely on the questions set on grammar. Invigilators find it very difficult to prevent our examinees from taking unfair means in answering the questions on grammar. I fail to understand why there should be separate questions on grammar. Is it not reasonable to test the knowledge of grammar and spelling, phrases and idioms by going through the answers to non-grammatical questions? If this be done examinees will not be lured to take any unfair means. For stopping all sorts of cramming and for encouraging real learning no critical questions should be set on any book, and only passages for critical explanation should be set. Learning and not cramming should be made the object of all teaching, otherwise our educational system will be a bogus system.

The standard of education has been going down on account of the bad text-books that are being departmentally produced and prescribed for schools and colleges. Our authorities should know that no good book can be had by commanding a number of good scholars to write it out. Yet our educational authorities are going to have good text-books through these impossible means. I found sixtyfive blunders in the Free India Readers—Primer, and more than one hundred blunders in Free India Readers—First book. It is a wonder that as yet no committee of experts has been appointed to go through the various text-books prescribed by the Boards and the Universities. Nobody cares to go through the proofs of these books at the time of printing them. Many such books contain colossal historical and geographical blunders. Some of them contain wild innovations. For instance our Bihar University published a book on Poetry Selections in which, instead of using the current spelling of English words their old spellings were given. We all know how shaky our spellings are. This old spelling introduced by the University has made our students believe that English words can be written in any way as no spelling can be called correct.

We are fully acquainted with the Indian method of pronouncing English words. Even our radio-speakers show how wonderful are the ways of speaking English. Some of them try to surpass the speed of the Toofan Express in running to their journey's end. But I am probably criticising the big guns of the Radio Station through my ignorance. Standard language and pronunciation can be taught now-a-days through the radio. Yet this opportunity is being neglected by the masters and builders of our nation. We want to have a standard uniform Hindi as Rashtrabhasha all over India, yet we are eager to use a local dialect whenever we find an opportunity. There is one Hindi for our women-folk, another for the market place and a different one for the University Examinations and journals. Even our M.A.'s in Hindi carelessly disregard grammar while speaking. Scholars of Hindi should try their best to abolish the gender of the names of inanimate objects with a view to win the love of the non-Hindi speaking people of India and make the language easier and rational.

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PLANT DISEASES AND THEIR SYMPTOMS

By D. CHATTERJI, M.Sc.

Plant pathology is that branch of Botanical science which deals with the diseases of the plants. While there can be no doubt that diseases of plants and in particular of cultivated plants have manifested themselves from time immemorial, it is only within recent years that their study has been taken up in an organized and scientific manner. The application of scientific methods generally to the study of practical agricultural problems is in itself a development which is scarcely older than the 19th Century and it is from this combination of science with practice that the modern applied science of plant pathology has arisen.

Plant diseases have been known since the dawn of history. From the earliest times domesticated varities of plants grown for food or for economic purposes have been subject to the attacks of diseases and early reference to the terms **blight** and **blasting** show they obtrued themselves on the minds of the cultivators long before their true nature was known.

The epoch-making discovery of Pasteur of the true nature of the process of fermentation and development of germ-theory of diseases marked the true starting point for modern pathological studies both for animals and plants. The first proof that specific plant disease was due to the invasion of the tissues of the plant by a definite parasitic organism was furnished by the German scientist Anton de Barry (1853) who is thus properly regarded as the founder of modern plant pathology at least in its theoretical aspect. de Barry's pioneer researches prepare the way for a host of other workers at first in Germany and later in all the civilized countries. The 20th Century has witnessed extraordinary activity in the study of the problems, most strikingly perhaps in the U.S.A. The economic importance of the subject as a branch of scientific agriculture is being increasingly recognised and the prosecution of researches in plant diseases is being more actively persued by the agricultural departments of all countries whose agriculture can claim to be progressive.

Diseases in plants may be defined as variation from the normal as expressed either by checking or by interruption of physiological activities or by structural changes which are sufficiently permanent to check the development and cause abnormal formation or lead to premature death of a part of the plant or of the entire individual or failure of the plant to produce a commercial product of satisfactory quality and quantity.

SYMPTOMS OF DISEASES

The study of symptoms is the first step in the examination of diseases. By symptoms one means the total modification shown in the plant as a result of disease. In other words the symptoms of disease are those marks or evidences which indicate a diseased condition in the plant. The most common symptoms are listed below. The plant when diseased may show any one, two or more of the symptoms described as under.

Change of Colour

Plants, like people, frequently look pale when they are sick. Nutritional disturbances such as lack of iron, excess of lime, excess of alkali, presence of virus, fungoidal or bacterial parasite, lack of leght or low temp may prevent the production of chlorophyll and cause normal green structure to become pale green or yellow.

Leaf Spots

Discoloration instead of being general or diffuse may show as more or less definite or circumscribed discoloured spots or areas. They form one of the commonest symptoms of disease. These spots are very varied in

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colour according to the plant and parasite concerned, and also often change colour at different stages in their development. In some cases the colour is not uniform but zones or bands of differents shades may alternate.

Shot Hole

This name is given to the perforations in the leaves. At first a brown spot appears but the diseased tissues are soon cut off form the rest of the portion leaving a hole in the leaf. They are common in fruit trees, such as peach and plum and are found in tea and some other plants but rarely in field crops.

Damping off

This name is applied to the sudden collapse of seedlings, which are attacked at the base of the stem and fall over from weakening of the tissues at this point. It results from the rot caused by several fungi, e.g., **Pythium, Phytopthora, Rhizoctonia.**

Wilt

This name is applied to those cases where a whole plant collapses more or less suddenly and is the susult either of the blocking of the water transporting channels in the stem or the roots or of some injury to the absorbing system which lowers the rate of intake of water below that of the out go due to transpiration.

Necrosis

In some diseases death of special parts or organs of the plants as leaves, stems or twigs, buds or flowers is the first symptom of the disease. The affected structures generally assume the characteristic dark or brown colouration of dead tissue and the accompanying disease is characterized as blights.

Scab

This is a condition caused by cracking of the outer layer or fruits or tubers or sometimes they become corky. The scabs of Potatoes, Apples and Peeches are caused by fungi. Citrus scab which is very servere in Assam and prevalent also in other parts of India is caused by a bacteria. Eel worms may cause scab of tubers.

Canker

Open wounds often of a spreading nature and somtimes surrounded by raised tumours like margins are found on woody stems and even sometimes on annual herbs like pigeon pea. They are caused usually by parasites who attack the bark and extend as far as there is cambium. The raised margins are the results of efforts to repair and is a product of cellulose which may again be attacked and destroyed before healing has progressed far.

Dwarfing or Atrophy

Either the entire plant or special organs such as leaves flowers or fruits may be greatly reduced in size suggesting such common names as 'Little leaf disease of Apple' or 'little Peech' with fruits of reduced size. The whole plant may remain stunted from early attacks of mildews, rusts and other fungi or viruses. The leaves may be atrophied as a result of action of some rusts or species of synchytrium.

Increase in Size or Hypertrophy

Abnormal outgrowths of the most varied character are often found on the herbaceous parts of plants and also sometimes on woody stems, and on roots, leaves, fruits and tubers. They may vary from tiny warts, involving only one and or a few cells to the rounded tumours, several inches across of the maize stem. Hypertrophied roots are well illustrated in the club root or finger and toe diseases of cabbage and other crucifers. Hypertrophied leaves in the well-known leaf curl of peach, hypertrophied flowers or flower parts as in the white rusts of the crucifers.

Transformation of Organs

This is found chiefly in flowers and results in the change of one kind of floral

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leaf in to another some parts of the flowers may become hairy as in green ear disease of bajra or the ear may become leafy in the head smuts of maize.

Alternation in symmetry and habit

Some plants which under normal conditions are more or less prostrate or creeping become ascending or even errect when attacked by fungus parasites. The short unbranched stem with radical leaf of **launea asplenifolia** become elongated, much branched axis with cauline leaves when infected by puccinia butleria. Leaves may be changed from simple to irregularly lobed, single flower may be altered from regular to the irregular symmetry and vice versa.

Dropping of Leaves, Blossoms, Fruits

This is, of course, to be considered as symptom of disease only when it occurs prematurely or in excessive ammount. The sheding of leaves from the action of parasites may be noted in the leaf spot of groundnut. The shedding of blossoms may be illustrated by the non-parasitic blossom drop of tomato and grape.

Rot

Rot is a condition resulting when the cells, wall and contents are broken down and more or less consumed by enzyme secreted by the attacking organism. In some cases only the middle lamellae are digested, thus permiting the cells to separate and the tissues to disintigrate. The rotted tissues may be soft or hard, dry or wet and either odourless or of offensive odour. The colour of the rotted tissue also varies. Succulent or woody stem and roots, fleshy leaves, flower buds or fruits may be effected by rot. Rot is often caused by pythium and phytopthora where the green patrs are chiefly affected by such fungi as rosellinia where the roots are concerned, by rhizoctonia where the region affected is usually discoloured. Many wet rots are due to secondary sprophytic organism, chiefly bacteria and moulds which follow in the track of the parasites.

Fluxes

Several tree diseases are characterised by exudation from the bark of the stem. The nature of exudation varies in different cases. In the stem-bleeding disease of the cocoanut, colourless or brown and somewhat viscid liquid, rich in sugars and products of decay of the tissues, oozes out from cracks in the stem. In rubber canker there is an exudation of latex in the older stages. Resin is poured out in conifers attacked by various fungi. Gum is found on the surface of the diseased parts in foot-rot of citrus tree.

Mummification

The transformation of fruits into shrivelled structures called mummies is a very characteristic feature of the brown rot of stone or pomefruits. Other typical illustrations may be found in the bitter rot and black rot of apple and grape. Mummies are dried up shrivelled fruits containing the mycellium and sometimes the spores of the parasite ; they remain hanging in the tree or fall on the ground.

Development of dormant or new Organs

The development of dormant or rudimentary structures of entirely new organs or structures either similar to or entirely unlike any normal parts of the host, are symptoms which are associated with certain diseases. Dormant buds may be started into growth: staemens which are rudimentary may grow to full size, extra petals may appear or an entirely dissimilar out-growth may be formed. New shoots are formed from the base of the rice plant attacked by sclerotium oryzae. The rudimentary staemens in pistillate flowers of **lychis dioica** become fully developed when attacked by **ustilago ovie-lacae** except that pollen is replaced by spores of the fungus.

Malformations

The following abnormal formations may be included under this heading :

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Galls or Localised Enlargement

On various organs in the form of small pustules or warts, larger tubercles, tumours or masses of cells making a morbid outgrowth of either fleshy or woody nature, in which host tissues and parasites in the plant, stimulate the cells to abnormal activity instead of killing them. A familiar example in this group is the small or large tumours of maize smut.

Intumescences: pustule like distentions of tissue occuring most abundantly on leaves but also on stem or fruits due to the abnormal elongation of groups of cells.

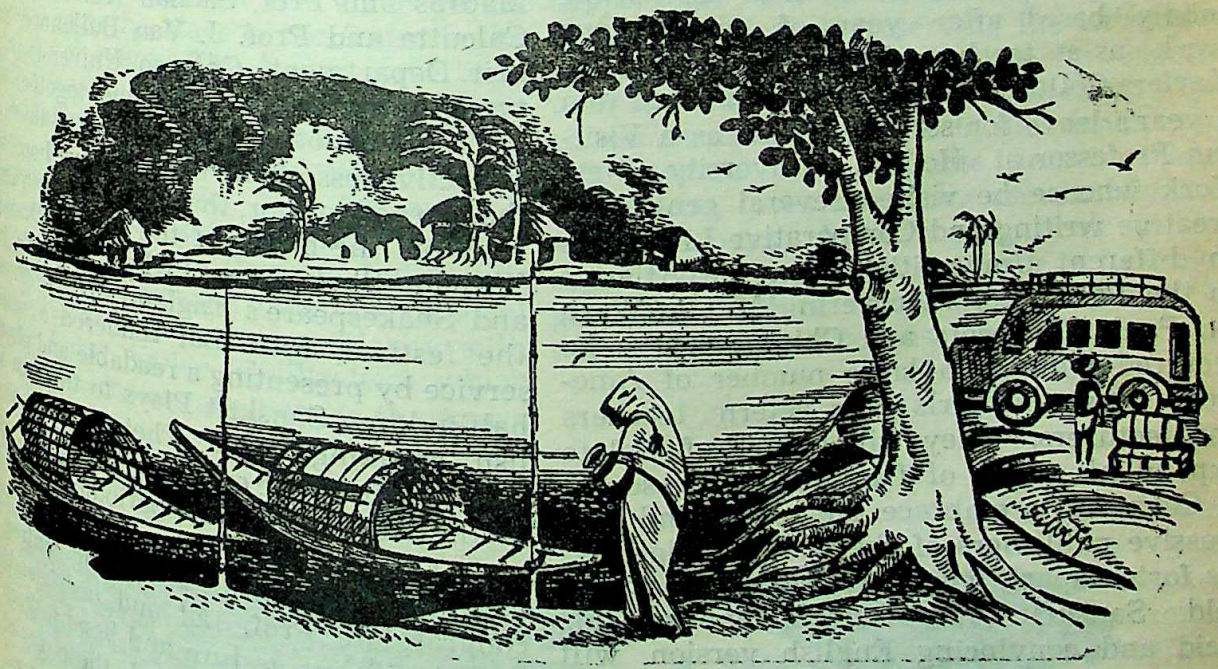
Rosettes or closely grouped clusters of leaves caused by the failure of axes to make a normal elongation. This should not be confused with normal rosette habit of certain plants.

Witches

This is a condition of closely grouped clusters of fine slender branches, generally arranged more or less parallel to each other and frequently originating from enlarged axis. It is a dense bushy growth resembling a broom made of twigs. It is chiefly caused by exoacacoe and rusts, common examples being those on berberry bushes caused by aecidium monotanum.

Prolification

By this is meant the continued development of a part after it has reached the stage at which it normally ceases to grow. It occurs in the ears of bajra and setaria attacked by **sclerospora graminicola,** the central axis of the flower growing on into a stunted leafy shoot, surrounded at the base by the glumes and stamens.



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BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

Reviews and notices of books in Gujrati :

Authors and publishers of Gujrati books, desirous of having them noticed or reviewed in *The Modern Review*, should send them direct to, Shri Rangildas Kapadia : Gandevi, Dist. Surat, instead of sending them to the Editor, *The Modern Review*.

GREAT SANSKRIT PLAYS IN MODERN TRANSLATION : by Professor P. Lal, St. Xaviers College, Calcutta, manufactured in the United States of America (1962-63) published by James Laughten, New Directions Book Co. also by Mc Clelland and Stewart Ltd., Canada.

Professor P. Lal earned a reputation, solidly based, after years of conscientous work as a teacher of English at the St. Xaviers College, Calcutta which granted him a year's leave for serving U.S.A. as a Visiting Professor at Hofstra University, New York whence he visited several centres of creative writing and Comparative Literature in different Universities from the Atlantic to the Pacific coasts, covering Middle West, St. Paul, Minnesota and Chicago where he lectured winning a large number of American boys and girls and vetern teachers and lecturers. They will help Prof. Lal to expand his circle of friends, limited so far to Calcutta, to embrace the reader and progressive publishers of the U.S.A. English—his forte—apart, now Prof. Lal enters a new field. Sanskrit Drama which, thanks to his lucid and convincing English version, will now bring India closer to the U.S. public ; for drama is an inter-national medium of psychology and aesthetics, as Prof. Lal has **well established** in his convincing Prefaces to Sakuntala and Mudra Rakshasa, Vasavadatta and Uttara Rama Charita and Ratnavali—gems of Sanskrit drama which Prof. Lal very wisely presented to the audience of the New world.

He significantly calls these New English **Transcreations** (not mechanical translations) of Sanskrit Plays. Prof. Lal has for years been comparing notes with many veterns of Sanskrit like Dr. Raghavan of Madras and Prof. Sadhan Kumar Ghosh of Calcutta and Prof. J. Van Builennen, Sanskrit Department, Chicago University. The typography and illustrations together with his helpful notes, add to the usefulness and attractiveness of the book and we hope, with the learned author, that in this Fourth Centenary of the birth of the World-Dramatist William Shakespeare, when Tagore's India and Shakespeare's England are celebrating the festival, Prof. Lal rendered a national service by presenting a readable and playable half-a-dozen Sanskrit Plays to the vast English speaking world. Their appreciation is manifest from the enthusiastic notices in some of the leading literary periodicals of U.S.A. and Canada where Sanskrit Plays would make their first epoch making **entree**. We congratulate Prof. Lal and his friends for this significant gesture and hope to keep the Indian public alert through the pages of the Modern Review, Calcutta which served the cause of **comparative literature** for over half a century.

Dr. Kalidas Nag
University of Paris

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THE ASUR : By K. K. Leuva, Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh, New Delhi, 1963. Rs. 17/50.

Who are the Asurs ? Is it sufficient to describe them as a tribe living in Ranchi District ? Have they got any relation wiih the neighbouring tribes ? Do they descend from the Asurs as described in our Sanskrit literature ? These are the pointed questions taken up by Dr. K. K. Leuva. He has adroitly dealt with the subject and quoted source books right from the Vedic literature to the latest publication on anthropology. Of course, had he not been holding a high Government post in tribal affairs, it would have been a remote possibility for him to attain such a thorough knowledge about the Asur.

What is most striking in this book is the author's doing away with the popular belief that the Asura is a branch of the Munda, the famous Proto-Austroloid tribe of Chotanagpur. He has, on the contrary, driven home a hitherto unknown fact that the Asurs have a close affinity with those appearing in the lore of Sanskrit literature. Dr. Leuva has traced through a long track of Indian history to show how the Asura of the Vedic period has passed on to this stage of the Asura in the compulsion of events. The Asuras have been a problem due to their tradition dating from the beginning of Indian history. Their mission in India's race-assimilation and culture-fusion is historic. The Asuras, as a people, according to some scholars, precede the Aryas and probably Dasas of India.

The archaeological finds of Ranchi District provide a ground of similarity with those of Indus Valley Civilization which some eminent scholars attribute to the Asura of Sanskrit literature. It is still a question of debate as to who were the authors of this mighty civilization flourishing in the pre-historic age. The Asur sculpture and architecture attracted the attention of the giant scholar, Sarat Chandra Roy, who, 'during his field studies on the Asuras of Ranchi in the twenties of this century, had come across certain remains of the Asuras which indicate that the inhabitants of this area had attained a degree of civilisation which has remained a standing wonder.' (p. 10). Even while working among the Asuras, the author surprisingly came to know that the Asuras of Netarhat still claim descent from the ancient Asura' (p.11). The main fact that prompted Dr. Leuva to the study of the tribe is the craft of iron-smelting which was, of course, in later periods almost forgotten by them due to imposition of forest laws by the Government.

How deeply the author feels for the Asuras is reflected in the chapter 'Future of the people' where he outlines some invaluable suggestions as to how they should be provided with facilities to grow in the line of their tradition and genius. He declines to support the view of the anthropologists who favour the idea of preserving the tribesmen as specimens, types and cases for experimental studies. Rather he considers the tribesmen like ourselves in all fundamentals, because their ultimate human needs, aspirations, loves and fears are exactly the same as ours. As such this book, in the opinion of the present reviewer, will be of great help to those who work among them to upgrade their precarious way of life.

Narayan Kundu

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Indian Periodicals

Consumer's Voice Must Be Heard

Writing in the *Yojana* in its issue of June 7 last, what Sri G. L. Malhotra has to say on the *life and death* problem of "planning for raging prices," for that is really what planning, shorn of its glamour and accoutrements, has come to mean in actual terms, sails very close to the wind of recent official thinking but would hardly seem to point the way to a practicable solution :

Never was the consumer so oppressed as he is today. The prices of the essential commodities are rising, adulteration is rampant, corruption is at its highest and malpractices have become the normal state of affairs in trade.

The consumer, who is the buyer and user of goods and services, is helpless. He is disgusted with the exploitation he is subjected to. He has no voice in anything that concerns him. The Governments adopt measures without consulting him : the mills fix prices without taking him into account, and the traders sell commodities without bothering about his needs. In the matter of price control, it is the trader who is consulted and not the consumer. The location of fair price shops is decided to suit the convenience of the trade and not that of the consumer.

Only recently it was discovered in Delhi that a commodity like bicycle tyres was concentrated in the hands of a few traders who preferred to group their shops in one locality rather than spread them out in distant colonies where the consumer could really benefit. In the pricing policy of cloth, the consumer has no voice. It is the manufacturer who has to take a decision on this and have it endorsed by officials who sit behind closed doors and with whom the consumer has no contact. Consumers' co-operatives sell what the authorities provide for them and not what the consumers want. The Chambers of Commerce discuss matters relating to profits, and not the benefits of consumers.

What, after all, is the significance of a consumer ? He is the backbone of the country's progress. His satisfaction symbolises the progress of the country and his discontent is the discontent of the nation. He is a citizen, in fact *the* citizen. Unfortunately he is unorganised. He has feelings but he has no platform to express them. He has grievances but he has no means to ventilate them. His voice is a voice in wilderness. Alone he suffers, alone he feels frustrated and alone he cries.

But it is individuals that make a nation. Individual disgust sooner or later turns into a mass disgust. If corruption and profiteering are said to be surging high it is because the consumer is being exploited and in his helplessness, he offers gratification and gets the job done. It is true that he is as much to blame but he sees no alternative. If he complains he becomes the victim and if he does not he continues to be exploited. He sees no justice being done to him and he accepts illegal acts as matters of fact.

His food is a problem. Profiteers wangle stocks, fix movements and prices. He is a helpless watcher of this drama. Meetings and deliberations, speeches and demonstrations, flags and buntings, receptions and honours are the daily routine of those who profess to advocate his cause. But matters stand where they are and his suffering sees no end.

Even in advanced countries like America, the consumer has traditionally had little direct voice in the formation of public policies that affect his relationship with the seller. An individual buyer may occasionally rise in righteous wrath and take something back to the store. But most likely he or she keeps his or her gripes to himself or herself or shares them with a couple of neighbours. Occasionally he or she may be sufficiently outraged by a dramatic exposure or a scandal, such as high drug prices, and join in a public demonstration.

There are notable instances of consumer organisations and actions for specific purposes, as in the co-operative movement. But the consumer, as a political force, or as a member of a group that makes itself felt as an influence on public policies affecting consumer interests is conspicuous by his absence. A consumer may be invited here and there only as a matter of grace, but not as a matter of right. He has no direct representation in the Government itself and the Government too has no specific department which looks after the consumer interests.

The Kennedy Move

The late President Kennedy of the United States sent to the Congress the first Presidential Message in history on a "Consumers' Protection

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and Interest" programme in March 1962. The Message proposed a forthright "Bill of Rights" for the consumer with the following major points:

(1) *The Right to Safety* : to be protected against the marketing of goods hazardous to health or life.

(2) *The Right to Be Informed* : to be protected against fraudulent, deceitful or grossly misleading information, advertising, labelling or other practices and to be given facts needed to make an informed choice.

(3) *The Right to Choose* : to be assured, wherever possible, access to a variety of products and services at competitive prices, and in those industries in which competition is not workable and Government Regulation is substituted, an assurance of satisfactory quality and service at fair prices.

(4) *The Right to Be Heard* : to be assured that the consumer interest will receive full and sympathetic consideration in the formation of Government policy and fair and expeditious treatment in its administrative tribunals.

But, to most consumer groups, President Kennedy's proposal was a disappointment. The arrangement was for neither a special Consumer Council nor a Department of Consumers. Instead the President directed that a 'Consumer Advisory Council' be set up by the Council of Economic Advisers.

President Johnson of the United States recently remarked in a Message to the Congress : "As a worker, as a business man, as a farmer, as a lawyer or a doctor, the citizen has been well represented but, as a consumer, he has had to take a back seat. That situation is changing. The consumer is moving forward. We cannot rest content until he is in the front row."

President Johnson followed this up by proposing the formation of a Committee of Consumer Interests consisting of representatives of a number of Government agencies along with consumer interest programmes. This Committee will have a direct liaison with the President. Statutory authority for a full-time paid Consumer Council and staff is a further objective.

If an advanced country like America, where the citizens are better educated and more aware of their rights, realises the importance of consumer satisfaction, it is high time our own Government paid attention to this important aspect of citizens' rights.

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Beginning in India

The Planning Commission, it is gratifying to know, has made a first move in this direction. A Working Group has already taken a decision to organise a National Consumer Service. This Service is to be operated through non-official voluntary organisations, and the Bharat Sevak Samaj is playing a leading role in its development. The objectives laid down for the National Consumer Service are :

(i) Organisation of consumers' councils at the national, state and district levels ;

(ii) Promotion of a consumers' co-operative movement ;

(iii) Research into consumer problems ;

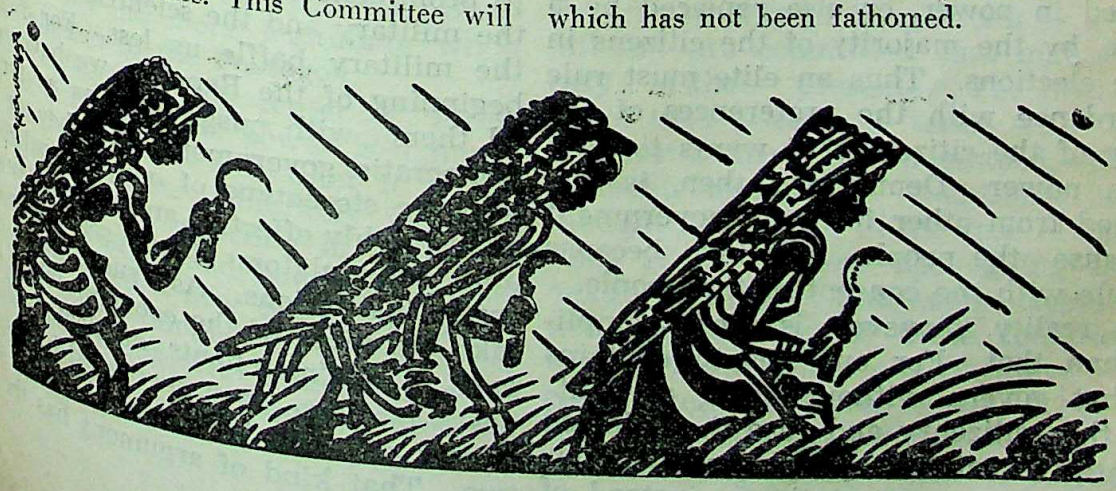
(iv) Market intelligence, price collection, case studies in consumption patterns, in factors contributing to price fluctuations, hoarding, artificial scarcity, transport and other bottlenecks, licensing procedures, permit system, controls etc. ;

(v) Training of social and other workers in consumer research, consumer contacts and consumer difficulties ;

(vi) Quality control, investigation of methods of prevention of adulteration:

(vii) Prevention of malpractices in trade—weights and measures, etc.

Consumer education, however, remains the basic point because, unless the consumer realises his responsibilities and rights, he cannot have an effective voice. Consumer power has a potential which has not been fathomed.



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Foreign Periodicals

Democracy Analysed

The following book reviews from the **Saturday Review** indicate a new viewpoint for surveying democracy in the U.S. By Hans J. Morgenthau, Albert A. Michelson Distinguished Service Professor of political science and modern history at the University of Chicago.

Who governs us ? Most certainly, it is not the people, you and I and the man next door. We do not participate in the decision as to whether the war in Vietnam should be expanded, continued on its present scale, or liquidated, or whether the Civil Rights Bill should contain a public accomodation clause and how far it should go. "Government by the people," in the sense in which democratic folklore thinks of it, is an illusion, and it has always been one, short of the rare instances of direct democracy where the Aristotelian requirement of face-to-face relations among the citizens could be fulfilled. Men have always been governed by elites, that is, by minorities who have special claim or a special ability to govern.

What distinguishes a democratic elite from others is its responsiveness to public opinion. In a democracy, the ruling elite is confirmed in power, or else replaced by a new one, by the majority of the citizens in periodic elections. Thus an elite must rule in accordance with the preferences of the majority of the citizens if it wants to keep itself in power. Democracy, then, is distinguished from other forms of government not because the people rule but because elites rule with the consent of the people.

The reality, however, is more complicated than that. For our society contains elites that govern without being accountable to the citizenry and use the elected representatives of the people to do their bidding. These representatives, instead of being responsive to the preferences of the people, become the tools of hidden or half-hidden rulers, and the democratic process becomes distorted and corrupted.

Traditionally, we have considered certain economic interests to be our hidden rulers. In the nineteenth century it was the bankers, the utilities, the railrods, and the "trusts" in general. Since the beginning of the twentieth century it has been an article of faith among us that our Latin American policy has been "dollar diplomacy," i.e., determined by and pursued on behalf of private commercial interests. (How often have I not been asked, with the expectation of an affirmative answer, whether our Middle Eastern policy was determined by the oil interests !) After the First World War, it was the "munitions makers" and the House of Morgan, for the sake of whose investments our government was supposed to have intervened in that war. Fascism and Marxism have elaborated on the theme, and it is a basic tenet of their philosophies that parliamentary democracy is a sham manipulated by economic forces for their interests. The "warmongers of Wall Street" have become standard equipment in communist propaganda.

In our day, two new elites have risen to prominence, baffling and disquieting us: the military and the scientists. Of the two, the military baffle us less. For from the beginning of the Republic we have regarded them with misgivings as a threat to democratic government, and they fit easily into the stereotype of our political folklore as the highly effective and virtually unassailable manipulators of our seemingly democratic institutions. As such, they simply take the place of the economic elites of the past. The "merchants of death" of forty years ago have been succeeded by the "purveyors of death" or a combination of the two. That kind of argument has the addi-

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tional advantage of requiring but a minimum of intellectual effort. You just substitute one devil for another, and while you cannot tell what to do about him, you have at least the satisfaction of knowing who he is.

Tristram Coffin's The Passion of the Hawks: Militarism in Modern America (Macmillan, $5.95) and John M. Swomley, Jr's The Military Establishment (Beacon $6) embrace the "devil" theory of the military. Coffin does it with unrestrained gusto, while Swomley looks at the military with the distaste and the premonitions of the pacifist. Neither author seems to be aware of the similarity of his method of argument to that of all witch-hunters, whether of Right or Left: to personify unintelligible and unmanageable substantive problems and to generalize from isolated experiences. Some retired officers indeed play a prominent role in ultra Rightist organizations, as do business men, dentists, and ministers of the gospel. But what of the retired generals and admirals who have served successive Administrations faithfully and effectively in high civilian positions? And what about the overwhelming majority of retired officers who are Republicans or Democrats like the rest of us? What can be proven by Mr. Coffin's list of members of Congress who hold reserve commissions in the armed services, whom he characterizes as "the leaders of the Pentagon's loyal legion on Capitol Hill"? Anybody who knows anything about Congress will realize that most of the real militarists are not on that list, and that many of those who are included can by no stretch of the imagination be so classified. In a word, the methods used a decade ago to discredit the State Department are no more legitimate when they are applied to the Pentagon.

The Pentagon as the center of unrestrained and irresponsible power is a myth. What the Pentagon is and what it is not Jack Raymond makes admirably clear at the level of factual reporting in **Power at the Pentagon** (Harper and Row, $6.50). The military are indeed a new center of power, due to new international and technological conditions, competing with other centers of power, old and new, for the determination of the policies relevant to its tasks. But, far from being a single-minded colossus, it reflects within itself the same variety of philosophies and policy commitments that characterize American opinion in general. There are advocates of preventive war and of disarmament and of all kinds of strategies and tactics within the Pentagon, as there are without. The determination of policy within the Pentagon is a result of the same kind of pluralistic competition and conflict that we find in the Department of State, Congress, and American society at large. And, most importantly, the arbiter of these contests is not a military man but the Secretary of Defense and, ultimately, the President of the United States.

Contrary to popular assumptions, the power of the military **vis-a-vis** the civilian centers of power has steadily declined in recent times. It reached its apogee during the Second World War and the immediate aftermath, primarily because of the vacuum that existed at the top of the civilian hierarchy. Professor Samuel P. Huntington, in the fall 1963 issue of **Daedalus**, has called attention to the factors responsible for the decline of military influence since that time. Today civilians determine military strategy and the allocation of resources among the armed services. To give only two recent examples, both the multilateral seaborne nuclear force and the extension of the Vietnamese war to North Vietnam have been devised and prompted by civilians outside the Pentagon.

Why, then, is it that the image of the military as the sinister rulers of America persists in our consciousness? Aside from the traditional mistrust of the military referred to above, it is, so it seems to me, the irrationality of the policies to which the military are committed that makes us uneasy in their presence. The man in the street tries to come to terms with the paradox, felt rather than understood, of his government wedded to traditional modes of thought and action in the face of the conditions of the nuclear age calling for novel modes of thought and action commensurate with the novelty of those conditions. He witnesses an enormous military machine consuming every year about 10 per cent of the gross national product for the purpose of preventing a war which, if waged, would

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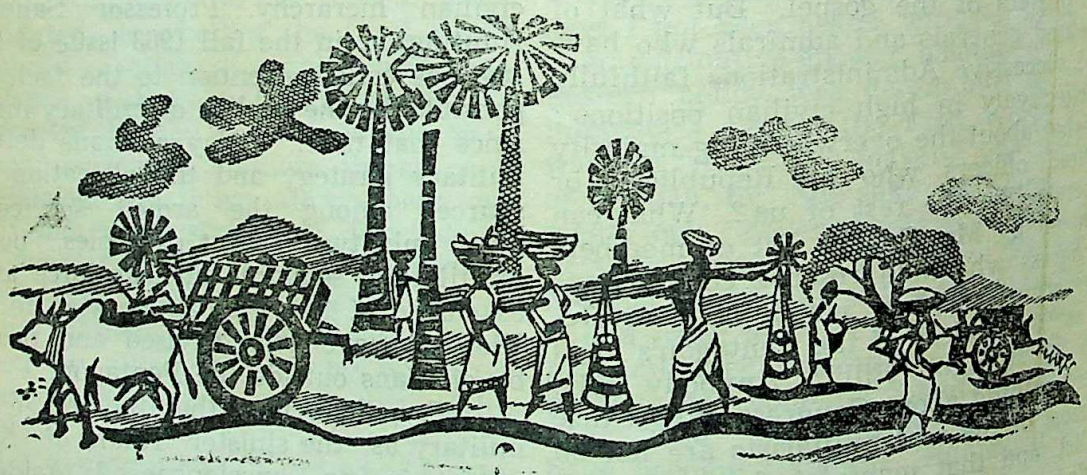
destroy us all. Unable to understand the historic reasons for so enormous an undertaking of such staggering irrationality, he unloads his resentment upon the military, holding them responsible for what he fears.

A similar incomprehension marks our attitude toward the new scientific elite, only that attitude is one of awe and deference rather than resentment. We tend to take it for granted that scientists decide, by virtue of a monopoly of competence, what weapons or delivery systems we shall develop and what kind of space policy we shall pursue. The man in the street tends to regard the scientist as the guardian of the **"arcana imperii,"** the secret remedies for public ills. Thus the scientific elite is surrounded with an aura of both infallibility and secrecy, a kind of priesthood endowed with a monopoly of truth.



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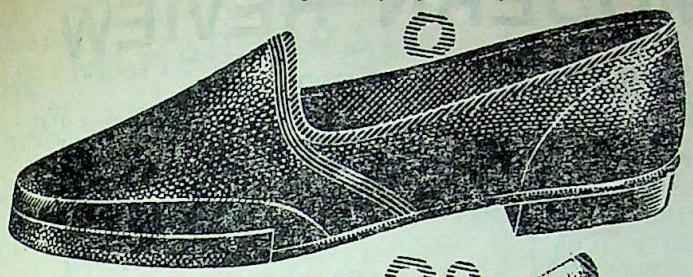

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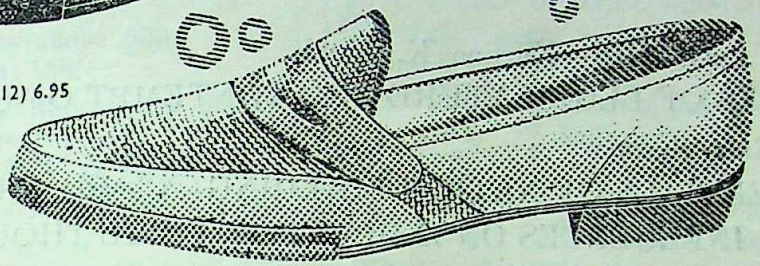

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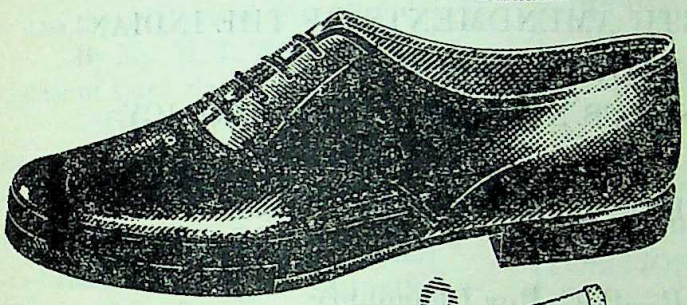

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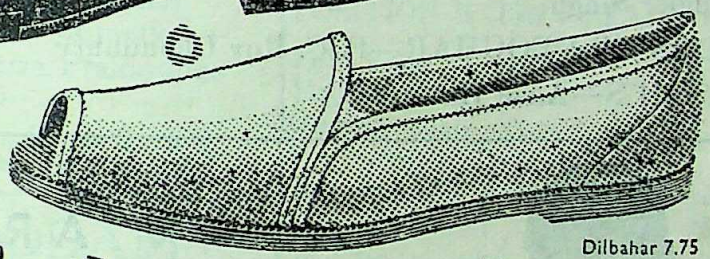

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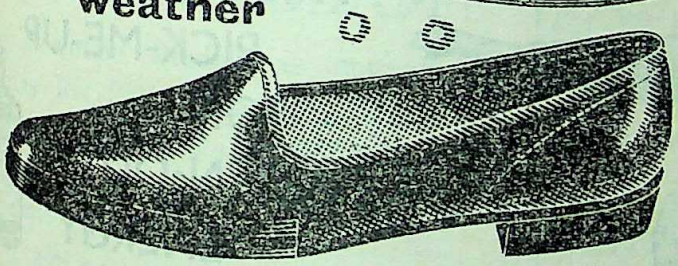

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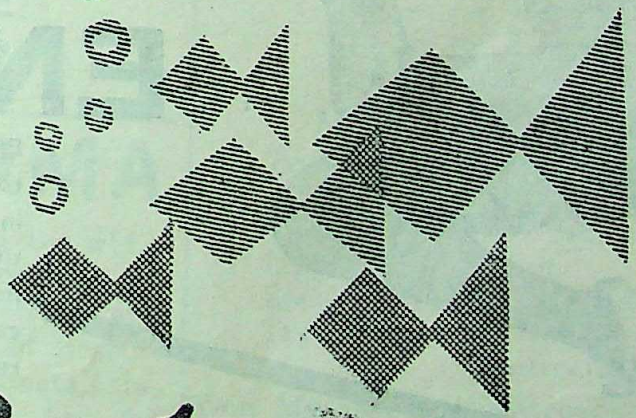

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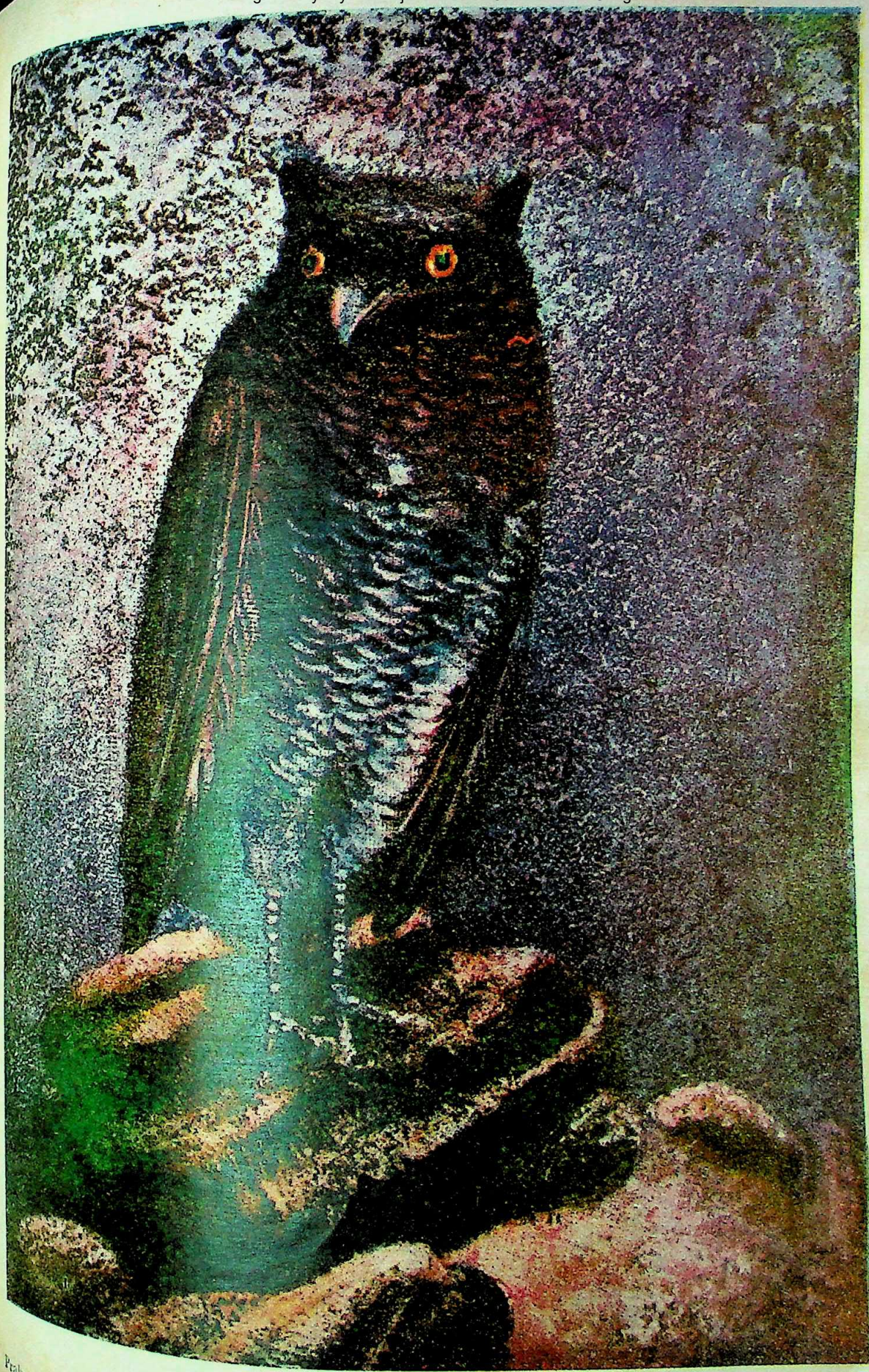

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THE MODERN REVIEW

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AUGUST 1964

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NOTES

The World

Last month was chiefly remarkable because of two Conferences, one in London and the other at Cairo. The first was the eighteen long Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, which was a meeting usually attended by the Heads of State or the Chief Executives of eighteen countries from all over the world that are included in the membership of the Commonwealth. It is called The Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, but this year, apart from the Presidents of Pakistan, Ghana and Tanganyika and Zanzibar, India's Finance Minister, the Foreign Affairs Minister of Cyprus and the Deputy Prime Minister and Finance Minister of Jamaica represented their countries in place of their Prime Ministers. The other twelve member countries, Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Ceylon, Malayasia, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Trinidad and Tobago, Uganda, Kenya and Malawi—known as Nyasaland, a part of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nagaland in Central Africa, prior to independance—were represented by their respective Prime Ministers. Malawi became independent on July 6, 1964, and attended the Conference from July 9, after admission to the Commonwealth membership was acceded to by the other members on July 8.

Amongst the African States the two propositions most vehemently put-forward were that of economic sanctions and arms-embargo against South Africa and that of denial of the grant of independence to the South Rhodesian State unless the existence of sufficient representative institutions were assured and the elections were conducted on a straightforward basis of equality amongst all the peoples of Southern Rhodesia, irrespective of colour or creed. No definite steps were agreed upon regarding South Africa beyond the vague condemnation of the policy of apartheid. In regard to South Rhodesia, Britain assured the other Prime Ministers that the British Government would not recognize any unilateral declaration of independence and that the existence of sufficiently representative institutions would be made a condition precedent to the grant of independence.

Pakis an tried to "sell" amity and peaceful intentions for and on behalf of her newly found Soul-mate, Red China, but without any success. She was successful, however, in scoring a tactical point in her propaganda campaign against India, thanks to the crass ignorance of our Finance Minister in such matters and the total lack of alertness and gumption as displayed by his advisers from the External Affairs division. The Parliamentary circles at New Delhi were much exercised by the inclusion of a paragraph in the final Communique issued after the conclusion of the Conference, which ran as follows :

"The Prime Ministers noted with satisfaction the friendly public statements by the President of Pakistan and the Prime Minister of India and expressed their hopes

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that the problems between their countries will be solved in the same friendly spirit."

The paragraph immediately following the above contained a veiled offer of "mediation" by member countries,—which could become a menace in the hands of those skilled in diplomatic legerdemain—which however was qualified by a clause containing the provision regarding the acceptance by the parties concerned of such mediation.

The President of Pakistan and his Foreign Minister did their level best to bring the question of Kashmir into the discussions of the Commonwealth Conference. This was too obvious a move, even for our representatives, who firmly opposed it. Failing that the supporters of Pakistan's absurd claims against India, brought in the above supposedly innocent statement. The further move for mediation, which would have given the wily British diplomats a handle to lever India out of her firmly based position has been partially stalled as indicated above.

In any case it has been amply demonstrated that the present British Government is prepared to aid her erstwhile henchmen of Pakistan in every way in her nefarious attempts to make India's stand on the Kashmir question intolerable in the comity of nations, despite the fact that Pakistan's claims are untenable. Our representatives cannot escape censure for being so unwary about the implications of such masked attempts to put Pakistan's totally unjustifiable claims and contentions on the same level as India's undeniably just rights.

The "friendly public statements" of the President of Pakistan are luridly contrasted by the continuous armed raids by Pakistani armed forces across the "Cease Fire" line in Kashmir. These grossly hostile acts are being "supported" by Pakistan by brazen lies accusing India of such violations and by trying to pass off the incursions of her armed forces as acts of self-defence. We know the truth; the U.N. observers have openly given their verdict against Pakistan; so there can be no question about the British and the U.S. Governments being well aware of the truth, and then comes this blether about the "friendly public statements" in the Final Communique!

There were many other items on the agenda for discussion and a few that were not on the agenda cropped up in the course of discussions. The only item worthy of note was that of examinining the possibilities for the establishment of a Commonwealth Secretariat, "which would be available inter alia to disseminate factual information to all member-countries on matters of common concern; to assist existing agencies, both official and unofficial, in the promotion of Commonwealth links in all fields, etc. etc.....This secretariat, being recruited from member-countries and financed by their contributions, would be at the service of all Commonwealth Governments and would be a visible symbol of the spirit of co-operation which animates the Commonwealth."

The other Conference was that of the Organization of African Unity, and was held at Cairo. This meeting, also known as the African Summit, was the second of its kind and was attended by the heads of 32 African States. Prominently absent was any delegate from the Congo. It was proposed by Congo that the recently appointed Prime Minister Moise Tshombe would represent that state. Morocco's King Hassan and Algeria's President Ben Bella telegraphed that they would not attend the Conference if Moise Tshombe, who is regarded by many Africans as an imperialist stooge, showed his face at the Summit meeting. When this was intimated to the Congolese authorities, they refused to send any delegate at all to the Conference.

What transpired at this Conference or Summit meeting is not fully known because the final session, on July 21, was held in camera. The actual Conference, which started on July 17, was preceded by a two-day meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the attending States to prepare an agenda and to have draft resolutions ready for the heads of States. The financial details of the budget of the Organization of African Unity have caused headaches.

This O A U is the pet project of Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia and the stability

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that this legendary figure of royalty has given to his 3000 year old Empire, has provided a foundation to the project of which the first meeting was held at Addis Ababa, the Capital of Ethiopia.

In his opening address on July 17, President Nasser laid stress on the four dangers threatening African countries: (i) disappearance of leaders, (ii) loss of popular drive (iii) slowing down of liberation movements and (iv) return of imperialism. He also cited the U.S. Civil Rights Law as being a very important measure which deserved an important resolution at the African Summit. He said the result will not be in the letter of the law but in the spirit and that is why the UAR prefers to define a spirit rather than a Constitution.

According to some observers at the meeting, it was apparent that while Arab Africans have identified themselves with Black Africans in their grievances such as racialism, there is no clear sign of any reciprocity forthcoming from the latter. Of course in theory some, like the President of Ghana, think of much wider ideals, such as an unified continental Government with a common President and a common central secretariat. But in actuality nothing tangible seems to be in the offing. It is evident that as yet the political interests of northern African States and that of the Sub-Saharan and Central African States have not come to any common focus. The North African States are far more politically conscious, where the population is concerned.

This Summit Conference also discussed South Rhodesia and South Africa and they discussed the Portuguese African territories where Portugal is still practising Colonialism of the most virulent type, suppressing all aspirations of the peoples of those areas with brutal repression. She does this because she feels safe so long as Britain and the U.S.A. give her tacit support. All references to her colonial possessions she rejects under the cynical claim that those areas are extensions of continental Portugal!

There were speeches galore, even an 85-minute speech by Philbert Tsiranana, President of the Malagasy Republic who remarked "All I hear is blah, blah, blah. We all talk too much and we must purge ourselves of this disease." One of the few that were to the point was that of President Nyerere of Tanganyika-Zanzibar who attacked Ghanaian President Nkrumah's proposal for a Federal African State. He described the proposal as being a "series of absurdities" and likewise cynical and ridiculous. He also accused Dr. Nkrumah of refusing to support the African Liberation Committee out of petty jealousy and of unjustly branding Tanganyika with the stain of imperialism. The points made by President Julius Nyerere are given below from report in **The Statesman:**

Making a fervent plea to drive "Portugal out of our country," Mr. Nyerere said Africa was strong enough to do so, but fine words alone would not do. They caused greater harm to the prestige of Africa if not followed up by action, he said.

Mr. Nyerere began his attack by noting that Dr. Nkrumah's failure to support the nine-nation Liberation Committee, formed last year at the Addis Ababa Summit to co-ordinate aid to African "freedom fighters," was because Ghana was not included on the committee.

"This is a petty position, which prevents an African country from contributing funds to our suffering brethren in Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea." Mr. Nyerere said.

Criticizing Ghana for its lack of respect and concern for the rest of Africa, Mr. Nyerere quoted Abraham Lincoln to the effect that "you cannot fool all the people all the time."

He said Tanganyika was totally committed to African unity, but "it has not been given to human mortals to simply wish something into existence. Unity would have to be achieved step by step. What is needed is more practice of unity and less preaching about unity," Mr. Nyerere said.

Speaking of the recent Commonwealth Conference in London and of Britain's pledge not to give independence to Southern Rhodesia until the African majority controlled the Government there, he said: "We left the conference convinced that necessary action will be taken."

In his remarks on Portugal, Mr. Nyerere pointed out that while Britain recognized that she had colonies in Africa, Portugal refused to admit her colonial position in Africa. "Portugal claim

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she extends into Africa. Thus our talks here are not to persuade Portugal to take action which would lead her colonies to independence. Our task is to persuade Africa, to persuade ourselves, to take necessary action to free Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea."

Mr. Nyerere said that Dr. Nkrumah had at first opposed and described efforts to form an East African Federation as Balkanization, which should be resisted. But now he (Dr. Nkrumah) cited as examples in support of his plea for a united Africa the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union, which had started with the union of a few States, joined by more States later.

He also differed with Dr. Nkrumah on the very conception of African unity. He ridiculed the idea of a Union Government of Africa with none of the States losing its sovereignty.

To have a Government of Africa, said President Nyerere, there should be a single State, and the essential attribute of a national State which had an international personality, was sovereignty. This meant that component parts should surrender their sovereignty to it, for then alone did it become a sovereign State.

Mr. Amilcar Cabral, leader of the nationalist guerrillas in Portuguese Guinea, said bitterly that African assistance to his movement had been weak and inefficient.

He proposed a programme of organized assistance to refugees fleeing across the borders of embattled territories and called for the issuance of special travel documents to exiled political leaders to permit them free movement around the world.

The report of the last days of the Conference was vague because the closing session was held in Camera. It runs thus:

Cairo, July 21.—The African summit tonight called for effective boycott of both South Africa and Portugal and specifically suggested the barring of passengers to and from South Africa travelling by ship, aircraft or any other means of transport, from passing through the territories of the member countries.

It appealed to all oil producing countries to stop as a matter of urgency their supply of oil and all petroleum products to South Africa.

An official spokesman said all African countries except one or two will attend the second non-aligned conference.

It is understood the conference—whose closing session was being held in camera today—decided to set up a body to co-ordinate measures to boycott South African goods.

It is understood that the creation of a special committee to go into the question of an African Union Government, which Ghana wanted set up immediately, is to be considered by the various conference commissions. The special committee will study President Nasser's suggestion to set up such a Government stage by stage, steadily increasing co-operation among the African nations, particularly in trade.

M. Diallo Telli, Guinea's Chief permanent U.N. delegate and Chairman of the U.N. Special Committee on Apartheid, was appointed permanent Secretary-General of the unity organization, according to official sources. The conference also voted to hold the next session at Accra, Ghana.

The conference decided to send a memorandum to the secretariat of the organization of Afro-Asian countries requesting that the next meeting of those countries—a second Bandung conference—be held in Algiers. No date for this meeting was given by conference sources but it is understood to be tentatively scheduled for early next year.

In conclusion we may remark that the London Conference of the Commonwealth's Prime Ministers clearly indicated how India's case is going by default through the crass obtuseness of our External Affairs Ministry. The fact that in International Politics—whether you call it Real politik or well politik—efficient machinery for counter-propaganda is a **must** and likewise that for propaganda. Regarding Africa, it is evident that Emperor Haile Selassie has at least enabled the new African nations to look realities of today in the face—with both eyes open.

In the United States race-riots flared up in the North, where the racial issues have not been so actute as in the Southern areas. The whole area of Harlem, the quarter where the Negro population of New York has been segregated so to say for the last 6 years, erupted into a wild frenzy of riots following the apparently wanton killing of a 15 year old Negro boy named James Powel by a dimwitted Police-lieutenant

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named Thomas Gilligan when he chanced on a side-walk brawl in which teenagers were mostly involved, while he was off-duty. The accumulated resentment against the unfair and sometimes inhuman treatment meted out to these Cimmerii dwelling in the richest city of the world over the years, has exploded into wild rioting in New York and Rochester, a city lying 250 miles to the north-west of New York. It is a sad and tragic interlude between the passing of the Civil Rights Law and the acceptance thereof by the white majority.

The U.S. has got fully involved in the fight to clear South Vietnam of the Viet-Cong guerillas who have stepped up their offensive now that the monsoons have converted the land into a chain of morasses. More military "advisers" have been sent from the U.S. with full equipment and the campaign is being stepped up. Red China has threatened that she will not be a silent spectator if the campaign spreads into the territories of North Vietnam. Meanwhile the South Vietnamese have started an agitation for the "liberation of North Vietnam, which has the tacit support of the heads of the new regime in South Vietnam led by its Premier, General Nguen Khanh, which has placed the U.S. Government in a dilemma. General De Gaulle has repeated his declaration that the only way out of the problems facing the countries that were the territories of the former French Indo-China, can be attained by the "neutralization" of the entire area. He has not mentioned how the "neutral" status is to be maintained in the face of Red China's aggressive expansionism, and the U.S. has refused to accept the proposal therefore.

U.S. papers term this new declaration of De Gaulle as another step towards his plan for discrediting the U.S. But as yet they have not stated their opinion regarding a similar attempt by a much lesser man, namely President Ayub, who on a similar occasion to capitalize on the involvements and distractions of the U.S. Government, recently met the Turkish Premier Ismet Inonu and the Shah of Iran, Mohammed Reza Pahlevi, at Istanbul. The participants said it was a purely economic and cultural confabulation, but the political significance was plainly visible in the contradictory statements by Ayub and the other two participants.

But the most ominous situation of the present-day is at Cyprus.

The island of Cyprus, particularly in the areas where the Turkish Cypriots are faced by armed Greek terrorists, is in a state of brooding hostility, the active intervention of the U.N. peace force on many occasions having prevented a flare-up on a mass scale. The U.N. has sanctioned the presence of U.N. troops for another three months from the end of June, but there is little evidence of the U.N. negotiations coming to a successful conclusion.

The little island of Cyprus with an area of 3572 sq. miles and a population of 580,000 is by itself hardly important enough to cause World-wide anxieties or tensions. But it is of vital import where the Western Bloc of powers are concerned because the conflict between the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots has caused intense repercussions in the respective homelands of the peoples of the opposed parties.

The Greek Cypriot majority, which forms four-fifths of the population desires union with Greece, whereas the Turkish moslem minority numbering about 100,000 resists this movement and as a consequence has been subjected to organised violence from well-equipped and trained terrorists of Greek origin, who are bent on either subjugating or on totally annihilating them. Turkey is only 40 miles from Cyprus and naturally the Turkish Government and the Turks of the mainland are deeply concerned at this organised slaughter and destruction perpetrated by the Greek Cypriots. There is a clamour in Turkey for armed intervention and that movement has been reflected violently in Greece. Things are ominously moving towards an open armed conflict between Turkey and Greece, which would lead to the disintegration of the vulnerable South-eastern flank of the NATO. This in its turn might lead towards the creation of a situation that would be very advantageous to the Soviet Union.

The U.S. Government is deeply con-

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cerned over this critical turn of the situation. President Johnson has sent a clear message that there must be no war over Cyprus and that the U.S. is prepared to take certain measures to prevent hostilities between the two countries. The Turkish Premier Ismet Inonu and the Greek Premier George Papandreou have both visited Washington at the invitation of the U.S. President. The results are indeterminate as yet so far as a lasting settlement is concerned. For despite the intervention of President Johson, Greece and Turkey are both infiltrating armed forces and arms into Cyprus. And to cap all, Archbishop Makarios, the natural dictator of Cyprus, has appointed General Grivas, who conducted the bloody underground war against Britain prior to the island's liberation, supreme chief of the irregular and regular armed forces of the Greek Cypriots.

The latest news indicate that in Greece itself orders have been issued to concentrate Greek armed forces in Thrace, along the border of Turkey, and the navy has also been ordered to be ready for action. Turkey is also clearing for action according to some reports.

Incidentally Turkish resentment against the U.S. "stems"—to use an Americanism—from the lack of all-out backing from the U.S. in their dispute with Greece over Cyprus. Similarly Iran is "unhappy" because the U.S. has cut off aid from some extravagant forms of economic projects. And these are the tensions that President Ayub has tried to utilize in the Istanbul meeting—which was very transient as the three disgruntled ones departed to their respective domains within twelve hours of their arrival at Istanbul. Ayub's resentment is the fiercest as he thinks that the U.S. "betrayed the alliance" when it gave "military aid" to India after the Chinese invasion. This aid, however limited, gave China some food for thought about the consequences of a prolonged war in which she would not get any munitions or military equipment from the Soviet Bloc. This coupled with the prospect of prolonged war at long distance and over very difficult communications with a determined and united India, made her call a halt. Pakistan, which had evidently assured China that she would effectively block any military supplies flowing to India from her "allies," in return for the privilege of playing jackal to the Chinese tiger, is fiercely resentful being thus baulked—as she imagines—of her share of the "loot."

The three are strange bedfellows indeed! Pakistan is holding on to that part of Iran which the British grabbed on the plea of safeguarding their talegraph lines and renamed it Baluchistan. This is the Pakistani territory where some of the worst atrocities have been perpatrated by the present regime in Pakistan. And Iran and Turkey, why, even Haji Baba of Isfahan termed the Sultan of Turkey "the Khonkhor", the "Blood drinker"!

Meanwhile Indonesia is stepping up the guerilla warfare against sparsely populated Malayasia, which has a total population of 10 millions against Indonesia's 110 millions.

Food Grains, Oil-seeds and Unaccounted Money

The powers-that-be, at New Delhi, Calcutta, Bombay and at most State headquarters, seem to the awakening to the fact that some few hundreds of possessors of "Unaccounted Money" are "playing with the lives" of a few hundred millions of the nation's peoples. We find that such awareness as yet has not led to much beyond vague threats against the principals in this evil conspiracy, though action of a sort has started in New Delhi with regards to hidden hoards of food grains, particularly wheat. We are told that some 90,000 maunds of foodgrains have been seized there in one day's drive, chiefly through information being given by the people of Delhi. The hoards were not in warehouses or grain storage godowns but were mostly stocked in out-of-the way places in residential areas clearly indicating the evil intent of the hoarders.

Together with this piece of news, we were given the report of some 550 Jan Sangh workers starting a "24 hour fast" in the capital as a protest against "what the

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called the Government's failure to check the rising prices. We are also informed that 600 workers had gone on a similar fast on the previous day on the same issue. We confess that we are not at all that much impressed as we would have been if these very same "workers" had helped the police to unearth those hoards of food grains. But we hope that some popular movement will start to persuade our custodians of the common man's life and property to tak5e drastic action against such anti-social and illicit organizations of evil minded persons, and that action would be directed against the principals and not their toools or henchment.

The Union Food Minister Mr. C. Subramanium is reported to have remarked, on being told that his threats against hoarders etc. were being pooh-poohe'd by Big Business, that "we mostly hiss, but we can bite" or something to that effect. We only wish he could prove his statement by an actual case on a Big shot of the Underhand Gang with the Unaccounted Money bags that is carrying on with this evil conspiracy. We have used capitals in the previous sentence because the Big shots we have in view are not those who provide the capital—in the crores of crores for these underhand transactions.

We find that the term "unaccounted money" is being used by the Ministers at the Centre and the States. We are well aware of the meaning of the phrase "tojour de politesse" but although we deem it only proper that our Prime Minister, Chief Ministers, Home Ministers and Food Ministers should eschew impolite language, still we think that it is carrying matters too far when money obtained through illicit channels by underhand means is called "unaccounted money" in this fashion. Fraud is fraud and moneys obtained by creating artificial shortages, inflated bills and short deliveries of inferior goods and other dishonest means and hidden away to evade taxes should not be called "unaccounted money" or any other fancy name. The Food Minister is justly accused the possessors of such "black" moneys of being the prime movers in the conspiracy to defraud honest people by raising prices of vitally necessary food grains etc., to unconscionably high levels through creating artificial shortages. At Bangalore on July 29, while speaking at the Indian Labour Conference, Mr. Subramanium said : in spite of the country having this year produced three to four million tons of foodgrains more than last year, such a critical situation had been brought about. It was, therefore, the duty of the Government to see that the whole of the hoarded quantity was made available to the community. This was a task facing the Government today.

The stocks held by the traditional trade was very little and so the stocks must be somewhere else. "We find that generally producers, particularly bigger producers, have stocks in villages. By themselves to hoard it is not possible. It is only with the combination of traders that stocks are being held by producers. In this, unaccounted money also comes into the picture."

It was easy to trace the hoarded stocks by enforcing the Defence of India Rules. But one should see why the stocks were being held on. This was with a view to amassing wealth during lean months. That was why the Government was thinking in terms of removing this temptation of hoarding stocks by the fixation of maximum price.

Mr. Subramaniam said administration of the price policy was also necessary. Therefore the Centre was impressing on the State Governments the necessity of having an efficient enforcement machinery.

The Government had prepared the ground for taking action against hoarding and profiteering.

The problem was a national problem and should be tackled in a national way so that the needs of hungry millions were met.

Food debates were going on in several States at the time of writing these. In West Bengal Assembly, on July 30, the Chief Minister Mr. P. C. Sen is reported (Hindusthan Standard) to have announced a number of "very bold measures" to assure the members that the Government was not "going to be a silent spectator in the present food crisis."

The proposed measures are : State trading in foodgrains on a large scale from

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early next year; introduction of full rationing in the Calcutta industrial area and its extension to all urban areas in the districts; and bringing the deficit rural pockets under Modified Rationing. There was also a possibility of the Government taking over the entire output of rice mills all over the State and also of direct procurement of paddy from cultivators, Mr. Sen said.

Outlining the steps already taken for effectively controlling the rice price, Mr. Sen informed the House that the Government made two simultaneous drives, one against the hoarders and the other against the profiteers all over the State particularly in and around Calcutta. "This is how we have met and are still meeting the challenge thrown by the hoarders at all stages," said the Chief Minister.

In his prepared statement, which was circulated among the members long before the two-day food debate began the Chief Minister dealt with all aspects of the price situation to explain the need for controlling the rice price in order to lessen the pressure on the prices of other essential commodities.

For commodities which come to the State from outside the Government was moving the Centre for fixing selling prices in the supplying States, Mr. Sen said adding that the Government had successfully moved the Reserve Bank of India for restricting bank advances against mustard seeds and mustard oil.

But the people's patience was being tested to the point of breaking, and in opening the debate after the Chief Minister's statement a C.P.I. "leftist" member deplored the Government's complacency when profiteers were flecing the people. Hoarding, he held, was at the root of the present food crisis and alleged that the Government was nursing the vicious circle of hoarders and profiteers for raising funds. Strangely enough, we are constrained to say, this member's statement fairly reflected the consensus of public opinion!

We say "strangely enough" because usually representatives from that brand of politics indulge in statements that either magnify molehills into mountains or else they pass off foreign anti-Indian propaganda as the undiluted truth. But in this particular instance the public has begun to express its exasperation at the extreme inadequacy of the executive action against these "anti-social" elements which is in strong contrast to the thunder of the brave statements by our Minister. The Police and the Enforcement departments are doing their best when these "anti-Socials" are hauled up before the benevolent gentlemen who are there to dispense condign punishment to them, the public finds that the punishment is very far from being drastic or deterrant—indeed it is farcical most of the time!

It is about time our Chief Executives woke upto the fact that even the elder and thoughtful sections of the public are beginning to think that the only explanation of this knock-kneed and lackadaiscical procedure adopted by the Government to check the **criminals**—"anti-social" is an inadequate expression—and to bring their leaders to book lies in large-scale corruption, that must have spread beyond all reason, both in the Congress and in the administration and that "party-funds" etc., are just shields to hide corruption in the Congress itself.

And what about "Unaccounted money"? The Government has been treading the easy and slippery path downwards while dealing with these fraudulent financiers. The procedure followed by the Central Cabinet after the findings of the Varada Chari Commission on tax-evasion was handed over to it, was lax to the point of criminal negligence of duty. It is true that the Cabinet was dominated by persons in those days, who had very poor and inadequate ideas about such things as dealing with corrupt financiers and crooked businessmen. But were they so unaware of their obligations to the nationals of this country as to under-estimate the danger of letting such large scale fraud go not only unpublished but left in possession of their ill-gotten gains for ten, fifteen or twenty years? Those were the periods of time given to those found guilty of tax-evasion to repay the amounts they had evaded payment and over those years these moneys and the profits accrued thereon have brought about the present—crisis.

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Current Affairs

By KARUNA K. NANDI

PRICES AND THE FOOD CRISIS

II

We offer no apology for reverting to the subject of prices and the continuing food crisis so soon after discussing the matter almost threadbare in these columns only in our last month's issue. For one thing, our apprehension that the feeble measures said to have been agreed upon between the Centre and the States discarding the earlier more vigorous programmes of the Union Government, would not be able to make the slightest dent upon the situation which, it was universally acknowledged, was critical enough as it was, and might, conceivably, even worsen further has proved, in the meanwhile, to have been all too prophetic. Government, as yet, seem to be still groping about in the dark with a problem the essential nature of which their apparently feeble intellect and imagination seem to be unable to realistically comprehend and assess. They are also, apparently, far too apprehensive that their administrative and enforcement resources would be far too weak to effectively deal with a fast snow-balling situation of very titanic dimensions.

One could hope for some eventual result if, however, there was perfect unanimity of thinking on the essential nature of the problem and the measures which could be expected to deal with it, between the Centre and the States. Apart from seeming to hold the Centre responsible for making up deficiencies in supplies of food grains to which the Centre, in their turn, appear to have committed themselves at the last Chief Ministers' Conference, the State Governments seem to be determined to go about the business in their various and varying ways. Even at the Centre there does not seem to be any very sustained co-ordination between different Ministries that are vitally concerned in the problem; thus, for instance, the Finance and the Food Ministries seem to be pulling somewhat in opposite directions while the Agriculture wing of the Union Food and Agriculture Ministry appears to have been contributing fresh elements of panic to a situation which has already been seriously muddled and confused by playing down the figures of crop yields last year while at the same time playing up the figures of minimum food grains consumption requirements to widen the gap between the two. Thus, it is now averred that total food grains production in 1963-64 has not been of the order of 81 million tonnes as earlier announced but was actually 79 million tonnes, or 2 million tonnes less than earlier envisaged. The country's minimum requirements have been assessed at 90 million tonnes at the 1960 level of consumption, disclosing a deficit of 11 million tonnes. Of this some 6 million tonnes could be covered by imported food grains by, running through, in the process, the entire amount of the Government's buffer stocks, leaving a net deficit of 5 million tonnes. Funnily enough, with a gross production in the country during the previous year of 76 million tonnes, supplemented by imported grains of a gross quantity of 4 million tonnes, the country's requirements appear to have been fully and more or less satisfactorily met. In any case, the price of edibles, especially that of food grains, did not rise to the present critically high levels then! There must be something fundamentally and, we apprehend, wilfully wrong in these glib dealing out of statistical data by the Government agencies. They may, perhaps, seek to offer some sort of an explanation for the Government's failure to hold the price line, but they do not, we are afraid, reflect the truth!

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Edible Prices : A Facet Of A Larger Problem

Even at the risk of having to repeat ourselves, therefore, we must reiterate that the present crisis in food prices—and supplies—in the country is a reflection, necessarily to a far more obstreperous degree than in the other sectors of the economy, of the larger problem of fast spiralling inflationary pressures on the price structure which would appear to have assumed a considerably accelerated momentum since last year when the suddenly supervened requirements of considerably widened defence efforts caused a great deal of money to be pumped into the economy in addition to the already widening employment of funds related to the Third Plan investments and propressively spiralling expenses of administration. When the Chinese invasion was launched in October 1962, we clearly visualized the eventuality and suggested the formulation of an immediate tax budget to mop up, as far as possible, the inevitable effect on the price structure of the huge Government outlays on defence that would be unavoidable in the circumstances. The then Union Finance Minister would not, however, listen to counsels of wisdom and caution, even though our suggesions in this behalf were supported by a school of eminent economists who, in a statement issued exactly eleven days after our recommendations were published in these columns, reiterated what we already had to say on the subject. Even when the Union Finance Minister eventually formulated his tax budget some four months later—truly described as an unprecedently massive one—the manner of formulating the same followed lines of least resistance in easy revenue gathering and contained inherent inflationary potentials which were all too quick in yielding the most undesirable results in a corresponding acceleration of the general price pressure of which the present food crisis has been an inevitable and a far deeper symptom.

Plan Outlays And Failures

What has quite apparently contributed to a further aggravation of the situation in this respect has been the outstanding failures, now frankly and officially admitted, of Third Plan implementation. The gaps between investment and implementation of related Plan projects have been far too wide to admit of any other description and the element of wasteful employment of funds in addition would seem to have been very substantial indeed as would be clearly reflected in the slow utilization of foreign aid leaving quite a wide gap between appropriations and utilization. All these have been additional factors in the pressure build-up on the price structure that have, in progressive stages, contributed to the emergence of the present situation.

One does not deny that a certain amount of inflationary pressure is an inevitable corollary of a heavy and rapid development programme entailing the creation of a wide-based key industries sector where the time lag between investment and production yield is somewhat longer than elsewhere and where, moreover, the employment potential causing corrsponding dispersal of purchasing power, is severely limited. But care has to be employed to ensure that his inevitable inflationary pressure is not allowed to get out of hand and establish a vicious spiral or else the very process of development will itself be bound to become correspondingly attenuated in its achievements. According to the famous Prof. A. C. Pigou of Cambridge, while a 1 per cent inflationary outcome in a rapid developmental process involving the creation of a wide-based structure of capital-intensive key industries might be regarded as inevitable and quite legitimate, anything beyond a 2 per cent inflationary incidence must be regarded as both a galloping inflationary situation and would be bound to prove materially retarding to the developmental process. In a recent pronouncement, Mr. Chasher Bowles, U.S. Ambassador to India, was reported to have opined that those that hold that in the hurry to arrive at the take off stage of development any underdeveloped country could completely ignore the claims to balancing development of consumer industries, would be bound to reap the bitterest harvest of galloping inflation and retarded growth. It

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must be recognized that the growth process cannot be accelerated beyond certain paces which must be set by the environmental conditions of the economy as a whole without seriously inviting the risks of a sudden break-down of the process in mid-term. That is exactly on the brink of where we appear to have arrived at the present time.

Agricultural Shortfalls

And one of the most important factors in any massive developmental process is agriculture which must keep pace to maintain the dynamics of development. Agriculture, until recently, has been the most neglected department of our developmental efforts so far. According to a recent statement by a member of the Planning Commission, investment in agricultural development upto and including the Third Plan has comprised a little less than 10 per cent of total Plan investments. Progress in agricultural development in the third Plan except during the current year has been virtually negative. Some improvement appears to have since been achieved, especially in terms of the harvest yields of the 1963-64 crop season. But this appears to have been more the fortuitous gift of a kindly season than the yield obtained from planned developmental efforts. This view of the fact would seem to be underscored by the recently voiced official wish that the seasons may be kinder still and that food grains yeild during the coming harvest may exceed last year's by some 5 million tonnes or else the country would be faced with an even worse crisis than now. We do not, however, accept the present official version of food grains deficits in the country, although it must be admitted that the yields have only just been marginally adequate without leaving any sizeable surplus to fall back upon in a bad year. The position, admittedly, does need to be corrected with as much expedition as the employment of scarce resources and skills and concentrated human effort may permit, but there is no reason to doubt that the present price crisis has not, most definitely, emerged as the result of a deficit in physical supplies so far as available resources are concerned, but by an artificially boosted scarcity which has been made possible by the general price situation in the country.

Unaccounted Money

We said a great deal about how that unaccounted sector of not openly discoverable or employed money in the economy appears to have been operating to create a critical level of pressure on food grains prices far beyond the levels in the general over all price situation in the country which also is undeniably too high. It is not possible to arrive at any substantiable estimate of the actual size of this money market, but some idea of its undeniably very large size would be indicated by certain factors. **Legitimate money,** if we may be permitted to use the expression in the present context, cannot be employed in the present conditions of the money market and in view of the the monetary and fiscal disciplines of the State for speculative operations beyond certain comparatively nominal extents. In West Bengal, for instance, the official estimates of monthly rice consumption is placed at an aggregate of 400,000 tonnes or roughly 4,800,000 tonnes for the whole year. The joint yield of the **aman** and **aus** crops at the last havest has been officially and finally estimated at a gross 5,200,000 tonnnes. In addition there have been imports from Orissa and some subventions from the Centre. And, yet, within the first four months of the last harvest, all rice appears to have more or less wholly disappeared from the market. If the State has consumed all of the estimated 2,000,000 tonnes of locally produced rice within the first 5 months of the harvest, ignoring, of course, the quantities received from Orissa and the Central Government, there should still be a balance of 3,200,000 tonnes left within the State. Assuming that as many as 20% of our cultivators have ample resources to indefinitely hoard stocks and assuming further that between them and self-consuming cultivators account for even as much as 50% of this balance stock of rice, something like 1,500,000 tonnes, must have gone into concealed hoards in the State. To finance such a stock something like very

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nearly Rs. 100 crores would have to be employed. And rice is not the only commodity subject to such speculative hoarding. Sugar (perhaps only to a very limited extent now), pulses and grams, mustard and other edible oils, and various other kinds of edibles, all enter into the process. To finance operations in these fields in West Bengal alone something like Rs. 200 crores would have to be employed and this money would not certainly be available from the legitimate credit channels? And there is, of course, the rest of the country where much the same thing has been happening. It is essential to force out this money into the open without delay. Various suggestions have been made towards such an end. One was to declare an amnesty to the tax-dogers and profiteers if they will come out in the open. This is not likely to entice them. One eminent daily newspaper suggested that this money should be made "less active by more production and by reducing wasteful expenditure" which would, likewise, seem to be a mere counsel of perfection. The only way is to completely freeze it. It should be possible to unearth huge stooks of consumable commodities with a little more purpose and honesty of application than Government appear to have been capable of so far. One prime requsite may have to be to widen the field of concurrent powers of the Central Government. The need may be a little distateful but unavoidable in present circumstances. Otherwise Government's very bona fides must be seriously suspect.

Assessment of Essentials

In the interest of clarity of understanding and an appropriate assessment of the true and essential nature of the problem, therefore, it is necessary to realise that the present crisis in the supply and price situation relating to essential edibles is not just an isolated or a self-exclusive single-factor problem. It is a facet, undeniably a most vitally important facet, of the more wide-based and over-all problem of prices and we have endeavoured in the foregoing paragraphs to as clearly and objectively state as possible, the causes which, in our view, have primarily contributed to the emergence of the present price crisis. Its symptoms have, naturally, assumed far deeper accents so far as the price structure of edibles are concerned simply because they are far more vulnerable than other consumables and consequently, far more easily susceptible to speculative price pressures. The fact should be easy to understand when regard is had to the fact that even under a normal price situation, for more than eighty per cent of the country's population, food alone absorbs well over seventy to seventy-five per cent of their total disposable income. The additional pressures on the price of edibles compared to the general price levels are, undoubtedly, man-made and artificially engineered, but the conditions enabling such deliberate and substantially additional pressures on edible prices to be generated—in this connection it is necessary also to take note of the interesting and unprecedented fact that in the present instance it has not merely been food cereals like rice and wheat which have been registering the pressure but that it has, in more or less degree, spread out over all kinds of edibles leaving nothing out; this would seem to reflect a new pattern in price speculations: when the pressure is laid upon cereals in the largest measure the most vulnerable sections in the community are the primary victims, the country's poor, comprising well over sixty per cent of the population; but when this pressure spreads out to cover other edibles like edible oils, fish, meat, eggs, greengrocery of all kinds etc., it should be regarded as evidence that the tentacles of the price speculators' avarice have been foraging upwards for the blood of comparatively more affluent (less poverty-stricken should, perhaps, be the more appropriate expression!) victims—are without question derived from the general price situation in the country. The factors which have, in our view, been primarily responsible for the present galloping inflationary pressures on the general price structure have been reiterated in fairly extensive details in the foregoing paragraphs. There have also been certain other additional factors which have considerably added to the pressure.

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Wages and Prices

One of these has been the pricing poli- es followed in the public sector as well as e policy which seeks to link wages with e cost of living index. In a large area of blic sector enterprizes—in pricing policies llowed in state-owned public transport stems for instance—compensation is often ught to be achieved by upward revisions wages and by correspondingly raising e price structure. This inevitably vitiates r possibility of ever arriving at a level of bility and only ends in establishing a icious and endless spiral by each of these ogressively contributing to further corres- nding rises in the price level. The recent ditional compensatory dearness allow- ces granted by the Central Government certain categories of their employees, ough not quite fully linked to price es, has been another similar case in nt. Similar expedients have also had be employed in wide areas of the private tor, all of which have had the result of ating corresponding pressures on prices. is absolutely essential that prevailing ies in this regard—these are more indi- ve of a negative escape rather than that a vigorous and positive policy in this nection—are re-examined and fresh licies framed to enable the present vicious iral to be broken at some point or other. the present spiralling inflation has en completely dislocating the basic social jectives of planning and development is ely without qusetion and this, more an anything else, in fact more than a mbination of all other factors together, s been materially responsible for the ogressively increasing concentration of nomic gains and corresponding economic d political power—and this latter is of more crucial importance—which is ng so widely deprecated. If the infla- nary spiral is seriously intended to be oken, fresh policies in respect of wages st be evolved which would have the ect of obviating the need to provide netary compensation to the wage earners cushion the impacts of rising costs of ing. Needless to add that the primary attack must be concentrated upon obviating the various basic causes that have been obviously creating the continuing pressure on prices.

Long And Short Term Measures

As already indicated, a variety of measures would need to be evolved and formulated if the present situation has to be effectively dealt with. One of the primary needs in this connection would, obviously, have to be more realistic endeavours than hitherto, in development planning. Apart from the essential and urgent need to correlate plan investments more ralistically with actual implementation enabling investments to be more adequately and expeditiously reflected in production yields within pre-specified time limits, there must also be more realistically balanced adjustment of priorities as between different key producer industries, between capital-intensive key producer industries with their usually long periods of gestation before capacity production-yields can be expected and their comparatively low employment potentials and the more quick-yielding and comparatively labour-intensive consumer industries with their higher immediate employment potentials, as well as between industry as a whole and agriculture. That priorities have obviously been all wrong so far would be evident from the fact that there is a substantial and continuing lag between already laid down industrial capacity and their full utilization on account of lack of adequate power to fully operate them. There is, likewise, a still continuing although fortunately considerably reduced lag than before between production and transport capacity to move the produce. Similarly, while industrial production in the key producer sectors has registered a fairly steady improvement, especially during the Second Plan, progess in consumer industries has been far behind creating inevitable inflationary pressures and progress in agricultural production has only been marginal, thereby contributing additional substantial pressures on the economy generally over successive

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plan periods and which has eventually yielded to the present overwhelming speculative pressures that have now emerged in the nature of a national crisis. Only by a thorough and courageous revision of priorities—to own up and correct past mistakes and defaults inevitably calls for a certain measure of courage and boldness—could a trend of balanced development be inaugurated and this is a need which, we feel, cannot be repudiated without the risk of jeopardising the very fundamental bases of development planning. Alongside of these measures policies must also be formulated to obviate the inflationary pressures inhevitably generated by other important factors. The taxation structure has long needed constitutional revision and those elements in it with obviously inflationary contents eliminated. This can only be done, it must be conceded, in progressive stages and over a period of time. But a beginning has to be made without undue delay which calls for a thorough re-examination of the entire field of taxation potentials in he country as well as a re-statement of taxation objectives, not merely of targets alone. Taxation is not, it has to be recognised, a mere exercise in expedient revenue gathering but has certain well defined and specific social and economic objectives to gain in the context of national progress and well being. That the present taxation structure does not, even remotely, contribute to the achievement of these latter ends hardly needs any iteration. Government spendings, it should be noted in this context, which have increased overwhelmingly, need to be severely curbed in the non-developmental fields and which would appear to have a direct and substantial bearing upon the current inflationary situation, should be more appropriately related to real resources. Above all, as we have already emphasized, unaccounted money must, anyhow, be forced out into the open and its speculative operations completely immobilized, preferably by complete freezing.

Price Incidences

But these are measures which, of necessity, will take time to appropriately and wholesomely formulate and apply. In the meanwhile, so far as the essential consumable sector in the economy are concerned—and the highest priority must naturally be accounted to food grains and other essential edibles—immediate and effective measures have become imperative to enable the present alarming situation to be dealt with. We have long visualized that immediate administrative measures alone—imaginatively conceived and ruthlessly applied—could deal with a situation which is as paralyzing in its immediate impact as loaded with disastrous future social and economic potentials. Unfortunately, there has been every indication that until only about two months ago, the Government, both at the Centre and in the States, have continued to delude themselves that left to itself, what is generally and rather vaguely described as "market forces" would lead to an eventual adjustment of the situation. That there was no ground at all for such criminal complacency should have been obvious even to a casual observor, let alone to a responsible Government, by a look at the price indices over the last 12 years. Official computations of the price indices have never been known to realistically reflect, to the fullest extent, the upward movement of prices. Nevertheless what these indices have been demonstrating should have been alarming as they were. The index of wholesale prices shows that since 1952-53 the general wholesale index has moved up, until June this year, by 44.1 per cent. The index was higher by 27 per cent in 1962-63 and rose by a further 9.5 per cent to 36.5 per cent over the year between 1962-63 and 1963-64. Between March 1964 and June 1964 the index has risen further upwards by 8.1 per cent to 44.1 per cent above that of the base year in 1952-53. But the price movement in the food sector has been even more phenomenal. In 1962-63 prices generally in this sector were 26.1 per cent higher than in 1952-53, and a year later they had increased further by 15.5 per cent. By June this year further increases in this sector were evidenced by as much as a further 13 per cent. The breakdown of this increase would be still more instructive: compared to 1952-53 annual averages, prices

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in June this year were higher, in cereals, by 30.3 per cent, pulses by 37.1 per cent, milk and vegetables by 77.6 per cent, milk and ghee by 38.3 per cent, edible oils by 76.7 per cent, fish, eggs and meat by 54.9 per cent and sugar and gur by 92.3 per cent. What, however, is far more significant and on which no indication would be available in the official index is that these wholesale prices do not, even remotely, reflect the actual incidence of price movements at the retail level which is, in effect, the actual consumption level, where the situation, if realities were to be acknowledged, would be found to be even more strangulatingly alarming. In West Bengal, for instance, officially there is no acknowledgment of the fact that rice is nowhere available at officially fixed ratail or wholesale prices and that restricted and clandestine back-door transactions are passed off at anywhere between 60 and 100 per cent above official prices. Accusations in this behalf have been known to draw the glib and patently hypocritical demand by the Chief Minister that the name and particulars of the dealers concerned should be made available to him to enable the Government to deal with the offenant trader.

New Government Measures

The Union Government have, however, done something to break the long continuing official complacence in this behalf. All that the measures so far enunciated would seem to indicate is that a certain measure of awareness of the extreme gravity of the situation would seem, at long last, to have dawned upon Government. As for immediate results, we are afraid, not a great deal can be expected for. Nor does there seem to be any awareness of the fact that the present crisis in edible prices is essentially related to the over-all inflationary situation in the economy and any rational and long term solution will have to be sought by a wholesale attack on the problem of inflation as a whole and the myriad evils that flow therefrom. It has to be acknowledged that the immediate results *ad hoc* administrative measures had become inescapable. Those that have been formulated are :

1. The price structure for the Southern zone will be fixed before the month is out and for other States later ;

2. A state trading corporation in food grains will operate from next January enjoying a monopoly of railway movements to enable handling of inter-State and long distance trade. The obvious implication is that this projected State corporation shall be a parallel state owned organization to supplement the existing trade organization and will not hold a monopoy of the food grains trade ;

3. All controls on gur mouements have been removed ;

4. A committee is being appointed to examine the problem of the entire sugar industry; its first concern shall be to devise a suitable price and distribution pattern for the coming season ;

5. Government will import 100,000 tonnes of soya bean oil to cover shortages in edible oils ;

6. An *ad hoc* expert committee under Mr. L. K. Jha's Chairmanship is being appointed to work out producers,' wholesalers' and retailers' prices of food grains for the coming season ;

7. A long term technical committee to be appointed to study production costs and various other factors involved in fixing producers' prices.

The question of abolishing existing wheat zones, as pressed by some States, especially Gujerat and Maharashtra, would be reviewed at the next season.

Rationing, described to be more or less indiscriminate at present at fair price shops, would be reorganised on the basis of household identity cards.

The basic nuances of this new food policy, apart from the measures detailed above would be demonstrated by "handsome compliments" paid to West Bengal for "the heroic manner" in which the state was said to have been endeavouring to enforce maximum prices. Obviously Mr. Subramanium has been speaking with his tongue in his cheek when he said this for even to a casual observor it should be patent that the West Bengal Government's endeavours in this behalf have, so far, been a complete and dismal failure. This may be taken also as indicative of the continuing complacence of the Union Government on this crucial matter.

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Half-hogging Measures

The measures as detailed above demonstrate only a half-hogging attempt by the Union Government to deal with the situation and is not, most definitely, indicative of any consistent determination to tackle it effectively at the very roots. Several conclusions inescapably emerge :

1. That stade trading will only be a parallel measure and the present subservience to the demands and exactions of the trade will, by and large, continue ;

2. That ample time will be allowed between now and next year when State trading is intended to go into operation, to the trade to further vitiate supplies, as it well may, to complicate an already complex and involved situation ;

3. That the accent on pricing policies will be the profitability of production and trade and not on the consumers' ability to pay ;

4. That the new measures will depend, primarily, on the discretion of the individual State Governments for implementation and that the concurrent powers of the centre will not extend over State discretion to enunciate and enforce a uniformity of policy and action ;

5. That partial or modified rationing only with certain adjustments will continue as at present and there will be no attempt to introduce total rationing except in selected areas of certain states at the discretion of the latter Governments. This will mean, obviously, that consumers, by and large, will have to continue to depend on the open free market substantially for their essential mininum supplies. Partial State trading, as seems to be contemplated would, therefore, seem to nerely seek to influence free market prices and supplement supplies available there.

Patently these are only half-hogger measures and, we apprehend, judging by past experience, that these may not, in the end, do a great deal to correct the present dismal situation. The trade has not, we must reiterate, behaved in a manner so far to justify any confidence in it, nor to merit the obvious concessions to it that are inherent in the measures now announced. On the other hand, the ability and the efficiency of State Governments to effectively deal with the problem have already been proved far short of minimum wholesome requirements and it would seem to have been neither honest nor demonstrative of an intelligent imagination on the part of the Union Government to have left so much to their discretion. Frankly we are disappointed with what has been announced. There should have been complete take over by Govrnment of the entire trade in edibles and the administration of distribution should have been informed by a uniformity of policy and action throughout the country under direct Central Government responsibility and their own enforcement machinery. There is not a great deal, obviously, that would thus seem to have been gained and the position may, we apprehend, remain much as it has been upto date.

The two-day food debate in the West Bengal Assembly, as we go to press, has done nothing to assure us that things are likely to be any different than we apprehend On the basis of some 43,000 quintals of rice and 194,000 quintals of paddy, seized or requisitioned, the West Bengal Chief Minister—who himself assesses hoarded stocks of rice in the State at 1,200,000 tonnes (and the seized and requisitioned stocks between April and July 27 represent in terms of milled rice only about 6,000 tonnes !)—boasts that his Government are meeting the challenge of the hoarders. It is inconceivable that given the determination and the efforts these hoards could not be unearthed and frozen. One is almost inclined to believe in the popular suspicion that Government, with another general election only a little more than 2 years ahead, have been placed between the horns of a dilemma, to seriously deal with hoarders and jeopardise a most important source of their election finance ?—Or by allowing the present crisis to continue to, perhaps, forefit the peoples' votes ? They should realise that mere make believe mock heroics will completely fail to delude, any longer, a hungry and distressed people !

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PRIVILEGES OF LEGISLATURE AND CONTEMPT OF COURT

By Sri RAM SHARMA
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In the current wranglings about privileges of the legislature and contempt of court the basic issues seem likely to be forgotten. Both seem to stem from the notion that the dignity of the one or the other has been offended and therefore amends—and satisfactory to the institution offended—must be made. One is often reminded of the claims put forward by the despots in the past who claimed to be the state if not more than the state. An offence against such majesties—**lese magestie**—was a heinous crime and had to be seriously put down as treason.

But it seems to be forgotten that as they emerged—the priveleges of the legislature and the courts formed a serious breach in the claims of the despots. The judges and the legislatures raised another majestic figure to contend against the claims of their royal majesties. The judges claimed that in the interests of the realm, they had to interpret and expound the law—and a law above the throne. The Commons claimed to speak on behalf of the Commonalty of the realm. Thus both based their claims as essential in the interests of the common man.

Privileges of the legislature as well as those of the judiciary must therefore be judged in the final analysis by their effectiveness to serve the common man. Both seek to serve him, one by maintaining the rule of law, the other by redefining and relating from time to time what the law is. It is but natural that claims to privileges of one group may occasionally come into clash with those of another. Whatever the law—and the law is never clear in any case of conflict of laws—the issue must be finally decided by finding out how best the overriding interests of democratic government would be served.

Whatever else a democratic government may denote, it must always remain government by open challenge and function as such. All its institutions, all its ways of doing things must remain open to challenge. An argument must be answered by another argument and not by standing on one's alleged status. The claims both of the legislature and the courts to function unhindered and independently must be judged by finding out if and how far the hindrances complained against threaten to weaken them as instruments for performing their vital functions and not simply by dubbing such hindrances as crimes against the new 'majesties'. As the Supreme Court has put it, 'every citizen possesses the right of fair and reasonable criticism in respect of public acts done in the seats of justice'. 'It is not by stifling criticism that confidence in courts can be created'. 'A (disparaging) statement can be punished as contempt (by a court) (only) if its publication is calculated to **interfere** with **due** course of justice or proper administration of law by such court'. 'But a defamatory attack may be a libel so far as the person attacked is concerned'. In such cases the question of contempt does not arise. However, 'it would be open to the person attacked to proceed against the libellor in proper action if he so choose'.

What is true of courts is true of legislatures as well. The privileges of the English House of Commons derive from its being at one time a part of the High Court of Parliament. The right to punish contempt is based in both cases as essential to their performing their proper functions well and effectively as instruments of democratic government. The legislatures must, therefore, concede 'the right of fair and reasonable criticism' to every citizen and group of citizen, 'with respect to public acts' and strike only when 'the publication of the disparaging criticisms is calculated to interfere with due course of' its proper functions or the proper making of laws. They must

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also remember that 'it is not by stifling criticims' that confidence in their proper working can be created. Distinction must also be made between the contempt of the house and the libelling of one or more members thereof.

These considerations apart, the Constitution laid down that until the privileges of the legislatures are defined by law, they would be what the privileges of the House of Commons were on the commencement of the Constitution, 26 January, 1950. This is a statement of law—of constitutional law—even though it be vague. It is the duty of the courts to interpret this law like all other laws. The Constitution does not take its interpretation out of the purview of the courts—as it does that of the covenants and agreements with former rulers of princely states and chiefs. But the Constitution does more than require the courts to interpret this provision of law. Having made a general statement about the privileges of the legislatures, it goes further and abridges these privileges as so defined by other positive enactments. The privileges of the House of Commons include the right to determine its own composition. The Speaker issues warrants for the election of a new member in a casual vacancy, the House determines 'disputed returns of election' by its formal vote, it adjudges whether any of its sitting members has incurred a disqualification rendering him unfit to sit in the House. The Constitution of India makes specific provisions for deciding election petitions; it places the right of adjudging a member unfit to continue to sit in a legislature in the ceremonial head of the Union or of the State acting on the advice of the Election Commission; the conduct of elections vests in the Election Commission. Thus there is apparently a conflict between the provision of Articles 105 and 194 which define privileges and Articles 329, 324, 192 and 103 which make provision for abridging privileges as defined in Articles 105 and 194. But it is clear that the Constitution did not intend its definition of parliamentary privileges in Articles 105 and 194 to be its final say in the matter. The Election Commission, the Governors and the President, and the Election Tribunals have been, under the Constitution, discharging functions which under Articles 105 and 194 the legislatures could have claimed were their privileges. The legislatures have acquiesced, as they were bound to under the Constitution, in whittling down of their own privileges because the Constitution itself had whittled them down.

This brings us up against the claim that the legislatures alone are judges of their own privileges as the House of Commons is sometimes alleged to be. But even the House of Commons is not always the final judge of its privileges. If on a breach of privilege having been found by the House, the Speaker issues a warrant for the arrest and the warrant states the nature of contempt, high judicial authorities assert that it is competent for the aggrieved party to seek legal redress and if the court finds that on the face of it the legislature has gone beyond its jurisdiction, the court may enquire into the matter.

This is true even where Parliament is sovereign. It suggests that limitations on the exercise of its privileges by a legislature functioning under a written Constitution open to interpretation and enforcement by courts would be much wider. We have seen above that the Constitution has taken away some of the privileges which the legislature could have exercised under Articles 105 and 194. Obviously the legislature in claiming privileges must reconcile the claim with other provisions in the Constitution. In case of disputes the question must be settled by the judiciary. The legislature cannot be a judge in a clash between, for example, the President and itself or the Election Commission and itself. Its claims to privileges is based on a provision in the Constitution but so are their rights to perform functions entrusted to them by the Constitution.

In a written Constitution, such as that of India, a legislature cannot thus be the final judge of its privileges. Its functions stand defined in the Constitution and it must be kept restricted to them—as the Constitution intended it should be—only by the judiciary. Indeed the Constitution has specifically provided that courts may hold even the most august exercise of the legislative functions

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an Act assented to by either the President or the Governor, invalid. The English courts cannot hold an Act of Parliament invalid. Parliament is sovereign. The moment it is grasped that the Indian legislatures are not sovereign and must act in conformity with the provisions of the Constitution, their claim to be the final interpreter of the validity of a minor instrument of their function by a resolution, dissolves into thin air. The very articles which equate their privileges with those of the British House of Commons, now stipulate that the legislatures would define their privileges by law—by one or more Acts. The Constitution of India lends no support to the claim that if such Acts were passed they would be beyond attack in courts. In defining its plenitude of power under the Constitution, the Supreme Court has held that even the provision in the Constitution that the result of an election will not be called in question except in an Election Tribunal, does not stand as a bar against its granting the aggrieved party special leave to appeal against the determination of an Election Tribunal. The right to determine a disputed election—a parliamentry privilege thus has been annexed by the Supreme Court. The High Courts have also been dealing with the matter. It is illogical to expect that howsover fully the legislature defined its privileges by law, they would be placed beyond the reach of the Supreme Court under Article 136. Under a written constitution privileges of the legislature can be exercised only under judicial supervision.

When the right of the courts to enquire into claims for privileges under the Constitution of India is thus conceded, the courts have to put the claims so made against all other provision of the Constitution. Ignoring other provisions for the time being, we have the chapter on fundamental rights. Here the Constitution emphatically declares that the right to move the Supreme Court by appropriate proceedings for the enforcement of the rights conferred by this part is guaranteed! Naturally this implies that it cannot be abridged in any way. Earlier it has been explained that the rights are guaranteed against invasion by the state 'including, the Government and Parliament of India and the Government and the legislature of each State'. Obviously Parliament or State legislatures cannot, in any way—'by order, rule, regulation, custom or usage purporting to have the force of law' abridge fundamental rights. The legislatures are thus deprived by the Constitution not only of the right to deermine disputed elections and questions of disqualifications incurred by their members as these have been otherwise provided for, they cannot so assert their privileges as to abridge the fundamental rights guaranteed to a citizen including the right to move the Supreme Court in a case alleging such invasion. Putting aside Article 136, the Supreme Court cannot shut its doors against a citizen who claims his fundamental rights have been invaded by the state, the legislature in this case. Of course it can grant relief only if such invasion or abridgement is proved to its satisfaction. Then alone may it interfere with the assertion of its alleged privileges by a legislature. It can refuse the writ, it cannot bar its doors.

The approach to High Courts does not seem to be guaranteed as a fundamental right. But if this means anything, it can be countered by the assertion that neither are privileges of Porliament or state Legislatures. The privileges are defined in portions of the Constitution dealing with Parliament or the State legislatures. They are none the less as effective as all other provisions outside the chapter on Fundamental rights. Now the Constitution provides that every 'High Court shall have power, throughout the territories in relation to which it exercises jurisdiction, to issue to **any** person or **authority** directions or orders for the enforcement of fundamental rights'. The grant of power here to the High Court cannot be read out of the Constitution in any way. But it may be argued that though the power is granted to the High Court to issue such writs, at least so far as privileges of the legislature defined elsewhere in the Constitution are concerned, no right **to approach** the High Court is either assured much less granted. It is true that in interpreting another provision of the Constitution, Article 321, the Supreme Court made rather a dubious distinction between obligations

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thrown on an authority and the right of the citizen to have that obligation enforced so far as it applied to him. But the distinction arose because the authority being under an obligation to act in a particular way had not so acted. The Supreme Court held that a citizen had no remedy if the authority did not act in the prescribed way even though the language of the decision seems to suggest that the authority need not discharge the obligation at all. But here the High Courts have been willing to act, their discharging this obligation when so moved by an aggrieved person has been sanctified in case after case by the Supreme Court. A citizen, it may be asserted, has the right **to move** a High Court praying for a direction to an authority—the legislature—not to abridge his freedom of person. Filing a petition in a High Court **stands** approved by the Constitution as so far interpreted by the Supreme Court. What is permissible under the Constitution cannot obviously result in subjecting a man to any pains and penalties because some one feels offended. The judges have the power to issue a direction, it would be stultifying if the authority to which the directions could be issued had the power to threaten the judges with dire consequences if they did so. But no such grant of power can be derived from the Constitution. It is wiser than even its framers intended it to be'.

But the finality claimed by the British House of Commons for its interpretation of its privileges is justified in common law by its having been a court at one time—or at least part of a court. Its claim is based on the analogy that 'courts (in Great Britain) do not check each others in committal for contempt'. Whatever the state of the law of contempt of court in Great Britain today, in India courts **do** check lower courts in to committal for contempt. The Supreme Court has been expounding the law of contempt of court mostly in judgments in special leave against decisions of the various High Courts, this notwithstanding the fact that the Constitution declares that a High Court is a court of record and competent to punish its contempt. Just as the provision that the High Court is a court of record has not stood in the way of the Supreme Court's anxiety that justice should be done, the provision defining privileges of the legislatures so as to include the right to punish for contempt cannot obviously stand in the way of the Supreme Court's reviewing the exercise of this power by the legislatures which are not sovereign.

It may be argued that this applies to the Supreme Court alone. True, but it puts an end to the doctrine that under a written Constitution, such as ours, the legislatures can aspire to be final judges in matters of their contempt when the Constitution does not say so. In fact Article 136 of the Constitution vests in the Supreme Court the right to grant special leave to appeal from any judgment or determination or orders in any cause or matter passed by any court or tribunal! It may be argued that the legislature is not mainly a tribunal. Neither is the Government or a Minister entirely, mainly or always a Tribunal. But the orders of Government and of Ministers at least when effecting rights of citizens adversely have been considered orders of a tribunal in appeal and so dealt with. Particularly in cases alleging infringement of fundamental rights—included in any matter of Article 136—the Supreme Court has dealt with all adjudicatory decisions as being those of either tribunals or courts.

'But deeper consideration are also at stake' in this as they once were in another case before the Supreme Court. The question whether to function properly a legislature under a parliamentary government has and must assert an inherent right to punish for its contempt without outside restraint must also be answered. The legislature does not act indepently in a parliamentary government, it is subject to control by the government. The government can bring a refractory legislature to an untimely end. The uncurtailed right to punish for contempt could be used by a majority to stifle criticism outside the house—the British House of Commons used its power to determine return of election to keep out obnoxious persons, even though elected and had to stop render thereupon the effective right of determining such election. The legislature is a creature of the electorate. To keep governm

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ment by open challenge alive it is imperative that the legislature should not exercise the right to punish for its contempt without outside judicial control. If the functioning of the High Courts as instruments for dealing out even handed justice has not suffered by the assertion of the Supreme Court's right to review their decisions in contempt cases, there is no ground to fear that judicial review of the legislature's decisions in such matters would produce any evil effect.

On the other hand democratic government would be impossible if the courts were expected to administer justice under the supervision of the legislature. The rule of law is the bedrock of democratic government. It is endangered whenever the legislatures attempt to oversee the judiciary. Our Constitution expressly forbids the legislatures from enquiring into the conduct of the judiciary in the discharge of their functions. How else could then the question of their contempt be decided by a legislature if it were to honour the constitutional prohibition against bringing such conduct in debate in the house? It would be preposterous to suggest that any public authority is ensuring democratic process when it defies the Constitution so that its own fancied privileges may not be diminished, howsoever little. Intention may be good but the road to despotism—as to another equally undesirable place—is paved very often with good intentions.

FIVE ESSENTIALS OF NATION BUILDING

By CHESTER BOWLES,
U.S. Ambassador to India

In the eighteen years since the end of World War II more than one billion and a half people in Asia, Africa and Latin America have embarked on an unprecedented adventure in nation building.

The objectives of this effort are broader than the building of roads, the growth of industries and the production of more food. By and large they have been characterized by a sense of social purpose which is remarkable in itself.

With few exceptions the emerging nations which have won their independence and carried out their domestic revolutions have done so in the name of the universal values of personal liberty, racial equality, and the broad sharing of the benefits of development.

Although these values are often neglected in practice, they constitute a basic commitment which, I believe, reflects the deepest aspirations of a vast majority of the world's people.

This commitment is so genuine that even totalitarian governments with scant regard for individual rights feel obliged to pay homage to it as a matter of political necessity. One example is Mao Tse-tung's cynical acceptance in 1954 of the Panch Sheel as the future basis for Indo-Chinese relationships; another is Chou En-lai's endorsement of the liberatarian principles of Bandung in 1955.

In addition to their common vision of the future the newly independent peoples face many common problems. For instance, almost all are poor. They have had little or no access to the benefits of scientific technology. Almost all are undernourished. Many are ill. Few are able adequately to educate their children.

Yet overriding these awesome difficulties is their fierce determination to *improve* their condition. The historian Arnold Toynbee underscored this point in a recent article. "Our age will be remembered," he wrote, "not for its horrifying crimes or its astonishing inventions but because it is the first age since the dawn of history in which mankind dared to believe it practical to make the benefits of civilization available to the whole human race."

The economics and politics of development, once of interest only to scholars, have now moved

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to the top of the world's agenda. The leisurely pace at which the United States and Europe developed during the 19th century is no longer adequate to keep ahead of the rising global demands for a better existence. This means that governments will be pressed to strain every muscle and to employ every resource to insure the economic growth and the political and social justice which their people now expect and demand.

Nor is the modern challenge of development confined to the so-called "backward" continents of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Within many of the most productive nations of Europe and America there are still shocking contrasts of wealth and poverty which are crying for attention. This is true in rural Greece, in southern Italy, in parts of southern France, in certain sections of the United States and in much of the U.S.S.R. Indeed, no major nation can claim fully to have eliminated poverty or to have provided each of its citizens with the basic essential of every free society—equality of opportunty regardless of race or religion.

Among the less developed nations we find a wide variety of problems and opportuinties. In much of Latin America, for instance, a major obstacle to the political and economic growth that is basic to all free socieites lies in the stubborn reluctance of the more privileged groups to move with the times. Less than one and one-half per-cent of the people possess more than half of all the land of Latin America ; many own more than 15,000 acres.

In only a handful of Latin American countries is there an effective income tax ; in fewer still are there adequate limitations on the use of scarce foreign exchange to pay for non-essential luxury imports or even on the export of domestic capital for "safe keeping" abroad. As a result per capita incomes which may appear satisfactory enough in themselves often hide shocking differences in income that breed bitter-ness and frustration among the masses.

In Africa the major obstacles to rapid national development are different. Most rural land, for instance, is owned by the tribes and allocated to individual families on the basis of need and competence—a system which in many areas is now evolving naturally into modern democratic co-operatives. There is little entrenched wealth ; and consequently only modest opposition to taxes based on the ability to pay. For years to come the major barrier to rapid growth in Africa will be lack of education, basic skills, and personal incentive.

In Asia we find still anothtr set of difficul-ties, which vary widely from nation to nation. Among these, in several countries, are soaring population growth in relation to resources, rural apathy rooted in generations of exploitation or neglect, and among business groups an emphasis on trading and speculation rather than creative enterprise.

From this brief review it appears that every nation, rich or poor, has its own special agenda of unfinished business to which its government must soberly address itself. Our present task, however, is to isolate those special factors that affect the process of nation building in the less developed continents.

The experience of recent years has demon-strated that there are five requisites for rapid and balanced growth in a developing country. The first of these is material, while the other four relate to public attitudes and hnman capabili-ties. These five essentials are :

1. Adequate capital from both domestic and foreign sources.
2. Enough goods and services to persuade people to contribute the personal effort that development requires.
3. Adequate skills for management, adminis-tration, production and citizenship.
4. A willingness and ability in overcrowded nations such as India and Pakistan to curb a rapid population increase.
5. A unifying sense of national purpose with effective communication between the people and their leaders.

It was these five elements which permitted the amazing resurgence of Europe and Japan from the rubble and despair created by World War II. It is their creation in the developing nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America that must now be the first order of business of those who would raise living standards within an orderly political framework.

I

Let us examine these five essentials in order starting with the question of investment capital for development.

Most of the capital requirements of any nation must be met from its own sources, through private savings or through various forms of

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taxation and other governmental limitations on consumption.

While private saving in most developing nations will ultimately provide the major source of capital, deep-seated attitudes usually have to be changed before this source can effectively be tapped. People can be persuaded to part with their gold ornaments, excess acreage and other traditional forms of financial security only in a reasonably secure social and economic environment.

In most less developed nations, therefore, the capital requirements for the initial stages of the growth process must be met largely by the government drawing on a wide variety of tax sources. For instance, land taxes can be progressively increased on large holdings. This not only raises revenue; at the same time it encourages the development of more efficient family-sized farms. Sales and excise taxes can provide additional revenue and serve as a means for directing investment into selected capital projects.

Incomes can also be taxed on a progressive basis. The argument that a reasonably progressive income tax reduces the incentive for private investment does not stand up in practice. More than half a century ago when the United States first introduced such a tax, the cries of anguish were loud and clear. There is no evidence, however, that the income tax has damaged the productive capacity of the United States. Instead it has brought about a democratic redistribution of incomes which has created the mass purchasing power that has prodded our economy to ever higher levels of production.

There are clears limits, however, on the amount of domestic capital that can be accumulated through taxation and restricted consumption. Those taxes which are easy to collect like excise taxes and sales taxes, fall most htavily on the people least able to pay, and therefore reduce the purchasing power necessary to maintain minimum standards of living. The taxes which would benefit the economy most, like the income tax, are notoriously hard to collect. Moreover, because so few people have incomes worth taxing, this tax source itself is limited.

Although the export of raw materials may offer another major means of capital accumulation, such exports in themselves do not assure the broad-based economic development which we are seeking. The exports of coffee, tin, oil and other basic materials, for instance, have earned generous incomes for many Latin American producers. But because only a meager fraction of the total income has sifted down to the people who work the fields and mines, the gap between rich and poor has been steadily growing. In spite of the vast oil wealth of west Asia, the majority of the people still live in dire poverty.

Almost every nation that has succeeded in modernizing its economy has had the advantage of loans and grants from more advanced countries. The pace of United States development in the 18th century, for instance, was speeded by massive amounts of private capital from Europe. By 1912, foreign investment totalled more than $6 billion—a huge sum for those days.

The only nation that has modernized its economy virtually without foreign capital assistance is the U.S.S.R. In this case a ruthless squeeze on the Russian people plus an unequalled supply of natural resources combined to provide the necessary investment funds. Yet even in this special case the margin of success was narrow. In the 1930s with all Russia's natural advantages, the Soviet economy very nearly collapsed under the strain of forced development.

As we shall see in a later chapter, China, which lacks many of the resources which the U.S.S.R. has in abundance, probably cannot succeed in building a viable economy without massive foreign assistance which under present circumstances is unlikely to be forthcoming.

We must, however, keep this matter of foreign capital assistance in clear perspective. While it is a vitally important element in developing an adequate rate of economic progress in a democratic environment, ultimate success depends on the energy and effectiveness of the government and people of the recipient country.

For instance, the United States has provided loans and grants for many countries which because they failed to carry their share of the burden have remained in the economic doldrums. On more than one occasion we have seen our assistance used by reactionary governments to sustain the *status quo* against the forces of economic and social change which we had set out to encourage.

The nations in which United States assistance has been least effective have many common characteristics. In most cases the local tax structure has been inefficient and inequitable. Capital

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funds badly needed at home have been allowed to go abroad. Luxury imports have eaten up foreign exchange.

There has often been corruption in the government and lack of interest in the kind of development that benefits the masses of the people. Semi-feudal systems of land tenure have often suppressed the initiative of the cultivators and thereby impeded agricultural production, at the same time creating a bitter sense of injustice throughout the countryside.

On this essential point our experience is clear: Foreign capital makes a meaningful contribution to national development only in those countries which are willing and able to mobilize their own resources. In such cases foreign aid may provide the decisive margin for success. When the necessary effort is lacking the effects of foreign aid may be virtually nil.

Most of the recent opposition to foreign economic assistance in the United States is misinformed and misguided. Its origin lies, however, in the valid conviction that my country has no obligation to provide funds for governments that fail to put their own economic and social houses in order.

I have profound sympathy for this view. Indeed, as a member of the United States Congress I proposed the establishment of operating standards that would relate our aid to the capacity and willingness of the recipient country to use it and its own resources effectively.

Except in the most unusual political circumstances, I am convinced that economic assistance given on any other basis cannot possibly accomplish its only valid objective which, to repeat, is the creation of dynamic independent nations which offer their people increasing prosperity and opportunity within the framework of their own traditions and culture.

The combined gross national income of the developed nations now totals $900 billion annually. If one percent of this amount were loaned or given each year to the less developed nations the gap between the rich nations and the poor nations would be eased in a manner that profits both giver and receiver, adds to the self respect of each, and makes our world an infinitely safer and better place for us all.

II

This brings me to the second of our five essentials of national growth: the need for adequate and equitably distributed rewards for hard work and initiative.

As we have seen, there is a political limit to the amount of taxation, austerity, or maldistributed wealth which pepople are willing to accept without either adopting evasive devices which corrupt the system and diminish confidence in the integrity of the government or throwing the government out of office.

Totalitarian systems, to be sure, can enforce a higher rate of capital accumulation through a merciles squeeze on producers who are denied consumer goods while simultaneously being urged by blaring loud-speakers to make greater and still greater efforts in behalf of the state.

But even in the most rigid police state, slogans and loud-speakers have their limitations, as the Soviet Union has been learning by hard experience. After working for forty years to organize its national agriculture on a mass basis, the small kitchen gardens which Soviet farmers can really call their own still produce much more efficiently than the rigidly organized state farms where adequate personal incentives are lacking. Industrial workers in the presumably egalitarian Soviet Union are now offered wage and bonus benefits whose differential exceeds that of the American wage scale. Soviet factory production has responded to these incentives.

Thus, we see that regardless of political ideology, capital for development can be accumulated effectively over the long run only when all of the people stand to gain some immediate and tangible benefits. No developing nation with these factors in mind can afford to dismiss consumer goods and social services as frivolous embellishments which may be withheld in the interests of capital accumulation; on the contrary, such incentives, however modest in amount, act as an essential generator in increasing national wealth.

Moreover, the production of consumer goods such as bicycles, shoes, clothing, pots, pans, simple household equipment, flashlights, and self-help housing schemes provide an essential source of jobs which in most developing countries cannot not be provided in adequate amounts by heavy industry.

If the nation-building process is to succeed the individual must be given an opportunity to improve his standard of living, as well as a sense

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of belonging, of personal dignity and faith in the integrity and ability of his government.

III

We now turn to the third essential for national development—skills for management, for production, and for citizenship.

Administrative skills are, of course, in short supply in developing nations, particuarly so in those which are newly independent. Even where there is a competent civil service, as in India, there are too few people with experience in bold and creative policy making.

Equally serious is the lack of *technical* skills in most developing nations, particularly in Africa. For years to come there will not be enough competent doctors, teachers, engineers, architects, labor leaders, and other specialists to meet the increasing demand.

Like capital, these administrative and technical skills must be developed in large measure by the country itself, with some assistance from its more advanced friends. Foreigners in public administration are usually out of the question for political reasons, and there are simply not enough competent technicians in the world to go around. Foreign experts therefore should be used as a scarce resource and largely for the purpose of training local specialists.

Fortunately, a small amount of foreign technical assistance, like limited doses of foreign capital, can have a major impact on the developmental process. This is true, however, only if the host country makes substantial efforts on its own behalf to provide competent people for training, and to place those people who have been trained in positions of responsibility where their skills can have a continuing effect on the economy.

If newly trained technicians are assigned routine jobs where their initiative is crushed, and if they are not encouraged to train their subordinates, no amount of foreign technical assistance will have a significant impact.

In democratic countries whose governments are based on the consent of the governed, the social change which accompanies development also requires the creation of new political and social skills among the citizenry as a whole. Skill in citizenship is more than just the ability to mark a ballot. It is the skill to dissent without revolution, to accept the compromise that may be necessary for a consensus while maintaining a sense of personal independence, and to cooperate with others for the improvement of one's village or nation.

Where these basic political abilities exist, there is potential for vital, democratic growth; where they are lacking we can ultimately expect either turmoil or totalitarianism.

The colonial era has retarded the growth of these essential social and political skills in most of the less developed nations, while simultaneously creating demands for changes in structure, direction and priorities which would tax the administrative capacities of the most advanced nations.

All of this underscores the importance of education as a first step in creating a sense of participation and individual responsibility among the masses of the people. A literate person can discover through the printed word the possibilities that life offers him. The vision of what he can accomplish for his family and himself serves as a most powerful incentive. The literate person can read instructions and develop simple technical skills through understanding rather than through rote learning.

Most important of all, the literate can be made aware of their rights and duties as citizens so that they need no longer be at the mercy of the deeply-rooted, tradition-conscious elements of their society which stand in the way of the political, economic and social changes which they seek.

Japan's phenomenal postwar growth would have been impossible, in my opinion, if it were not for the fact that over 98 per cent of her people can read and write. In most developing countries the figure is still under 30 per cent.

IV

The fourth of our five essentials of development—population control—is of immediate, special importance in those emerging nations where a massive and growing population is pressing against limited natural resources. In many countries the problem does not yet exist. In most African countries, for instance, the population is relatively sparse and the resources are substantial. Here there may often be a need for more hands to till the fields and to run the machines.

This does not imply that crowded nations which fail to control their population growth will face the mass starvation predicted by Malthus. With adequate fertilizer and more advanced techniques India, for instance, could triple its

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production of food from the present cultivated areas; its opportunity for greatly expanded fisheries has scarcely been touched.

The real economic cost of continued rapid population growth in such already crowded nations as India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Indonesia, and China stems from the drag it places on the increase in per capita incomes. In such countries a rate of economic growth which might otherwise give the average citizen a satisfying sense of progress only enables him to stand still.

A comparison between the Congo and the Sudan on the one hand, and India on the other, underscores this point. The Congo and Sudan are each about two-thirds the size of India, each has a population of about 16 million in comparison to India's 450 million and each has roughly the same proportion of natural resources. Once technical training and capital become generally available, therefore, the per capita incomes of the two African nations may be expected to increase at a far faster rate than in India. With labor saving devices at a premium, wages will soar.

Although India's national income over the last decade has grown at a rate of nearly four per cent annually, the population increase of two and one-half per cent has reduced the per capita income increase to less than one and one-half per cent.

A major effort is now under way to bring India's population into better balance. In 1930 the birth rate was 48 per thousand; it is now 41.5 per thousand. In areas such as urban Bombay where a determined effort at population control has been made over a period of years the birth rate is about 30.

Experts believe that if programs and techniques now available are carried out effectively the birth rate by 1974 can be reduced to 25 per thousand against an anticipated death rate of 14. If this is accomplished, India's present per capita increase in income will be doubled. If the birth rates and death rates can ultimately be brought into balance and the population stabilized, the present 4 per cent average annual increase in national output, compounded from year to year, would have a dramatic impact on living standards.

V

The fifth and final essential involves the environment in which development takes place. The four prerequisites which we have just considered—capital, incentives, skills and population control—cannot operate in a cultural or political vacuum. Each new nation must consider them within the framework of its own past experience, its present needs, and its own vision of the future.

Only when it does so can it develop the sense of national purpose which draws a diverse people togethe and provides a bridge of mutual understanding and respect between them and their leadership.

The United States is still in the process of realizing the political vision which the founders of our nation so eloquently proclaimed nearly two centuries ago. Our Declaration of Independence asserted that "all men are created equal." Its author, Thomas Jefferson, believed that "all eyes are opening to the thoughts of man .... the mass of mankind was not born with saddles on their backs, nor a favored few, booted and spurred, ready to ride them by the grace of God."

This deep belief in the importance of individual dignity initiated the world's first major anti-colonial revolution and experiment in political democracy. Although our traditional objectives are not yet wholly secured, each succeeding generation of Americans has worked to broaden its base of individual freedom and opportunity.

India has her own vision of what she is determined to become. Gandhi saw that "what is good for one nation situated in one condition is not necessarily good enough for another, differently situated. India has got to develop her own economics, her own policy."

The keystone of the Indian vision is a belief in the supreme value of the individual human being. "In modern terms," Gandhi stressed that "it is beneath human dignity to lose one's individuality and become a mere cog in the machine. I want every individual," he said, "to become a full-blooded, fully developed member of society."

The deep suspicion of "bigness" and the strong sense of social conscience which is reflected in the strict democratic teachings of Gandhi will continue directly and indiretly to shape India's development for generations to come.

In the hands of leaders who are devoted to the cause of the whole nation, such vision is an effective instrument for progress. If the leadership can communicate a sense of purpose to the people

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so that it becomes a treasured national possession of them all, the battle for development can be won.

VI

These then are the five basic essentials for rapid and balanced growth in a developing country, for growth which engages the energy and enriches the lives of every citizen.

Although I have been tempted to add a sixth essential—a pragmatic non-doctrinaire approach to economic growth—this prerequisite, it seems to me, is implicit in our entire discussion thus far.

Developing nations which *seek answers to their complex problems in some neatly packaged ideology* are almost certainly doomed to failure. Capitalism as defined by Adam Smith and Communism as defined by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin have become largely irrelevant in our complex modern world. The tasks of national development are difficult enough in themselves without confusing them further with emotionally charged slogans and political hand-me-downs from another era.

In meeting the challenge of national development India may on occasion borrow certain concepts and techniques from abroad—from Western Europe, from Sweden, from Yugoslavia, from Japan, and from America. Yet I believe that India will draw primarily on her own inner strength, experience, and traditons, relating these elements in her own way to the five essentials which I have described.

WESTERN INFLUENCES ON INDIAN POLITICAL THOUGHT

By Prof. B. K. NIRMAL

Indian Political Thought can be, broadly speaking, divided into two parts ; the ancient and mediaeval, and modern or contemporary. In the ancient and mediaeval period political thought was based on the writings of great epics, Vedas, Dharma Sutras, Dharma Shastras, Smrities and writings of Kautilya and others. All the influence in this period is native. However, in the modern period Indian political thought has been tremendously influenced by the political institutions and philosophies of the West. "The first contact between India and Modern Europe took place in 1498 when Vasco da Gama circled the African Continent and landed at Calicut".[1] But this contact was not well developed until the end of the eighteenth century. Gradually with the establishment of British rule in India we came into closer contact with their ideas and culture. Therefore during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries Western influence became a dominating factor in Indian political thought. It is not that we gave up our own established principles but the same were modified to a very great extent, sometimes even completely forsaken, due to the influence of the West. However, even now there remained a group of political thinkers and leaders who still held fast to the views of the past and wanted to revive them.

Modern Indian political thought can be further compartmentalized into three schools according to the influence of the West on them. These three schools are the Occidentalists, who take their inspiration from the West, the Romanticists or Revivalists, "who are very critical of the political, social and particularly economic institutions of the West;"[2] and the Synthesists who based their thoughts on the ancient Indian culture and also borrowed whatever they considered good in the West. It is on the Occidentalists and the Synthesists that the Western influence is mainly traceable although to some extent western influence is visible on the Revivalists also. The Occidentalists can be further grouped into Liberals, Socialists and Communists according to the different sources from which they drew their inspiration. The Occidentalists include Dadabhai Naoroji, Mahadev Govinda Ranade, Gopal Krishna Gokhale and Surendra Nath Bannerji among the liberals, Jawaharlal Nehru, Subhas Chandra Bose and Narendra Dev among the Socialists and M. N. Roy being the chief among the Communists. The Romanticists include Tilak and Gandhi while

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among the Synthesists we can include Bipin Chandra Pal, Shri Aurobindo and Rabindranath Tagore.

The Western influence over Indian political thought is itself of two kinds; the influence of the individual thinkers and the influence of political institutions and ideas. The main factor which helped us in understanding these thinkers and institutions properly was the introduction of English as the medium of instruction in the Indian schools. Macaulay's aim in introducing English was to train a class of men who would be "Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals and in intellect". With the introduction of English it became easier for Indians to enjoy the thoughts and philosophies of the West directly. Greek and Roman culture and thought was known to India even before the coming of the British people but that was through the Persian and Arabic sources. Now with the knowledge of English language it became easier for Indians to know these thoughts and philosophies directly. "No single act of British policy has had a more lasting influence on the evolution of modern Indian thought than the decision in 1835 to use governmental funds to support education in English language, and to adopt the curriculum prevalent in the English schools".[3]

"The early Indian Liberals were intellectual children of the Liberals of the West."[4] The Liberal movement in England had as its main principles secularism, rationalism, liberty, equality and democratic form of government. During the middle ages, the main emphasis was on life after death, but now these liberals laid more emphasis on this life. They declared that the object of all the activities should be to achieve happiness for the individual in this world and to develop his personality to the best possible extent. They also emphasised that the main guide of an individual should be reason. Thomas Paine's famous declaration "My own mind is my church" shows the emphasis that was laid on reason. They also believed that as much freedom should be given to the individual as was necessary for his development. The idea of equality put forward by the supporters of the French Revolution had its influence over these Liberals. Liberty and Equality in social, political and economic fields were the ideals that these people put forward. The Indian Liberals were very much influenced by all these ideals. They got their inspiration from J. S. Mill, T. H. Green, Bentham and others. They were very much influenced by the new administrative machinery given by the British as also by their ideals of justice, equality before law, rapid means of transport, free press, local self-governing institutions and above all by their introducing English which had not only created a unity in the country and had opened the door of Western knowledge to Indians but had also taught them that the kings were made for the people and not the people for their kings. Therefore as remarked by S. N. Bannerji, these liberals looked towards England as their "political guide and moral preceptor in the exalted sphere of political unity."

The reading of the British classics instilled in these liberal leaders the ideals of justice, freedom and love of country. Dadabhai Naoroji, who was in the forefront of the Indian national movement clearly accepted the debt of the Western people. He stated the political gains under the British as under:

> "Peace and order, Freedom of press and liberty of the press. Higher political knowledge and aspirations. Improvement of governments in native states. Security of life and property.....Equal justice between man and man."

Keshab Chandra Sen, another leader of the nineteenth century had a great admiration for British rule. He believed that British rule over India had come at a particular moment in India's history and would certainly help in the betterment of the political and social conditions. He was very much influenced by the teachings of Christianity as well as by the social and political experiments that were being made in Europe in the 19th century. He believed in equality and opposed the caste-system. He was also a champion of social liberty.

S. N. Banerji had also been very much inspired by the teachings of the English political philosophers. "As a student of

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London, he had studied very carefully the writings of Burke, Macaulay, Mill and Spencer and hence the impact of a philosophy of moral idealism and liberal individualism is marked in his speeches and writings. During his sojourn in England as a student he had learnt the significance of the ideals of reason, freedom and democracy. He admired Burke's constitutionalism and romanticism and praised the eloquence and genius of Fox, Pitt and Sheridan."[5]

Gokhale like Dadabhai Naoroji also believed that British influence over Indian life was good for our country. He declared at the Universal Races Conference in 1911 that "whereas the contact of the West with other countries had only been external, in India, the West had so to say entered into the very bone and marrow of the East." He also believed in British statesmanship and hoped that British rule will gradually give way to self-government. Gokhale and other moderate leaders were constantly quoting Gladstone, Gobdon, J. S. Mill and Spencer. All their philosophies and thoughts were influenced by them. Sir Pherozshah Mehta, when he pleaded for local independence to municipal bodies quoted Spencer and Mill to support his contention. He said, "We know that the highest authorities on the subject—Herbert Spencer and John Stuart Mill—have pointed out that you must have external or internal checks on the working of these bodies, you must not have both." These illustrations show very clearly how much indebted these Indian Liberals were to the western writers especially British Liberals.

Another great influence on Indian political thought is that of Marx and Lenin. Marx influenced a few people in India during the two wars. His influence was mainly on the Socialists and the Communists. However, Marxism as such made little progress in India until recent times. A few persons like Nehru, Bose and M. N. Roy were very much influenced by Marx. Pt. Nehru in his 'Discovery of India' writes, "A study of Marx and Lenin produced a powerful effect on my mind and helped me to see history and current affairs in a new light. The long chain of history and of social development appeared to have some meaning, some sequence and the future lost some of its obscurity." Pt. Nehru, however, remained a nationalist who has remained more tied to the evolutionary concept of western socialism rather than to the revolutionary outlook of Marxism. In the economic crisis of 1930's he wrote that "the great world crisis and slump seemed to justify the Marxist analysis. While other systems and theories were groping about in the dark Marxism alone explained it more or less satisfactorily and offered a real solution." He, however, does not accept the Marxian doctrines in its entirety. He opposes the theory of dialectical materialism expounded by Marx. In many of his recent speeches he has declared that many of the teachings of Marx are out of date. In spite of all this, the ideas of a socialist pattern of society, co-operative farming etc., adopted by the Indian National Congress under the leadership of Nehru are to a certain extent based on Marxist ideas. Another great leader influenced by Marx was Subhas Chandra Bose. He was never an orthodox Marxist. He did not believe in class struggle as a necessary principle for establishing a socialist society. He was against the zamindari system and favoured nationalization of land and industries. He says, "The state on the advice of a planning commission, will have to adopt a comprehensive scheme for gradually socialising our entire agricultural and industrial system in both the spheres of production and appropriation."[6] He always supported the interests of the working classes and wanted the Indian National Congress to adopt a socialist policy. He declared, "Socialist propaganda is necessary to perpare the country for socialism when political freedom has been own."[7]

Apart from Marx, Bose was under a great deal of influence of fascists, Hitler and Mussolini. He wrote in 1934-35 about Mussolini "as a man who really counts in the politics of modern Europe." He wanted Mahatma Gandhi to have spoken in the Round Table Conference in 1931, in London in a very firm voice. He says, "If . . . . the Mahatma Gandhi would have spoken in the language of Dictator Stalin, or Duce Mussolini or Fuhrer Hitler—John Bull would have

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understood and would have bowed his head in respect."[8] Bose never believed in parliamentary democracy and preferred a dictatorial form of government for free India. He knew that fascism and communism were quite opposed to each other yet he wanted to have a synthesis of the two. He writes, "Both Communism and Fascism believe in the supremacy of the state over the individual. Both denounce parliamentary democracy. Both believe in party rule . . . . These common traits will form the basis of the new synthesis."[9]

Another Indian who has been very much influenced by Marx is M. N. Roy. In the early years of his life M. N. Roy had been a member of the Communist International. It is, therefore, quite natural that he should be influenced by Marx. However, he did not accept the teachings of Marx in entirty. He made considerable modifications and even repudiated some of the teachings of Marx. He writes, "Political philosophy hitherto has thought in terms of nations and classes ; the result was the disappearance of man from human affairs."[10] He, therefore, in his 'Radical Humanism' laid more emphasis on the "humanist treatment of social and moral problems" and repudiated the materialistic philosophy of Marx. Other Socialists and Communists have always emphasised that they do not believe completely in what Marx has said, yet there can be little doubt that the social, political and economic ideas of all these people have been greatly influenced and sometimes even been moulded by Marx.

We can now pass on to trace the western influences on Mahatma Gandhi. Although he drew most of his beliefs and principles from Indian sources, yet he himself has at certain places accepted the debt of the Western thinkers and philosophers. Western writers like Ruskin, Thoreau and Tolstoy had a great influence on Gandhi's political thinking. Ruskin's book 'Unto this last' had a profound influence on him. In his autobiography, one of the chapters is 'The Magic Spell of a Book' in which he describes Ruskin's influence on him. He writes, "I believe that I descovered some of my deepest convictions reflected in this great book of Ruskin, and that is why it so captured me and made me transform my life." The lessons that he drew from this book were ; the good of individual is included in the good of all, the work of every kind is of the same value and the life of labour that is the life of the tiller and crafts-man is worth living. In spite of this influence Gandhi differed on many matters. Ruskin's emphasis on the rule by the wisest does not find any place in Gandhi's ideas.

Thoreau is the other philosopher who influenced Mahatma Gandhi. Thoreau's ideas confirmed his views on non-co-operation. One should extend maximum co-operation to all when they lead towards good and non-co-operation when they lead towards evil. He accepted his indebtedness to Thoreau in these words, "Thoreau . . . . furnished me through his essay on the 'Duty of Civil disobedience' with a scientific confirmation of what I was doing in South Africa." It is not that they both agreed on all kinds of resistance. Thoreau favoured violent resistance also but Gandhi would have nothing to do with that.

Mahatma Gandhi developed a firm belief in Ahimsa by reading Tolstoy. Tolstoy was also a seeker after truth. He writes, "The heroine of my writings, she whom I love with all forces of my being, she who always was, is and will be beautiful is truth." Tolstoy's philosophical anarchism also finds a place in Gandhi's thoughts. Apart from these philosophers, one thing that influenced Gandhi most was the 'Sermon on the Mount.' This helped him in developing the philosophy of non-resistance which Mahatma Gandhi later on practised in his deeds. Romain Rolland in his book 'Mahatma Gandhi' while writing about western influences on Gandhi remarked, "It should not be forgotten that this Asiatic believer has translated Ruskin and Plato and quotes Thoreau, admires Mazzini, reads Edward Carpenter and he is, in short, familiar with the best that Europe and America have produced."

The western influence over Indian political thought manifested itself in one other way. The political institutions and ideas of the West influenced these thinkers

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"Before the British conquest the concept of membership in a permanent political order embracing and involving them all seems to have been unknown to the inhabitants of India."[11] Although a few kings like Ashoka, Harsha and Akbar had tried to bring the whole of India under their domination, yet it was under the British rule that we came under one political order. Now through the medium of English people belonging to different parts of the country could communicate with each other. The Indian National Congress, which later on became a common platform for all the nationalist element and a means to express popular will, also came into existence due to the efforts of A.O. Hume and others with full approval of Lord Dufferin. The early leaders like S. N. Bannerji and Tilak wanted to inculcate the feeling of nationalism in the hearts of Indians. They were very much influenced by Mazzini. "Mazzini was one of the principal figures whose writings and teachings fired the zeal of Indian youth. Surendra Nath Bannerji, Lala Lajpat Rai and V. D. Savarkar wrote the lives of Mazinni in English, Urdu and Marathi."[12]

While Indian nationalism was developing under western influence, the feeling of liberty was also taking root side by side. The ideas of Milton, Mill and Green influenced the minds of Indians. Raja Ram Mohan Roy pleaded not only for political liberty but also for individual liberty. The French Revolution had a profound influence on him. He even admired the British not only because they had civil and political liberty but also because they were trying to promote the same wherever they had any influence. He, like Milton, even pleaded for freedom of press. He was quite hopeful that some kind of democratic government will be established in India under British influence.

Besides these abstract notions of liberty, reality and nationalism, the western political institutions like Parliament, Executive Council, Supreme Court and the like greatly influenced our Political thought. In 1928 when the All Parties Conference appointed a Committee under the Chairmanship of Pt. Motilal Lal Nehru to draft a Constitution for Free India, they proposed a Dominion status which is purely a British from of government. Later on when we became free even then we adopted the British system of parliamentary democracy. K. M. Pannikar rightly remarks, "Clearly, our new democratic and egalitarian and secular state is not built upon the foundations of ancient Indian or Hindu thought."[13] India had some kind of democratic institutions in the past, but it would not be wise to say that our present democratic constitution is based in any way on the ancient model, or has any influence on the same. Obviously the present constitution has drawn largely upon the western countries. The framers of our constitution were so influenced by the British system that they left many details to be filled up by conventions which they expected to grow on the British pattern.

The idebtedness of modern Indian political thought to the West is immense. However none of the leaders and thinkers pleaded for the wholesale import of western ideas. They wanted these ideas to be adjusted to the Indian surroundings. Therefore, a process of political synthesis is always to be found in Indian political thought during the last one hundred and fifty years.

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7. *Ibid.*, p. 346.
8. S. C. Bose : *Indian Struggle*, p. 320.
9. S. C. Bose : *Indian Struggle*, p. 320.
10. M. N. Roy : *Radical Humanism*, p. 27.
11. S. N. Hay : *Sources of Indian Civilization*.
12. V. P. Varma : *Modern Indian Political Thought*, p. 18.
13. K. M. Pannikar : *The State and the Citizen*, p. 41.

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THIRTEENTH TO SIXTEENTH AMENDMENTS OF THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION : AN AUTOPSY.

By Prof. B. B. JENA, M.A., Ph.D.

I

In July 1960, an agreement was reached by the Government of India with the leaders of the Naga Peoples' Convention under which it was decided that the Naga Hills-Tuensang Area (Nagaland) would be formed into a separate State in the Indian Union.[1] The agreement inter alia provided that the Governor of the State of Nagaland would be responsible (a) for law and order so long as the law and order situation in the State continued to remain disturbed on account of the hostile activities inside the area, (b) for the funds to be made available to the new State by the Government of India, and (c) for the administration of Tuensang district for a period of ten years during which it was expected that the people of that area would be in a position to shoulder fuller responsibilities of administration. A regional Council was to be formed for the said Tuensang District comprising elected representatives from the tribes therein. This Regional Council would supervise and guide the working of the village, Range and Area Councils in that District and further no law passed by the Nagaland Legislature would extend to that District unless recommended by the Regional Council. It was also decided that Acts of Parliament would not apply to Nagaland unless so decided by the Nagaland Legislature with regard to (i) religious or social practices of the Nagas, (ii) Naga Customary law and procedure, (iii) administration of civil and criminal justice involving decisions according to Naga Customary Law, (iv) ownership and transfer of land and its resources. The Government of India was obliged to implement these agreements.

Ordinarily Parliament could have incorporated in a law all these provisions in the Agreement as per Article 3 of the Constitution.[2] But the terms of the Agreement imposed certain restrictions on the powers of the Parliament. Hence because of the peculiarities of the provisions of the Agreement, constitutional safeguard was necessary and that led the Government of India to introduce a Bill to amend the Constitution.[3]

The Thirteenth Amendment Act made special provisions with respect to the State of Nagaland. To accomodate this special provision in the Part XXI of the Constitution, the Heading "Temporary, Transitional and Special Provisions" substituted the old Heading "Temporary and Transitional Provisions."[4] This change of heading has removed an anomaly in the Constitution created by the Seventh Amendment Act, 1956 wherein special provision with respect to the creation of regional Committees of the Legislative Assemblies of certain States was made,[5] in the Part XXI under the Heading "Temporary and Transitional Provisions" with marginal note "Special Provision with respect to the States of Andhra Pradesh, Punjab, etc." The Old Heading was misleading in as much as certain provisions included thereunder were neither temporary nor transitional.

The Thirteenth Amendment Act inserted a new Article 371A making the following special provisions in respect of the new State of Nagaland.[6] That no Act of Parliament affecting religious or social practices of the Nagas, Naga customary laws and procedure, administration of civil and criminal justice involving decisions according to Naga Customary laws and ownership and transfer of land and its resources shall apply to the State of Nagaland unless the Legislative Assembly of Nagaland by a resolution so decides; that the Governor of Nagaland shall have special responsibility with respect to law and order in the State of Nagaland for so long as in his opinion internal disturbances occuring in the Naga-hills-Tuensang Area immediately before the for-

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mation of that State continue therein or in any part thereof and in the discharge of his functions in relation thereto the Governor shall, after consulting the ooouncil of Ministers, exercise his individual judgement as to the action to be taken. If any question arises whether any matter is or is not a matter in respect of which the Governor is under this provision required to act in the exercise of his individual judgement, the decision of the Governor in his discretion shall be final, the validity of any thing done by the Governor shall not be called in question on the ground that he ought or ought not to have acted in the exercise of his individual judgment, the decision of the Governor in his discretion shall be final, the validity of any thing done by the Governor shall not be called in question on the ground that he ought or ought not to have acted in the exercise of his individual judgement. Again if the President on receipt of a report from the Governor or otherwise is satisfied that it is no longer necessary for the Governor to have special responsibility with respect to law and order in the State of Nagaland, he may by order direct that the Governor shall cease to have such responsibility with effect from such date as may be specified in the order.

The new Article 371A required the Governor to ensure that any money provided by the Government of India for any specific purpose is spent for that service.[7] The Governor is empowered to establish a Regional Council for the Tuensang disrict consisting of 35 members to function under such rules as may be prescribed by the Governor in his discretion.[8] It has been further provided that for a period of ten years or more from the date of formation of the State on the recommendation of the regional Council the Governor may take over the administration, arrange for an equitable allocation of the Central Government grant between the Tuensang district and the rest of the State, direct that an Act of the Legislature of Nagaland shall apply to that district only with the recommendation of the Regional Council and such exceptions and modifications as the Council might recommend, and make regulations for the peace, progress and good government of the district having the effect even to amend or repeal with retrospective effect, if necessary any Act of Parliament or any other law which is for the time being applicable to that district.[9] Provision has been made to effect that one member representing the Tuensang district in the Legislative Assembly of Nagaland shall be appointed Minister for Tuensang affairs by the Governor on the advice of the Chief Minister and the Chief Minister in tendering his advice shall act on the recommendation of the majority of the Assembly members of that district. The Minister for Tuensang affairs shall deal with and have direct access to the Governor on all matters relating to the Tuensang district but he shall keep the Chief Minister informed about the same.[10] Of course the Governor's decision in his discretion on that district affairs shall be final.[11] In matters of election of the President or members of Rajya Sabha, the members of the Legislative Assembly of Nagaland elected by the Regional Council will have the same rights as other members of the Assembly.[12]

The minimum number in Nagaland Legislative Assembly has been fixed at forty-six[13] Within a period of three years of the formation of the State of Nagaland, the President may by order do anything (including any adaptation or modification of any other Article) which appears to him to be necessary for the purpose of removing any difficulty which may arise while giving effect to the above provisions.

It may be noted here that the President has been empowered to amend the Constitution for the removal of any difficulty. This constituent power of the President for a period of three years appears to be a departure from the application of Art. 368.

II

Next comes the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution. The French establishments of Pandichery, Karikal, Mahe and Yanam became territories of the Indian Union with effect from 16th August, 1962, when the 'Treaty of Cession' was ratified by the Governments of India and France. It was necessary to include these territories

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in the First Schedule of our Constitution as Indian territory. Besides, appropriate provision had to be made for representation of territory in both Houses of Parliament.

The Constitution (Fourteenth Amendment) Act, 1962 is intended to achieve the above objectives.[14] The first schedule of the Constitution has been amended to include as from August 16, 1962 the above territories as Union Territory of 'Pandichery'.[15]

Appropriate Article of the Constitution has been amended so as to raise the maximum nuber of seats in Lok Sabha for members representing the Union Territories from twenty to twentyfive. Thus, the Union Territory of Pandichery gets representation in the Union Parliament through this Amendment.[16]

Besides making provision for the Union Territory of Pandichery, some general provisions have been made in connection with other Union Territories. Powers have been conferred on Parliament to create by Law Legislatures and Council of Ministers for the Union Territories of Himachal Pradesh, Manipur, Tripura, Goa, Daman, Dieu, and Pandichery by inserting a new Article 239A in the Constitution. It has been also provided that any Law passed for this purpose would not amount to be an amendment of the Constitution for the purpose of Article 368.[17]

It may be noted here that the Fourteenth Amendment Act has granted immunity to such Laws from the operation of Article 368. Hence it is tantamous to an amendment of Art. 368 in as much as the applicability of Art. 368 to certain legislation is withheld by this Fourteenth Amendment Act. It will, therefore- come under provisio (e) of Art. 368 and hence it required the ratification of the State Legislatures.

The Amendment further provides to include the Union Territory of Pandichery retrospectively in the clause (1) of Art. 240 to enable the President to make regulations for its peace, progress and good government till the legislatures are created for the Union Territories.[18] Again the Fourth Schedule to the Constitution has been amended so as to allocate one seat in Rajya Sabha to the Union Territory of Pandichery. These are the important features of the Fourteenth Amendment Act.

III

Now the circumstances leading to the enactment of the Fifteenth Amendment Act may be examined. There arose controversy as to the bonafides of the Central Government in determining the age of a Judge of the Supreme Court or State High Court.[19] When any such question was arising, it was hitherto decided by the President of India. But in some cases the decision of the President was challenged in a Court of Law giving rise to certain complications. Hence there was the necessity to make the position clear by making suitable amendments to the Constitution.[20]

Again cases have arisen when, due to the absence of a Judge or Judges of the Supreme Court for any reason, it has become necessary to require the attendance of only a "retired Judge of the Supreme Court" at the sittings of the Court.[21] The number of the retired Judges of the Supreme Court being small, and in view of the age of retirement provided for Supreme Court Judges, this field cannot be expected to be wide at any time. It was, there-fore, necessary to make provision enabling the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court to require the attendance of a retired Judge of a High Court possessing the requisite qualifications necessary for a Judge of the Supreme Court at the sittings of the Supreme Court. Similar provision was necessary to be made in respect of the State High Courts. Hence the Constitution had to be amended to meet these requirements.

The Law Commission in their Fourteenth Report recommended that the retiring age of a High Court Judge should be raised to sixty-five years. The Government of India decided to raise it to sixty-two only. This change required the amendment of the Constitution.

Further the proposal to transfer the Judges to one or more High Courts could not be effected owing to the provision of the Constitution putting restrictions on the practice of the retired Judges.[22] It was

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considered that a provision should be made to the effect that when a Judge is transferred from one High Court to another, the restriction regarding resumption of practice, after retirement, should apply only to the High Court from which the Judge would retire. Such a provision was necessary to facilitate the transfer of Judges of the High Court without involving any financial loss and discouragement to the Judges concerned. Further, the transfer of a Judge would necessarily impose additional burden on the transferred Judge. Hence it was proposed to provide for such compensatory allowance as the Parliament may by law prescribe. Amendment of the Constitution was necessary to implement the above proposals.

There was yet another cause. The decision of the Supreme Court in early 1961 established beyond doubt that as the seat of the Government of India was at New Delhi, the only High Court which would have Jurisdiction for writs etc., with respect to the Central Government would be Punjab High Court.[23] This decision was considered to involve hardship to the litigants from distant places. Hence it proposed to empower the State High Courts to exercise jurisdiction over all Government or Authorities irrespective of their location. This could be done only through amendment of the Constitution.

Besides, the ceiling of Rs. 250|- of the professional tax leviable was considered to be inadequate. It was proposed to raise this limit. This also required the amendment of the Constitution.

Again India's sovereign rights under the International Law over the sea-bed and sub-soil of the continentol shelf adjoining its territory and beyond its territorial waters have been asserted in a Presidential proclamation. This caused the need for the consequential amendment of the Constitution.[24]

After the judicial pronouncements on the question of guaranteeing the rights of the civil servants, the Government of India considered it desirable to make it clear that only one opportunity should be given to a servant of the Government in respect of any departmental enquiry against him. Thus, to deprive the Government servants of a part of their constitutional safeguards, the Constitution had to be amended.[25]

The Constitution did not provide for appointment of an acting Chairman of the Public Service Commission as and when that office was vacant or when the Chairman was on leave or otherwise unable to perform his duties of his office. The Constitution was sought to be amended to meet such contingencies.

Thus, the Fifteenth Amendment Bill was intended to resolve certain difficulties.[26] As has been said earlier, the Constitution was silent on the procedure to be followed when a question arises as to the correct age of a Judge. The Fifteenth Amendment Act now provides that (i) in the case of a Judge of the Supreme Court, the age "shall be determined by such authority and in such manner as Parliament may by law provide,"[27] and (ii) in the case of a Judge of a High Court, the question shall be decided by the President after consultation with the Chief Justice of India and the decision shall be final. This provision will create trouble in future. Since Parliament is empowered to prescribe the manner in which the age of a Judge of the Supreme Court is to be determined it will have the power to amend the law and change the manner of determination of the age of a Judge as and when it is required. To remove a Judge is now easy. Change the manner of determination of age through the help of the majority in the Parliament and deprive the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of his share in this matter. If the provision is made that the age of a Judge shall be determined by the (Home Minister of India or Government of India or) President of India in his discretion and his decision shall be final and conclusive, what would be its effects? With the help of this provision the President (naturally the Government) will be in a position to declare that a particular Judge (say of 55) has attained the age of superannuation and require him to retire. Since the decision of the President is final, no court can offer any remedy to such a Judge. This removal being political can only be checked politically. Does this not present a danger to the independence of the Judiciary? It

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would have been reasonable to provide in the Constitution that the age declared by the Judge at the time of the appointment shall be taken as his correct age and no revision will be allowed.

Further, another clause of the 15th Amendment Act has raised the age of retirement of the High Court Judges to sixty-two years; and the next clause authorises the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court with the previous consent of the President of India to request a retired Judge of the Federal Court, Supreme Court or High Courts to sit and act as a Judge of the Supreme Court. It may be noted that this provision might create difficulty on the question of seniority when a retired Judge is requested to act as the temporary Judge. But this does not present any danger to the independence of the Judiciary. Such contingencies may be avoided at the time of appointment. The consultation with the President of India (which implies the Government of India) on such matters would bring a healthy check on the Chief Justice when he intends to ask a retired Chief Justice to work under him.

The Amendment Act inserts a new Article 224A making similar provision enabling the Chief Justice of a High Court to request, with the previous consent of the President, retired Judges of any High Court to sit and act as Judge in the Court. One of the clauses provides for payment to the Judges on transfer from one High Court to another in addition to his salary such compensatory allowance as may be fixed by an order of the President. The Act further provides that the High Court within whose jurisdiction the cause of action arises may also have jurisdiction over the matters involving the Central Government or any other authority or any person not withstanding that the seat of such Government or authority or the residence of such person is outside the territorial jurisdiction of the High Court.[28] These amendments were concerned with the Judiciary in India.

The other important provisions included in the Fifteenth Amendment Act were on various matters. One clause makes it clear that India's sovereign rights extended also over the sea bed and sub-soil of the continental shelf adjoining its territories and beyond its territorial waters.

Another clause determines the procedure in dismissal, removal and reduction in rank of civil servants. Originally the Constitution provided that no civil servant should be dismissed, removed or reduced in rank until he had been given a reasonable opportunity of showing cause against the action proposed to be taken in regard to him.[28] The amended provision is that "no such person as afore said shall be dismissed or removed or reduced in rank except after an enquiry in which he has been informed of the charges against him and given a reasonable opportunity of being heard in respect of those charges and where it is proposed, after such enquiry, to impose on him any such penalty, until he has been given a reasonable opportunity of making representation on the penalty proposed, but only on the basis of the evidence adduced during such enquiry."[30] Thus two reasonable opportunities are provided to the delinquent officials.

It was at the recommendation of the Joint Select Committee that the exclusion of the "reduction in rank" from the scope of constitutional safeguard was dropped from the Bill when passed. Further in the House the clause was amplified to provide for additional opportunity of representation in respect of the penalty proposed where it happens to be dismissal, removal or reduction in rank. These changes have gone in favour of the delinquent officials and have tightened the process than hitherto.

Other provisions of the Fifteenth Amendment Act are minor ones. It has been provided that an acting Chairman of the P.S.C. may be appointed when necessary and that the expression "organisation of the High Courts" in the Entry No. 75 of the Union List would include also matters relating to "vacations." These are the important provisions made in the various Sections of the Fifteenth Amendment Act.

IV

The Committee on National Integration and Regionalism appointed by the National

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Integration Council recommended that Article 19 of the Constitution be so amended that adequate powers became available for the preservation and maintenance of the integrity and sovereignty of the Union. The Committee was of the view that every candidate for the membership of a State Legislature or Parliament, and every aspirant to and incumbent of, public office should pledge himself to uphold the Constitution and to preserve the integrity and sovereignty of the Union and that the forms of oath in the Third Schedule to the Constitution should be suitably amended for the purpose.

The Constitution (Sixteenth Amendment) Act has made necessary provisions to implement the above recommendations.[31] It has amended Art. 19 to enable the State to make, in the interests of the sovereignty and integrity of India, any law imposing reasonable restrictions on the exercise of the freedom of speech and expression, of assembly, and of association guaranteed under clause (1) of this Article. Generally speaking, the words "in the interest of the sovereignty and integrity of India" were covered by the terms "in the interests of security of the State" and/or "incitement to an offence." So far as the security of State is concerned it has included in it "the serious and aggravated form of public disorder."[32] Hence the separate existence of the phrase "tending to overthrow the State" was deemed to be redundant by the authors of the First Amendment Bill.[33] It may be said that since any act purported to have undermined the sovereignty and integrity of India will come under the terms "incitement to an offence," it appears, therefore, that this amendment of Art. 19 is redundant.

V

The Amendment further prescribes that all candidates in the election to the State or Central Legislature have to make an oath or affirmation to the effect that they would "uphold the sovereignty and integrity of India." Consequently, the form of oath or affirmation has been amended to include those words. These are in short the important features of the Sixteenth Amendment Act.

The four amendments discussed above have been enacted to meet the immediate needs, as felt by the Government, of the day. In the words of the Law Minister, Sri A. K. Sen, "these provisions have become necessary as a result of our experience of the working of the Constitution during the last fifteen years and the difficulties which have arisen as a result of judicial decisions primarily, and with regard to the Public Service Commission as a result of practical difficulties experienced due to illness or leave-taking by the Chairman, etc."[34] But on examination it may be found that in their anxiety to resolve the difficulties the Government has gone too far in making certain provisions in the Amending Acts which would threaten the very existence of the independent judiciary in India. As has been argued earlier, the Fifteenth Amendment Act which empowers the Parliament to make law for determining the age of a Judge would provide opportunity to the future Governments to utilise their majority in the Parliament to remove certain Judges. This is a grave menace to the working of the Judiciary and judicial freedom.

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1. The Naga Hills-Tuensang Area was administred then as a Part 'B' tribal area within the State of Assam. See the Scheduled Areas Order No. CO. 9, dated the 26th January, 1950, *Gazette of India*, Extraordinary, p. 670.

2. Article of the Constitution provides: "Parliament may by law (a) form a new State by separation of territory from any State or by uniting two or more States or parts of States or by uniting any territory to a part of any State; (b) increase the area of any State; (c) diminish the area of any State; (d) alter the boundaries of any State; (e) alter the name of any State."

3. The Constitution (Thirteenth Amendment) Bill, 1962 was introduced on August 21, 1962. It received the President's assent on December 28, 1962.

4. Part XXI of the Constitution of India covers Articles 369 to 392.

5. Art. 371. Before the Seventh Amendment Act, 1956 the Art. 371 made temporary provisions for ten years empowering the President of India to exercise control and give directions to the Part B States.

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6. Sec. 2(b), Constitution (Thirteenth Amendment) Act, 1962.
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Ibid.*
9. *Ibid.*
10. *Ibid.*
11. *Ibid.*
12. Arts. 54, 55, and 30(4).
13. Art, 170(1) has been amended. "Clause (1) of Art. 170 shall, in relation to the Legislative Assembly of Nagaland, have effect as if for the word "sixty," the word "Forty-six" had been substituted."
14. The Constitution (Fourteenth Amendment) Bill, 1962 was introduced in Lok Sabha on August 30, 1962 and in Rajya Sabha on September 7, 1962. President signified has assent on December 28, 1962.
15. Sec. 3, The Constitution (Fourteenth Amendment) Act, 1962.
16. Sec. 2, *Ibid.*
17. Sec. 4, *Ibid.*
18. Sec. 5 and 7, *Ibid.*
19. There were five cases of that nature disposed of by the Government. Vide speeches of Mr. A. K. Sen, Minister of Law, L. S. Debates, December 8, 1962.
20. In some cases decisions were taken by the Government determining the age of a Judge. It was proposed to give retrospective effect to the clause empowering the President to determine the age of a High Court Judge. See page 7 of the 15th Amendment Bill, 1962.
21. Art. 128.
22. Art. 220.
23. A.I.R. (1961), S.C., 532.
24. Art. 297.
25. Art. 311.
26. The Constitution (Fifteenth Amendment) Bill, 1962 was introduced on November 23, 1962 and passed by Lok Sabha on May 1, 1963. It was passed by Rajya Sabha on May 9, 1963.
27. In the Bill the provision was made that "the question shall be decided by the President after making such enquiry as he may deem necessery and his decision shall be final." But the Joint Committee recommended to change it to the present from.
28. The jurisdiction of the High Courts in the original provision of the Constitution was limited to the persons within the territorial jurisdiction of the High Court concerned.
29. Art. 311(2). See also Journal of Parliamentary Information, Vol. IX, Pp. 67-68.
30. The original intention in the Bill was to exclude "reduction in rank" from the constitutional safeguard and to restrict the opportunity to only one of being heard in respect of the charges.
31. The Constitution (Sixteenth Amendment) Bill, 1963 was introduced in the Lok Sabha on January 21, 1963 and passed on May 2, 1963. It was passed by the Rajya Sabha on May 9, 1963.
32. Ramesh Thappar *vs.* State of Madras, 1950, S.C.R., 594.
33. Sec. 3(1), The Constitu0tion (First Amendment) Act, 1951.
34. Lok Sabha Debates, December 8, 1962.

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ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF INDIA'S NON-ALIGNMENT POLICY

By LAXMI N. PIPARSANIA

The Chinese Aggression during October 1962, which of course continues even upto writing of these lines,† has changed the face of India as a whole. The nation has accepted the enemy challenge and it is put in a painful process of economic growth, particularly in view of the fact that the country is fighting simultaneously on the two fronts—defence and development. India's aspirations and policies aiming towards world peace and economic advancement have now certainly to overcome many powerful and obstructive forces both internally and externally. Her policy of non-alignment which has flourished over the years and which has paid much dividend to her in achieving the aforesaid objects, is put to severe test in the face of the Chinese menace. She is faced with the problem as to how to balance her non-alignment policy in the present setting. It is proposed to examine the economic aspect of this policy particularly in the context of India's growing foreign exchange requirements for defence preparations.

Brief Review of India's Non-alignment

In India, the first official declarations of a policy of non-alignment came with the assumption of power by the nationalist leaders in 1946. Immediately after the assumpton of charge as Member for External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations in the Government of India in September 1946, Pandit Nehru declared that India would keep away from power politics of groups aligned against one another which have led in the past to two world wars and which may again lead to disasters on an even vaster scale."[1] Subsequently he elaborated all the basic premises of the policy like anti-colonialism, non-alignment with power blocs and faith in the world organisation, *i.e.*, the United Nations.[2] Since then, India has vigorously pursued her non-alignment policy.

It is not that her way of non-alignment was free of obstacles. In fact, there were good many occasions when her policy was put to a severe test. However, it also afforded occasions for demonstration of its utility. For example, during the outbreak of Korean War in 1950, the policy pursued by India and Yugoslavia, both of which were at that time members of the Security Council, contributed in some measure to a lessening of the tensions and to creating the necessary atmosphere for peaceful negotiations between the two blocs.

The policy of non-alignment also won many adherents particularly along with the emergence of successful nationalist movements in Asia and Africa. The emergence of a group of Asian and African countries in the United Nations during the last decade is an important development in the growth of non-alignment. Although in a strict sense, it is not a well organised group, yet on the matters of common interest, they have to develop methods of consultation and co-operation. The recent conferences of non-aligned nations held in Cairo and Belgrade and the historical conference of Colombo Powers held in Colombo during December 1962 to mediate on the Sino-Indian conflict, are examples of such international co-operation among non-aligned nations.

Economics as a factor of the Policy

Out of many, a major factor determining the outlook of India and other newly independent nations to a considerable extent in their international relations is economics.[3] A background of undeveloped and under-developed economies, designed mostly on colonial patterns, was perhaps the most dominating force which

† Thanks are due to Mr. N. P. Nair for many suggestions on the subject.

1. Jawaharlal Nehru, *Independence and After*, A collection of more important speeches from September 1946 to May 1949, (Delhi, 1949), p. 340.

2. Indian Annual Register, Ed. N. N. Mitra (Calcutta, 1946) Vol. II. (July-September 1946), Pp. 251-8. cited. *India Q'ly*, January-March, 1962.

3. Nayar, N. P.—'Non-Alignment in World Affairs,' *India Quartely*, January-March, 1962.31.

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generated an urge in them for a rapid social and economic development of their economies. With the dawn of political independence, this urge has become a watch ward of nationalism in these countries. However, they also recognised the fact that the success of their plans of social and economic development are dependent on peaceful conditions, internally and internationally. 'The fear of a third world war which might do away with their sovereignty, if not existence, and all their hopes of national development, have, therefore, prompted these states to seek peace, even through tolerance and often at any cost.'[4] Particularly, India has practised such an attitude since she has been admitted to the comity of independent nations. Consisting of poverty-ridden masses which till yesterday served the cause of the British Empire, India started with her all out efforts to raise the standard of living of her people. Indian leaders have consistently stood for the cause of peace by supporting the United Nations Organisation and demand for total disarmament. Quite clearly it was in India's interest to follow a policy of neutrality in the struggle between the two great power bocs in the world. Industrially, from what she was before the advent of freedom, great developments have taken place since. Obviously, she is the most industrial nation in Asia next to Japan. With this might and record of a stable democracy and with her great size and active role played in solving international problems, India naturally emerged as a leader of Asia.

Quest for Asian Leadership

India had, of dourse, long been aware that not only she but, along with her, also China were engaged in a struggle for Asian leadership. In fact, the basis of this Sino-Indian struggle is ideological. India is trying to show that economic progress could be achieved through free institutions, a free society and through democratic methods ; the Chinese maintain that theirs is the only road to progress. This ideological struggle has now taken a turn in actual war when China by attacking India in October 1962, has tried to remind Asians that India's economic advance could be disrupted by the Chinese Military threat against which India might at some future date be able to defend herself only after a highly painful transformation of her economy. It is no wonder if the Chinese while planning their attalk on India, might be more actuated by India's development plans and achievements and less because of maps of their common frontiers.

The struggle for leadership is more clearly exposed on the Chinese side. According to Prime Minister Nehru, "a major objective of Communist China's policy was to pry India out of its position of non-alignment in the cold war." The Chinese applied military pressure on India's borders to destroy India's standing among neutral African and Asian nations and to increase Chinese influence among those nations.[5]

Non-Alignment Under Test

Amidst such a growing ideological conflict, the Chinese attack on India has altogether changed the co-ordinates of her political and economic life. In the wake of her military unpreparedness, she has been put into the dilemma of defence and development. And not only so, her non-alignment policy has become subject to severe test.

As has been the order of successive developments since the Chinese invaded India on 20 October 1962, it is now almost clear that it was first the West that appeared on the scene as the immediate purveyor of relief by recognising India's need at the crucial moment. India's acceptance of military aid has perhaps created a general feeling in the West that at heart India finds her fate linked with the West. It is also believed now more than ever, that Indians now realise that strings or no strings, their security depends on the major powers in the West. This belief may not be shaken even if Indian representative at the United Nations votes differently than the West. Not only this, Western critics also feel now in terms of India's after throught. According to them, the present trend in India's foreign policy is to introduce a much greater realism into Indian thinking on international relations. It was this belief of the United States and the United Kingdom which led them to send their diplomatic representatives to Indian in order

4. *Ibid.*

5. *The Hindustan Times*, 25, September 1963, p. 7.

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suggest to the Prime Minister for extending his 'realism' upto Kashmir also. Although the United States and the United Kingdom have extended timely Military assistance to India without any strings attached, yet the exception of the safeguarding clause protecting Pakistan. The Government of India responded to this pressure on Kashmir by reviving talks with Pakistan and by making offers many times for a "No War Pact" but certainly they could not go beyond this just because the West desires. In fact, this was another crucial test for India's non-alignment.

No Change in Non-Alignment Policy

While India has readily accepted the friendly aid from Western countries, yet her policy of non-alignment is least affected. Although Indian leaders have reiterated their belief in a free society, yet they have not even hinted at any change in the broad social and economic objectives of India's development. What is noticeable in her current foreign policy is the growing efforts for balancing the policy of non-alignment. While on the one hand the western countries have assisted her in great measure in her defence preparaedness, the U.S.S.R. on the other hand, has come forward with equal response either through supplying MiG jets or lately through her clear-cut condemnation of China for not accepting the Colombo proposals.[6]

In any case, the policy of non-alignment has once again proved to be successful in winning the favour of both the blocs. In terms of international diplomatic support, this achievement of India's foreign policy is of historical importance. There appears no ground to justify the possibility of any change in this policy. It is noticeable that the balance of non-alignment has been maintained lately by accepting economic defence assistance from both the blocs. Western critics have generally begun to feel that the West must come forward with liberal aid to India.

New Value attached to Non-alignment

And truly so, the West has greater stakes in India than any other country of Asia both socially and politically. It would be in greater interest of the West if India remains non-aligned and India's socialist leanings, her growing public sector and her voting for admission of China into the United Nations, should not be taken as a sign of India's departure from the values which are basic to the West. If these matters are so taken, and if they are reflected in the western policy in extending economic or military aid to India, certainly the West might be committing a folly, in that they would be failing to recognise in opportune time the real image of Indian society and the true potentiality of India's non-alignment policy.

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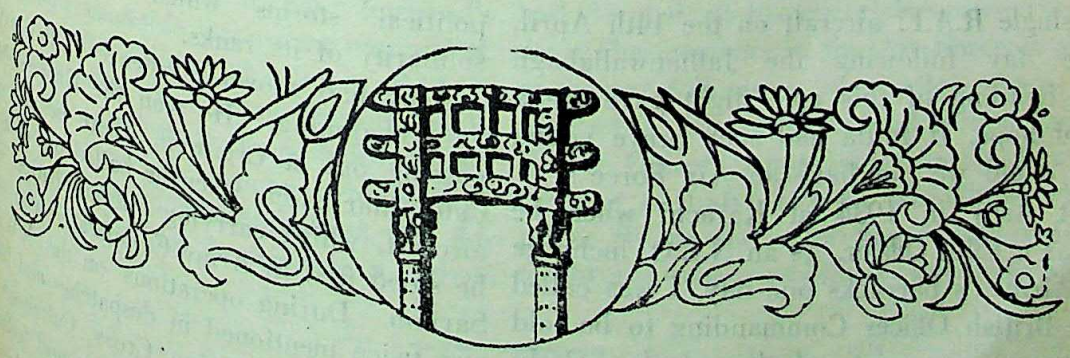
6. In addition, U.S.S.R. has recently reiterated that Kashmir is an inseparable part of India.



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AIR MARSHAL A.M. ENGINEER, D.F.C,
A personal Tribute

By Air Vice Marshal HARJINDER SINGH, VSM (I) M.B.E. (*Retd.*).

1st August will be a red letter day in the history of the I.A.F., when Air Marshal A.M. Engineer, one of the foremost pioneers of the Indian Air Force, will hand over the reins of administration as Chief of Air Staff to another gallant officer.

Aspy Engineer's contribution to the service equals Late Air Marshal Mukerjee's (who is affectionately known as the Father of the I.A.F.). From a very intimate and personal knowledge of both these brave men, I would say, their contribution is tremendous and unique.

It was in 1930 that as a college student in Lahore, I read the news that 17 years young Aspy Engineer, had flown solo from England to India and won the Agha Khan prize. This was no mean feat in those days. Flying an open cockpit, with no radio or navigational aids, a cross country of 5000 miles in a light, single engined aircraft, including a hop over the mediterranean, was something of which to be proud. It was heartening and morale raising; yet it puzzled me, because only a few weeks earlier the British Principal had given me a warning in connection with a strike "Shout" long live revolution, "the rest of your life or for that matter revolt with all your countrymen, we have a weapon which you can never have; the Royal Air Force." On further querry I discovered that the Government had put down the Gujranwalla rebellion with the use of a single R.A.F. aircraft on the 14th April, 1919, the day following the Jallianwallabagh Massacre. Reading of this epic flight gave me a glimmer of hope. If India had such brave young men, why could we not have an Air Force ?

I met Aspy in 1934 at Karachi when he joined us as a Pilot Officer. As an N.C.O. incharge of I.A.F. Airmen's barracks one day, I was called up by the British Officer Commanding to be told of the adverse comments of the day's orderly Officer P/O Aspy Engineer. In defence I retorted, "Sir, this new young officer has some original and revolutionary ideas. I consider this adherence to text book is typical of a newly commissioned officer. Give hm six months, he will come down."

How wrong I was, I learnt over the next thirty years when I had the good fortune to serve under him in various ranks. Aspy never came down ; he climbed higher and higher in his thoroughness and perfection. It is my prerogative as the oldest member of the I.A.F. also to pay tribute to this great man who left no stone unturned and gave Late Air Marshal Mukerjee unstinted loyalty and devotion and stood by him through thick and thin. Perhaps this part of his character can best be understood from the remarks of Mrs. Sharda Mukerjee, when I carried the news of Aspy's appointment as Chief of Air Staff one evening in November, 1960 at 'Air House' in Delhi. She spontaneously remarked, "It was his birth-right. He had done as much as my husband in building our air force. Now my husband's soul will rest in peace."

How right she was, I knew, because late Air Marshal Mukerjee had time and again paid glowing tributes to the loyalty and unstinted devotion he had received from his deputy for 20 years.

From the beginning Aspy had set a very high personal example to his subordinates and proved that 'a person who cannot obey cannot command'. This helped the I.A.F. to glide through the political storms which failed to touch the solidarity of its ranks.

Aspy had shown excellence in flying from the very beginning. He won the Grove's Medal on passing out at Cranwell, where he also won the Caterpillar badge when he bailed out of a burning aircraft, whilst carrying out aerobatics. Later on he stood first in Army Co-operative course at Sarium. During operations on the N.W.F.P. he was twice mentioned in despatches and later was a Distinguished Flying Cross, Culmination of a flying career, pride of an airman and fulfilment of the finest ambitions of a flying man. Aspy drove his subordinates hard, but he drove him

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leader. It was indeed a pleasure to work under him. He never expressed appreciation by words, but his little smiled did more than any vocabulary. A man who had the appearance of steel, carried an extremely sympathetic and kind heart. His spirit of adventure touched his three younger brothers, who also joined the Indian Air Force and fought gallantly in the last war. Two of them won decorations and one of them, now an Air Vice Marshal, is one of the most decorated Air Force Officers in the service today. His impartiality and sense of justice is unparalleled. He demanded the maintenance of the highest traditions in the service and tolerated no breach of discipline from any quarter.

I was a witness to an incident when Late Air Marshal Mukherjee was speaking to him on the telephone. "I cannot court martial 'Ronnie,' because he happened to be your brother." Later on, I learnt that an aircraft which was under repair was damaged because of a faulty design. Aspy wanted to punish his younger brother, because he happened to be the pilot of the aircraft. I could cite hundreds of examples from my personal knowledge which testify to the steadfastness and impartiality of his character.

It was, indeed, a pleasure and source of pride to serve in the company of such a man as Aspy Engineer, who had the confidence of all ranks, evoked one universal sentiment of respect and affection. He had identified himself with the welfare and the fame of the service.

He possessed great readiness and clearness of comprehension in discovering means and great readiness and honesty of purpose in applying them.

By unceasing diligence he gave the I.A.F., a name in the Air Forces of the world. Mrs. Aspy Engineer's contribution to her husband's career has been remarkable. An ardent nationalist, she fought all the political battle in R.A.F. Officers' messes, when the Indian Officers could not express their patriotic feelings before 1947. Needless to say, here is a woman behind Aspy who has always understood and realised that for a leader, simpler pleasures in life are to taboo. Delhi saw them rarely in evening parties excepting official ones.

It is not commonly known that the I.A.F. was born in the early thirties, when political upheavals in India had created strained relations with the British.

From the very beginning there was discouragement and disappointment in store for the few, who joined the I.A.F. then. The airmen known as Hawii Sepoys were treated on a par with Indian Soldiers and wore boots and putties even when working on aircraft. The officers were the worst hit. The treatment in the mess was derogatory. They were chased from pillar to post on duty. It was under such circumstances that P/O Daljit Singh wrote in his resignation "A sweeper is treated better than an Officer in the I.A.F. and I cannot stand it."

It goes to the credit of men like Mukerjee, Aspy Engineer, Majumdar, Narendra, Mehar Singh, R. H. D. Singh, Goyal & Habibullah Khan, that they suffered untold humiliations, yet laid the foundations of an air force without which political freedom would have been farce. Their names will be written in golden letters in the annals of the I.A.F.

The I.A.F. which was kept down by the alien Government before the war, expanded from 2 to 10 squadrons in a matter of 18 months and fought on the Burma front gallantly and won numerous flying decorations. From 1947 onwards the expansion which took place, later culminating in an all jet Air Force, the part played by Air Marshal Aspy Engineer will go down in history. India owes a great debt to him and the I.A.F. is a living monument to his untiring zeal, devotion to duty and dedication to the cause for which he had devoted all his energies and sacrified a great deal. The members of the Air Force in generations to come, will draw inspiration from this great man's life. He leaves behind a well knit band of Senior Officers whose sole aim in life is the air defence of India and an Air Force whose brave pilots fly in the most hazardous regions in the world and whose technical skill is second to none.

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THE PANDAS OF DEOGHAR

By P. C. ROY CHOUDHURY

THE Pandas of Deoghar form an exclusive community and a short description is indicated. The houses of the Pandas are concentrated at the *mahallas* Bilasi and Jhausagarh around the sacred temples of Lord Baidhyanath. There are more than one thousand families of Pandas at Deoghar. The Pandas mostly belong to a branch of the Maithili Brahmans. The titles of the Bihar Pandas are *Jha, Ojha, Misra, Narauna, Khaware, Duare, Jajware* etc. Some of the Pandas who came from Bengal are called *Chakravarti*. The population of the Pandas is about 12,000, about 10,000 of them are non-earning dependants and 2,000 are earning members. The livelihood of the majority of the Pandas depends on the offerings given by the pilgrims visiting Deoghar every year. A large number of pilgrims visit Deoghar during the *Shravani mela, Bhadra Purnima, Shivaratri, Basant Panchmi* and the *Durga Puja*. About 1,500 able-bodied Pandas were found actively assisting pilgrims in performance of various ceremonies during the *Shravani mela*.

The Pandas of Deoghar are usually physically strong like the Pandas of Mathura or Gaya. They usually take nutritious food. Their chief source of income is *dan* or gift from the pilgrims and they are always engaged in picking up new pilgrims. For avoiding clashes, the Pandas have divided the *jajmans* (pilgrims) region-wise which includes Nepal. The chief regional division appears to be a *pargana*, the fiscal unit. The first query of the Panda to the visiting pilgrim is what *pargana* he hails from. The Panda maintains the genealogical table of the *jajman* and this is considered to be patrimony. This is called the *Jajamanika* property and is carefully preserved. Each Panda family has a house for accomodating the visiting pilgrim. Even family members vacate the residential portion if necessary. No separate rent is charged for the accommodation. Money, food and clothes are donated by the pilgrim. *Penra* is the chief sweet-meat of Deoghar and *Penra* is also the *bhoga* (food) of Lord Baidhyanath. The *prasad* of *Penra* is taken home by the pilgrims.

The Pandas visit the railway stations, stops, *dharmshalas*, resedential hotels and bathing pond, Shivaganga, for picking up pilgrims. Many Pandas visit their *jajmans* their villages or towns in lean season and up a vital contact. In these visits they also tract fresh recruits to their *jajmanika*. If there marriage or any other big function in a Pa family he or his agent may visit some of chief *jajmans*, invite them and also get pres of cash, cloth or jwellery.

A Panda's work at Deoghar starts from A.M. in the morning and goes on till 1 A.M. the night ; there are two to three shifts w different sets work for picking the pilgrims. T next task is to escort the group of five to se pilgrims at the proper time to offer *puja* a oblation to Lord Shiva. Like many temples interior of the Baidhyanath temple is dark a the space is very limited. The pilgrim has undergo a sort of penance in offering especially when the rush is very great. T assistance of the Panda to the pilgrims on t occasion is necessary. Only the able-bodied a physically strong Pandas do this work.

The Pandas who have to work outside t temple go to the railway stations, Baidhyan dham and Jasidih junction. Three up and t down trains pass Jasidih junction in the morn (from 3-30 A.M. to 8 A.M.) and so one group the Pandas has to leave their home at about 2 A.M. for Baidhyanathdham railway station f which a train leaves at 3 A.M. for Jasidih. T Pandas pursue the pilgrims from the Jasi railway station. If the visiting pilgrim know name of his Panda he is accompanied by t Panda to whom he belongs from Jasidih Deoghar or his agent. After giving shelter in house the Panda takes the pilgraim to Shiva to have the holy dip in the sacred water and brings the pilgrim to the temple. There the members of his family remain ready since in the morning for taking the pilgrim the temple for oblation and the *puja*. It has

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be stated that after performing ceremonies connected with the *puja* of the Lord Shiva by the chief priest, which is called *Sarkari Puja*, the oblation is performed by the family of the Sardar Panda and other Pandas. The general oblation starts after that. During *Sarkari puja* only the selected Pandas are entitled to be within the temple and assist the chief priest in the ceremonies connected with the *puja*. The duranion of the *Sarkari puja* is about 30 to 40 minutes. The general oblation begins from about 5 A.M. A short margin of time is allowed in opening and closing of the great doors of the temple in consideration of the rush of the pilgrims. No one, not even the Pandas are allowed to enter within the temple unless one has taken the morning bath. So the Pandas who take the pilgrims inside the temple have to take their bath and *chandan* paste by 4.30 A.M. Light breakfast is also taken as the work in the temple concerning the pilgrims extends upto 1 P.M. when the gate of the temple is closed for rest of the Lord Shiva.

The Pandas usually take their day-meal after 1 P.M. Cooked food, usually rice, pulse, vegetable and *ghi* is taken. Meat and fish may also be in the menu. The Pandas of Deoghar are non-vegetarian. Curd with sweet, usually *Penra*, is taken during the mid-day meal. No food is usually cooked in the night. *Chura* and *dahi* with sweet is the normal food for the night.

After taking the mid-day meal they usually enjoy a siesta, or play card and chess. Between 4 to 5 P.M., many Pandas take *bhang* in a moderate quantity. After that they again move about in search of new pilgrims.

During the *Shringar* (decoration) ceremony of the Lord Shiva in the evening when there is a rush of the pilgrims, the Pandas resume their work of assisting the pilgrims in seeing the *Shringar*. About 50 to 60 Pandas participate in the *arti* ceremony and recite the prayer of Lord Shiva for about 30 minutes. During this period mostly the children of ten to twelve years sell incense, (*agarbati*), earthen *ghi* light and camphor. Some are engaged in showing *arti* to pilgrims standing before the temple and uttering prayer and demanding remuneration. Children are in the habit of pursuing pilgrims even outside the temple for some money. The gate of the temple closes between 9 and 10 P.M. in the night. The Pandas working within the temple finish their work by night-fall. But the Pandas who have to work outside the temple for picking up pilgrims have to work in the night also. Several Up and Down trains pass Jasidih between 8 and 12 P.M. in the night.

Besides picking up pilgrims on the railway platforms they have to watch every bus coming to Deoghar. The pilgrims from Dumka, Bhagalpur, Chotanagpur division and the bordering districts viz., Burdwan and Birbhum of West Bengal, mostly come to Deoghar by passenger buses. Deoghar is very well served by Bus services. About 60 buses come to Deoghar daily from different places between 6 A.M. to 10 P.M. The pilgrims either take shelter in the houses of their Pandas or in the *dharamshalas*. The Pandas frequently pay visit to *Dharamshalas* in search of new pilgrims and taking the customary gifts on the eve of departure from the old pilgrims. The persons who put up in the inspection and dak bungalows or hotels are also visited.

During the *melas* when there is a great rush of pilgrims, the Pandas have to work much harder and give up their wrestling bouts, siesta, games of card and chess. The Pandas usually get good dividend in the *mela* period. Even many of the Government servants who are members of the Panda families take leave and work within and without the temple and assist their family members in assisting the pilgrims.

The engagement of the Panda after *mela* period is practically very little. On the whole two months in a year the Pandas are fully occupied but for the rest of the year they have little work in the temple. During this long slack period they have to fall back upon the savings made during peak *mela* periods.

The women have practically little house-hold work. Their main duty in the house is cooking the mid-day meal. The morning break-fast is either purchased or supplied by the pilgrims. The usual break-fast is *chura* in which *kachauri* or *singhara* is mixed. The break-fast may also consist of *chura* and *curd* mixed with sugar or *penra*. Some take tea also. Chewing of *Pan* is common. The ladies of the Panda families have a lot of leisure and frequently visit one another.

The Pandas of Deoghar have started taking up other avocations. Some of them have become clerks, teachers, doctors, lawyers or businessmen. Some of them have taken active part in politics as well. Shri Binodanand Jha who was the Chief

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Minister of Bihar for a considerable period belongs to this community.

The Pandas of Deoghar were economically sound before but now the incidence of presents (*dan*) has been on the decline. Some of them own landed property, are better off and belong to the upper middle class. But the majority lives the life of a man who has not much savings after meeting all his expenses. But they cannot be said to be poor in the general acceptance of the term. Most of them have a lot of lean periods. It is a good sign that there has been a shift to other occupations as the old profession of being purely a Panda cannot be exploited beyond a certain limit. The Pandas of Deoghar have a good community feeling among themselves and in this respect they differ from the Pandas of Gaya who have frequent quarrels. The incidence of literacy and education among the Pandas of Deoghar is much higher than the incidence among the Pandas of Gaya.

The marriages of the Pandas are normally confined to the other Panda families at Deoghar. The biological aspects of this inbreeding has not yet been studied but generally speaking the position is not as alarming as among the Pandas of Gaya. In Gaya the Pandas are in a biological muddle and most of the Panda families in Gaya are probably liable to become extinct within a few generations. Already many of the Panda families in Gaya are without a male offspring and it is understood that the ladies in some cases are running the profession of the family with hired men. The Pandas of Puri and the Pandas of Kapilas temple in Orissa are also inbred. The background of the Pandas in Deoghar is somewhat different as they belong to the Maithil class among Brahmins and it will not be a difficult problem if some of the enlightened and educated Panda boys or girls marry in Maithil families in other districts. The biological aspects of inbreeding of the Pandas of various places is a fascinating subject for the human biologist and the anthropologist.

ALBERT CAMUS

By AMAL HALDAR

Albert Camus was born in Algeria into a very modest working class family. His childhood was spent in one of the poorer quarters of Algiers. In his early youth he was a member of the Communist Party but his sense of revolt was quickly aroused and his adhesion was short-lived. He entered the political arena through journalism first in Algeria and later in Paris. In 1937 he fiercely championed the cause of republican Spain and this was one of the many stands he was to take in favour of liberty and justice in the name of human dignity, which roused him later against the Hitlerite regime and against Stalinism.

During the war, despite very fragile health, he was a militant in the resistance movement and was one of the founders and for some years the leading contributor to the newspaper **"Combat."** His voice was raised in the great political debates which divided conscience both during and after the war. Not that he believed that a writer should always be intervening in contemporary politics. He has said that such a course will wear him out and prevent him from thinking. The writer, he declares, "should create if he can, and that first of all, especially if what he creates does not recoil before the problems of his own times" but "in exceptional circumstances" he should "permit no ambiguity about which side he has chosen. He should refuse, above all, to "dilute the effectiveness of his choice by shrewd hair-splitting or prudent reservations and should leave no doubt as to his personal intention to defend freedom." It is in this uncompromising spirit that he took the side of the insurgents in the Hungarian Revolt.

This rigour, he thinks, should apply even more forcibly to Leftist intellectuals, among whom he reckons himself. In the contemporary world, as he puts it, Conformism has fastened on the Left: "It is true that the right is not brilliant," he said in a recent interview, "but the Left is in full decadence

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a prisoner of words, bogged down in its vocabulary, capable of no other than stereotyped answers, failing consistently to measure up to the reality from which it asserts nevertheless that it derives its laws," The role of the intellectual, "he holds lies in pointing out that the king is naked when he is naked, and not in describing estatically his imaginary roles.

He follows his own dictum in prescribing a solution to the Algerian problem. He regards himsefl as an Algerian Frenchman and he does not approve the terrorism of the Algerian guerillas, since his early beginning as a Journalist in Algeria, he has always taken a liberal stand in a series of articles published in 1956" and also more recently, he defined his position. He advocated the end of the status then in force in Algeria, a Round Table conference that would include all the representatives of Algerian Parties and groups, and the discussion of the possibility of an autonomous, federated Algeria, which would preserve the liberties of the two peoples who inhabit the country.

Although already an established writer and one of the foremost among his contemporaries, and recognized as one of the greatest artist-moralists of our times, Camus is still developing. With regard to him there is still in the public mind an expectancy, the wish that he should still add to the artistic brilliance he has shown and to the Power of his thought and produce in the future works which will be fully equal to his most outstanding success. And the collection of short stories published this year does not indicate any falling off.

He has always been evolving. For the first five years or so of his literary career Camus showed himself as a pronounced pessimist, almost a nihilist, oppressed with a sense of the unending conflict of man with reason and ultimately with the moral order. In Noces he wrote, "A stone warmed up by the sun or a cypress which the sky lays bare in its full growth, furnishes the limits of the only world in which reason possesses any sense—Nature without man." This phase continues in **Caligula, Le Malentender** and **L' Etranger.** In all of them man is shown convinced of the absurdity of the world. In **L' Etranger,** however, a new vein revealed itself a streak of voltairean irony infused with pathos.

In this phase Camus found the mainstay of his lyricism in his praise of the life of the senses. But however preoccupied he might be with the absurdity of the world, neither in his exposition nor in his style did he ever show himself as anything but a believer in order and clarity and he gave a rational form to a philosophy which was obsessed with the incoherent and the irrational. He found in his classical style an antidote to the "disgust for life" and saw in art a counter-destiny for man.

But from 1942 onwards Camus began to move towards a humanistic position. Participation in the Resistance was for him an influence towards this end. By taking risks for a cause, Camus evolved towards a philosophy which recognized the eternal values of the conscience above the contingencies of history.

He has written essays, novels, plays and short stories, the most notable of which are the following: Essays—**Noces** (1939), Le Mythe de sisyphe (1942), Letres a un Ami Allemand (1945), L' Homme Revolte (1952); Novels—L Etranger (1942), La-Peste (1947), Theatre—Le Malentandu (1944), Caligula (1944), L'Etat de siege (1948), Les Justes (1949), Short stories—L'Exil et le Royaume (1957).

In his letters, O un Ami a un Ami-Allemand, he stated that man ought to set himself against moral nihilism and take the part of justice even aganist the gods. In La Peste this tendency reached its culmination. In L'Homme revolte, Camus is the champion of what might be called secular humanism, which rejects any form of violence on man. He thus becomes an advocate of reforms rather than of revolutions, and he shows himself disinclined to sacrifice any part of the liberty and happiness which man enjoys to-day in the expectation of an ideal future.

Suddenly a motor accident has come over his life. And he has left this universe for even on 4th January, 1960.

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SOCIALIST THINKING

By Prof. A. SEKHARAN

Although a good deal has been said for over a quarter of a century about socialism, a socialistic outlook has yet to grip the mind of the Indian people. When we discuss a particular issue over and over again, it is likely that its contents may be deprived of their vitality and its meaning distorted. So with socialism, which has already undergone a thorough scrutiny by our political leaders.

The very fact that the tenets of socialism can be sacrificed for the purpose of canvassing more ballots in elections has brought considerable ill-repute about it in our country

There are at present numerous interpretations of the concept of socialism. It varies from country to country, according to the national thinking. Naturally, therefore, there is a lot of misgivings about its implications in a welfare society. We find that different social systems adopt the socialist ideology differently. Yet, we cannot categorically say all those are correct from a social point of view. Some countries have unfailing faith in the socialist creed and have also achieved a great deal by putting it into practice, while some others have partically accepted what seemed to them the best part of it. Yet, there are some more who proclaim the virtues of socialism as a disguise—it is only a disguise because they want to preserve the most reactionary and anti-social institutions under their control. It is therefore imperative that we sort out these mixed thinkings on socialism, so that we may not lose sight of the fundamental concept of it at any rate.

What may be the fundamental concept of socialism? To build a society in which every member can enjoy the fruit of his labour undisturbed by outside interference. It means it ensures complete equality of status and income. Being equal at birth and death, every human being has been granted some exclusive rights and privileges by Nature herself. If he wishes to live he must work; if he works, he must eat and drink. There cannot at all be a dispute over the issue that a working man must have bread to eat.

To say that man cannot live on bread alone is correct to some extent. But it is equally correct to say that man cannot live without bread as well. The moment you deny him bread, you also deny him the very right to live.

Surely, the first man on earth should not have wandered about in search of the Ultimate Reality, the origin of God, etc. Possibly, his first attempt was to get some things to eat, something to hide his nakedness, to protect the body from the sun, wind and rain. The investigation of Truth and the related things, in all probability, started at a later date. We can, therefore, safely conclude that man wants food and clothing first. Then come his culture, civilization, wisdom and all that. On empty stomach, one's limbs will not function. So his brain, mind and power of thinking. Suppose, a particular social system is unable to guarantee him his elementary necessities of life, can we then call it a healthy social system from the human point of view?

Until the Second World War, the Soviet Union was the only country in the world which had embarked on the experiment of complete socialization of the Community. We know, there were many differences of opinion outside that country in regard to the method she chose to press the new idea home. But all criticisms were superfluous and, as such, they melted away gradually. Later, the achievements of the Soviet Union became a symbol of human faith and practice.

When the war came to its logical end several countries in Europe and Asia found themselves freed from the yoke of discredited imperialism. The devastating catastrophe had already brought in its train utter ruin and tion and untold miseries. Beautiful cities and powerful industrial centres were reduced to ashes, the agriculture and native industries

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totally collapsed. Uprooted millions looked aghast at the gloomy future. Poverty and hunger danced on the face of the masses. Nevertheless, the example of the Soviet Union was before them all the same. Anxious as they were to lift up the faces of the millions, the newly liberated countries unhesitatingly plunged into a crucial experiment of national reconstruction. India was also one of them.

However, the attempt at socialism was not as easy as many had imagined. It was good in so far as it spread the ideal of socialism, but it had its adverse effects on the basic creed.

A student of history may well know that the seed of capitalism is hidden in the process of natural growth of fuedalism. As a matter of fact, the former sprouts out when the latter is still decaying. The growth of capitalism, therefore, in a newly freed semi-feudal, semi-colonial country cannot be a strange phenomenon. It is a historical feature, an inevitable consequence in the normal political development of any country. There is no reason why India should be an exemption from this, unless there is an attempt to change the course of events.

We all know that the issue of socialism has been before the Indian National Congress for more than thirty years. Nevertheless, why is it still hanging on the air? The answer is simple: On the one hand, the sweeping tide of revolutionary upsurge from abroad had engulfed the Congress and forced the periodical thinking on its policies and programmes; on the other, the reactionary elements within and without the Congress would not allow it to proceed to any more than ceremonial discussions and pious resolutions on the issue.

Often, in order to keep the balance between the fighting forces, the Congress Party defined the issue under various **noms de guerre**: Socialism, Socialistic Pattern of Society, Democratic Socialism. One may wonder what is the significance of democratic. Because, the idea of 'democratic socialism', since Socialism is itself democratic, socialism from the Congress point of view has been evolved on its own, consideration of our cultural beritage and tradition. Hence, it has a separate identity. International implications apart, in socialist thinking the Congress is in favour of a nationalist approach.

Nationalism in a limited sense is good, but exessive nationalism is equally harmful, because socialism is an international system of society, the message of which cuts accross the boundaries of all nations. Not only it stimulates the national spirit of well-being, but also it fervently appeals to an international brotherhood. This is more so, as far India is concerned, for the basic urge of her culture and civilization from time immemorial, is for universal brotherhood. Whenever, India tried to work out her destiny along this line, she became extremely popular and the people outside her four boundaries looked upon her for guidance and inspiration. But whenever she ignored her own destiny and basic ideals, she remained confined through and through inside her shell, accepting dictation and domination of other people. It is then apparently clear that India has to play a dual role in implementing the socialist ideology.

Judging from the existing social conditions, we cannot say exactly that we have reached anywhere near socialism, or Socialistic Pattern of Society. Let us be frank. If the path chosen by the Congress is infested with dacoits and robbers, we will never reach our destination. The Indian masses are well-known for their patience and power of endurance even in the most distressing conditions. It, does not however, mean that a pathetic and humiliating life experience can continue for ever. There was a time when India was fantastically spiritual. But the impact of modern science and technology has rudely shaken her superstitious and mystic thinking.

Now, she is coming out of her shell and as she comes out, she appears to be gigantic and wonderful in stature. There may be persons to push her back again into her own shell, but it is certain that once she comes out she will not be able to go back into that wretched shell of social prejudices and ignorance. Only if we embark on a gigantic social transformation based on unmixed socialism can we survive.

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ROLE OF TRADE UNIONISM IN INDIAN ECONOMY

By Prof. S. N. MEHROTRA

Trade Unionism has been influenced by a number of ideologies from time to time. To Karl Marx, in Germany, a trade union was first and foremost "an organising centre. It provided the locus for collecting the forces of working classes. The trade unions developed originally out of the spontaneous attempts of the workers to do away with the competition, or at least to restrict it for the purpose of obtaining at least such contractual conditions as would raise them above the status of bare slaves."[1] His theory of class conflict and dialetical materialism created a class of trade unionists who regard labour unions as absolutely essential for bringing about a revolutionary and fundamental change in the existing social order. Considering inherent contradictions in the economic order, Marx stressed the need for a complete change. Thus, he gave a political character to the character of a trade union. Lenin characterised it as "an educational organisation, a school of administration, a school of economic management and a school of Communism."[2] The Webbs, on the other hand, to whom we owe a great deal for their standard works on the subject in Great Britain, considered trade unionism to be the extension of the principle of democracy in the sphere of industry. They defined a trade union "as a continuous association of wage-earners for the purpose of maintaining or improving the conditions of their working-lives."[3] To them, the unions were the institutions for overcoming managerial dictatorship to strengthen individual labourers and to give them 'some' voice in the determination of conditions under which they have to work. But, Cole, being a syndicalist, considered 'ultimate control of the industry' as the object of trade unionism. The demand for the control of industry is something quite different from the demand for higher wages or shorter hours; it is essentially a demand to control industrial conditions and processes. It is in this sphere that the demand of labour unions must be met as "labour's remedy," observes Cole, "for the cure of profiteering is not a share in the profits for itself, but the public ownership of industry combined with a system of democratic control."[4] According to Cunnison, a trade union is a "monopolistic combination of wage-earners who, as individual producers, are complementary to one another, but who stand to the employers in a relation of dependence for the sale of their labour and even for its production; and that the general purpose of the association is, in view of that dependence, to strengthen their power to bargain with the employers."[5] Similarly, Prof. Kuhon (U.S.A.) also maintained "Having been separated from the ownership of the tools with which they (workers) earned a living, they could accept this separation as part of the new order, and try to improve their well-being within it by bargaining with the new owners. This alternative may be described as the bargaining approach. The other alternative is to refuse to accept the separation as permanent, but try to regain ownership and control of the instruments of production. This alternative approach may be described as the 'ownership' approach. Whether the working class chose the bargaining approach or the ownership approach, its members had to be organized.....Both approaches led to unions and bargaining. Thus, to those who believe in bargaining approach, trade unionism is essentially utilitarian in its aims.

Against the above background, it is well maintianed that trade unions have to change their methods and working from time to time to adjust themselves to changing ideologies. In other words, we visualise a dynamic role of trade unionism, depending on social economic and political ideas and institutions. Such a role of trade unionism is to be examined with reference to our own country. During the early period of 1918-25, Indian

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labour was a large incoherent mass, brought together by economic distress and political expediency. In the absence of any legal safeguards, organisation of labour was an illegal conspiracy[7] and the employers could easily victimise their employees and their leaders. Consequently, collective bargaining to improve the workers' lot was a practical impossibility. At the same time, the early period of unionism synchronised with the immediate post-war political inspirations, culminating in the Swaraj Movement. Naturally and inevitably, the leadership for the infant trade union movement was provided by the political upsurge. Thus, trade unionism in this country imbibed a deep political colour. But, "to promote a healthy growth of the Trade Union Movement by protecting legitimate trade unions, giving them status and dissociating them from political propaganda, which may conceal their real aims and jeopardise their usefulness and to protect the ignorant and superstitious workers from fraud and imposture to which they can be easily exposed, an Act called the Trade Union Act was passed in 1926."[8] Thus, trade unionism got legal recognition which ultimately enhanced the status of the unions in the eyes of the employers and the general public and even unregistered unions were benefited on account of the greater confidence given to the movement as a whole.[9] Labour is not the only party interested in the development of unions as "no work, no living, no amenities of life can be assured for any body in planned society....unless he is a member of an organisation appropriate to his work."[10] But the employer is equally interested in it as "it has been realised that the collective grievances of wage-earners can be fruitfully channelised through trade unions and failure to do so would keep the embers of industrial unrest burning." Dr. Punekar, therefore, points out that "they are now considered even by the employers not merely as an inevitable response to the challenge of modern industrialisation but more so as an essential tool for industrial peace."

But, it is wrong to think that only industrial participants—labour and capital—are anxious to see trade unionism on sound footing. The State, being the custodian of the community's welfare, can ill afford to remain a silent spectator and that is why the Planning Commission realised, "The employer-employee relationship has to be conceived of as a partnership in a constructive endeavour to promote the satisfaction of the economic needs of the community in the best possible manner."[11] The First Plan further added in this respect that, "the workers' right of association, organisation and collective bargaining is to be accepted without reservation as the fundamental basis of mutual relationship. The attitude to trade unions should not be just a matter of toleration. They should be well aimed and helpful to function as part and parcel of the industrial system."[12] All this led to the important realisation that trade unions can play a positive and important role in the execution of plans. Thus, healthy development of trade unionism is considered to be necessary "both for safeguarding the interests of labour and for realising the targets of production."[13] The current Plan has again reiterated that "they have to be accepted as an essential part of the apparatus of industrial and economic administration of the country."[14]

All this implies that trade unions in a growing economy and under democratic planning have to assume new responsibilities and must be prepared to discharge them. Besides undertaking the work of national reconstruction through execution of different plans, they are the vital instruments of transformation of the social set up and of equalization of income in the society by increasing the workers' share in the national income. Thus, trade unions "are pluralist in character."

In spite of the fact that trade unions have earned both legal and social status, both from the employers and the State, they have been subject to serious handicaps —legal as well as otherwise. As the Indian Trade Unions Act, modelled on the British Trade Union Act, 1876, defines a trade union as "any combination whether temporary or permanent, formed primarily for the purpose of regulating the relations between workmen and employers or between work-

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men and workmen, or between employers and employers, or for imposing restrictive conditions on the conduct of any trade or business, and includes any federation of two or more trade unions,"[15] the organisations or associations of both employers and employees, differing greatly from one another not only in the aims and the methods to be followed, but also in the constitution and class of membership can be grouped up under the head 'Trade Union'. Strictly speaking, the term 'trade union' refers only to workers' organisations. Even organisations, for workers but not of workers, have no right to be called trade onions.[16] Hence, the inadequacy of legal definition leads to certain confusions in the minds of certain individuals interested to study the position of the workers' organisations only. Secondly, the interpretation of the Supreme Court as to the term 'workman' as defined in the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947, that: "the essential condition of a person being a workman within the terms of this definition is that he should be employed to do the work in that industry, that there should be in other words, an employment of his by the employer and that there should be the relationship between the employer and him as between employer and employee or master and servant,"[17] severly limits the potential membership of the Indian trade unions, provided the above sort of interpretation is to be applied to the term under the Trade Union Act, 1926. Thirdly, regulation of conditions of recruitment, discharge, disciplinary action, holidays etc., of the workers through the institution of standing orders under the Industrial Employment (Standing Orders) Act, 1946, has mitigated the necessity of forming unions to a certain extent. The detailed provisions about the conditions for their certification, date of operation, display, modifications and adjudications of dispute as to their interpretation really restrict the scope for the existence of the unions. Fourthly, the provisions under the Industrial Disputes Act as regards Government's unfettered discretion in referring the disputes to adjudication machinery tended to minimise the utility of the workers' organisations. In the words of Shri Giri, "Compulsory adjudication has cut at the very root of trade union organisation. ....If workers find that their interests are best promoted only by combining, no greater urge is needed to forge a bond of strength and unity among them. But compulsory arbitration sees to it that such a bond is not forged." Lastly, Sec. 46 of the Industrial Disputes Act enables a worker if he so desires to be represented by a union, but it does not enable a union to represent its members. Apart from the general law of agency, a trade union can not bind by its decision its own members, far less the non-union members. All these legal handicaps have adversely affected the collective bargaining position of the unions and thereby the growth of trade unionism in the country.

The political division of trade unionism has also been responsible for affecting adversely its contributions to the economy. Unlike in Britain where the relationship between the Labour Party and trade unions is in the nature of a partnership based on equality and independence, in India the unions are to all intents and purposes have been adjuncts of the different political parties. Far from being equals, joined together for promoting mutual strength and interest and to serve the country's interests, the unions have been the hand-maidens of the political parties. Again, in England trade union loyalties are almost entirely for the Labour Party, whereas in this country every political party, except the Swatantra Party, has unions affiliated to it. It is because of this political division that union leadership is now by and large identified with the workers but often consists of a professional leadership, financed by the political parties. It must, however, be recognised here that outsiders have played a notable part in building up the trade union movement in the country. But for their association, the movement would not have reached even its present dimensions and strength. "A distinction needs to be drawn here between outsiders who are whole-time trade union workers and those who look upon union work only as a part of their other activities. There is still need for devoted workers of the first kind in the trade union organisations and the right of

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trade unions to elect such persons to their executives, if they do so choose, should not be interfered with. Even so, the unions need to realise that undue dependence on any one not belonging to the ranks of industrial workers must necessarily affect the capacity of workers to organise themselves."[18] It is, however, a matter of some relief that although of late, certain efforts have been made to reduce the intervention of outsiders as executives of the unions.

Thirdly, the poor finances accompanied with the low membership of the unions have always stood in the way of their extramural activities and adequate representation of the workmen before the State-sponsored adjudication machinery.

To strengthen trade unionism in the country—a 'sine qua non' for the success of industrial democracy which has to go hand in hand with political democracy, it is necessary that undue reliance on the adjudication mechinery is abandoned by limiting its scope in the strictiest possible manner. Secondly, "all the workers, whether in the field or factory, who believe in undiluted democratic and socialistic ideals in the running of the movement, should, join hands to form a single central organization to represent, in an authoritative manner, all their reasonable demands..... An attempt should be made to effect trade union's unity in India. Our goal should be one union in one industry and one central organisation for all workers."[19] Thirdly, unions must be made financially strong. Though the amendment Act of 1960 has laid down the minimum subscription fee of 25nP. per month, it is equally necessary that there should be stricter enforcement of the rules regarding collection of arrears. If necessary, the Payment of Wages Act should allow the employers to deduct such dues along with other deductions from the amount of wages payable to the workers and then transfer them to the respective unions.

Conclusion

The effective contributions of trade unionism to the development of the Indian economy can be expected only in circumstances free from acrimonies between labour and capital. It must be fundamentally realised that there is no necessary hostility between labour and capital. Neither can do without the other; each has evolved from the other;.....broadly considered, the interest of one is the interest of the other; and the prosperity of the one is the prosperity of the other."[20] It implies the abandonment of the Doctrine of Class-conflict which only serves to divert the attention of the trade unions from vital issues. Again, the unions must at all costs preserve their independence and should not allow themselves to be exploited for political purposes. Indian industrial labour must rebuild its own house of trade unionism in an orderly fashion to meet the challenge thrown to them by the Plans which have advocated the creation of industrial democracy as a prerequisite for the establishment of a socialist society through democratic means.

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THE FIRST INDIAN PRINCESS IN ENGLAND
Victoria Gowramma

BY I. M. MUTHANNA

EXACTLY one hundred years ago an Indian princes married to an Englishman passed away in England in a suburban house of the City of London. How many Indian ladies had preceded her to England, nobody knows, but from all known facts it is concluded that this lady from India who accompanied her father, the exiled ruler of Coorg, then a tiny princely State, was the first Indian princess to visit England in the year 1852, a century and twelve years ago.

She was Gowramma—a lovely Karnatic name —meaning 'the white lady.' With her she bore the sorrows, trials and tribulations suffered by the Indian rulers exiled or dethroned in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Gowramma personified the love, tolerance and sufferings of Indian womanhood, so much so, that she was constantly by her father, Prince Viraraja the Younger of Coorg, who brought up his daughter with loving care and affection.

How this young princess happened to be in England one-hundred and twelve years ago, is a story of absorbing interest.

Intrigues within the tiny State of Coorg fomented by the East India Company Government, invited their intervention in the first quarter of the last century. But this intervention was in violation of the pledge the Company had signed in the presence of the Raja's great predesessor in March 1793 which stated that the British would not interfere in the affairs of Coorg.

The Company Government whose one aim and end was to bring the whole of India under its rule, fully exploited the situation, with the result that the Raja of Coorg was forced to struggle against Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan. In the eighteen-thirties, the affairs of this little State reached an intriguing climax when the British Government took the earliest opportunity of deposing Viraraja which they did on the 6th April 1834 after conducting a punitive expedition.

Even by heaping a lot of accussations on the dethroned Raja, the Company Government could not explain away their misconduct. Finally they took refuge on the provisions of International law which of course was not at all relevant in this connection. Verily Coorg was the only State that was annexed by the British under the circumstances.

The Raja of Coorg was taken a prisoner and was sent to Vellore. He was allowed to carry his money and crown jewels. His family accompanied him. But the confusion caused by the Vellore mutiny expedited the Raja's transfer to Benares where he stayed virtually as a prisoner for more than fifteen years.

From 1834 to 1852 is a long period for a royal prisoner to brood over his past, and plan his future as well. The Raja of Coorg under detention in Benares, consequently became a good friend of highly placed Englishmen of the time, and was even visited by the British Governors and Governors-General from time to time. This was certainly an enviable record for a deposed Raja.

After repeated letters of request for permission to leave for England on the plea of educating his young daughter, Viraraja finally succeeded in getting the letter of consent by the Governor-General-in-Council, of course under very humiliating conditions regarding his travelling expenses and that of the Government appointed guides and guards, which he had to bear himself in full. Unmindful of these pin-pricks, the enterprising prince of Coorg undertook the voyage accompanied by his daughter Gowramma who was then twelve years old. In a ship in which a number of British officials who were going home on leave, had taken their berths, Prince Viraraja and his daughter were accommodated. From the Calcutta docks the ship sailed for three months and reached the Thames estuary carrying the first Indian ruler of a State ever to visit England.

No sooner had he set foot on British soil, the Raja felt that he had amply fulfilled his long cherished ambition. Without losing his regal character, he briskly took his programme as planned, with the help of his English friends. He succeeded in having an audience with Queen

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Victoria who was very much impressed by the beauty and grace of his young daughter. The Queen graciously undertook to bring up the princess under her personal care and appointed a nurse to look after her. After some time she was baptised by the Archbishop of Canterbury in the presence of the Queen of England and a host of distinguished lords including Lord Russell, Hon'ble Wellesley and many others at the private chapel of the Buckingham palace. She was christened as Victoria Gowramma.

Princess Gowramma and her father Viraraja in England

The girl grew up under the royal patronage. At this time another Indian prince of the Punjab happened to be in England, and Queen Victoria wanted to get the princess married to this exiled young Raja of the Punjab. In the meantime, Gowramma's health failed, and therefore, arrangements were made to send her to the continent for a change in the company of her nurse and the young Raja.

Viraraja the Younger, at the same time, had been busy fighting with the British Government for his lost kingdom as well as personal property. He campaigned vigorously through the Press when he said, "I require only that which I am in every respect entitled to by the law of nations, by the law of Nature and Justice." Finally his case was heard by the House of Lords. The proceedings happened to be so lively that it became classical in its content. The speeches delivered in the English Parliament on the occasion were so passionately exciting and next only to Burke's impeachment orations.

Although Viraraja lost his case, he spent the rest of his life in England and died in 1859 with tragic memories of his home in India--Coorg. He presented all his gold and Crown jewels to his daughter who was at his bed-side.

Queen Victoria continued to take interest in Victoria Gowramma although the health of the latter had considerably deteriorated. Her romance with the Indian prince was not successful. A few months later, however, she married an English army officer Col. Campbell, who had once served in the Madras regiment. The Campbells had a girl child who was named as Edith Victoria. Victoria Gowramma who became completely bed-ridden soon after, passed away in 1864, just one-hundred years ago.

Gowramma was thus the first Indian princess in England who stood by her father Viraraja in his endeavour to get back his kingdom, and in his compaign against the atrocities perpetrated by the East India Company Government. Indeed, the father and daughter moved among the British aristocrats and even the English Sovereign, and were actually the unofficial representatives of Bharat that had just lost its freedom to the foreigners. Their outstanding presentation of India's cause before the English parliament where the case was heard created considerable stir.

Gowramma's husband Col. Campbell's history became a mystery after her death. He was seen after a few days walking out of his house with a bag containing the Crown jewels of his diceased wife, but nothing was known about him thereafter. Their daughter Edith Victoria grew up under the care of nurses. She had a son Victor Yardley

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who died in Australia about thirty years ago after an accident.

Here ends the tragic saga of an unfortunate royal dynasty that defied not only the terrors of Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan in the eighteenth century, but defied the East India Company and finally the British Government itself.

Therefore, it is fitting that Princess Gowramma's one-hundredth death anniversary be remembered by the country. She was a princess who shed lustre, grace and charm in the English royal household. Coorg, as a princely state, has long disappeared. The British Government in India has also become a chapter of past history. But history that makes the moving episodes unforgettable, lives for ever.

THE EAST-WEST MUSIC CONFERENCE

A Critical Review

By Dr. ADI GAZDER

The East-West Conference was held in New Delhi from the 7th-13th February. There were delegates from the U.K., France, Yugoslavia, Iran, Hungary, the Federal Republic of Germany, the USSR, Czechoslokia, the German Democratic Republic, the USA and Canada. Because of the unfortunate lack of other Eastern participation, the conference could have been more factually termed India—West Conference.

The Conference set out to discuss various comparative aspects of music between the West and India, and several concerts were also presented from both sides.

It was the logical sequel to two similar encounters in Tokyo, '62 and at the 1963 Edinburgh Festival. It opened with an inauguration ceremony at the Azad Bhavan auditorium and the Presidential address was delivered by Prof. Humayun Kabir.

The conference consisted of morning sessions at which the musicologists were the star performers and evening concerts at which the musicians presided. There were four sessions of discussions which were presided over by Yehudi Menuhin, Dragotin Cvetko, the Earl of Harewood and Nicholas Nabokov. The subjects for the morning discussions were 'Evolution in Music', 'The differences and similarities in Musical Structures of Indian and Western Music', 'The Psychology of the Listener and of the Musician', and 'Traditional Music facing Industrial Civilisation'.

The evening concerts featured both Indian and Western artistes. Among the memorable performances were those by Bismillah Khan, the Studio for Medieval Music, the duet of Ravi Shankar and Ali Akbar Khan and the sitar and sur-bahar of Vilayet Khan and his brother Imrat Khan.

In this reviewer's opinion none of the concerts reached the high watermark of artistic excellence except perhaps the concluding session. Balasaraswati, the well-known exponent of Bharata Natyam, also gave a dance recital. This was rather an odd choice for there were other musical aspects of India which could have been stressed at such an encounter of East-West, like Rabindra-sangeet or folk music, etc.

Generally speaking, it was in the discussion that our Indian viewpoint was badly presented with a few notable exceptions, and it was mixed up with a lot of musicological verbiage of essentially Indian origin. The Indian standpoint though erudite was considerably **garbled** and frightened many of the Western delegates from probing any further into Hindustani or Karnatic music.

In summary, therefore, this reviewer would like to make the following observations :

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(a) Artistic

By forcing Hindi musicians, (Bismillah Khan, Ravi Shankar, Ali Akbar Khan, Vilayet Khan, etc.) to play to a programme length of 45 minutes was in itself indicative of a lack of understanding of our art, for it cannot really be confined to such a strict time schedule. Indian musicians did not speak at the musicological deliberations. This was a pity, because in the opinion of this observer, they could have expressed in adequate and easily understanble musical terms to the westerners, a musician's point of view on details of clarification, etc. Considering it was an Indian—West venture, no simultaneous lecture recital series by our distinguished musicians were arranged for the benefit of those not fully cognisant of Indian music. The Indian musicologists had a surprising lack of contact with the musicians and public dissensions between the two as expressed at for example in Amir Khan's recital together with the tremendous rivalry between the Hindi and Karnatic music schools, as well as the technical terminology on which there was no basic agreement between North and South, or East and West prevented this conference from achieving any tangible results. The Western musicians probably left with a view of Indian music as being a ritualistic jargon of music and dietary and physical exercises, and yogic postures together with a mass of unclassifiable terminology which varied in meaning from one authority to another, e.g. sruti, murchhanas, ragas, talas, etc.

(b) Organisation

One could not understand how the Indian contingent to this conference was selected and on what basis they were classified as observers or delegates. Who formed the committee and was it based on an All-India basis as the title suggested? Who was responsible for the programme? Where were Omkarnath Thakur, Dilip Chandra Vedi, D. T. Joshi, at the conference tables? One missed hearing Bade Golam Ali Khan, Ahmed Jan Thirakhwa (tabalchi) and C. Balachandra (veena). A notable absentee was the sarangi which, as an instrument which would have been more easily appreciated by the westerners, and Ram Narayan or Sagir Khan could have been valuable recitalists.

The official programme itself did telescope Indian artistes into a very tight fitting evening schedule and probably this accounted for their admittedly unsatisfying performances.

For future reference this critic outlines a plan which will probably yield more satisfactory results. The first essential is to have a regular central Musical Organisation which should be tied up with the Academies of Music in the various areas, (these being situated in principal cities, e.g., Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Delhi and Banaras, etc.). From the committees of these academies the central committee should be formed consisting of two or three members of each region. This committee would then be more representative of musical opinion in the country on an all-India basis. It would then be able to more actively activate all possible talent sources, and mobilise and effectively present them at future conferences. The committee will also serve a double purpose and prevent overlapping of artistes with the same instrument and give new artistes in each region a chance in the various sections of instrumentalists and vocalists.

For example, one year the outstanding musicians would be sarod and shehnai players, and the other instrumentalists could be some of our up and coming musicians, on the sitar, sarangi, veena, etc. For the next conference the distinguished representatives would be from two other fields, sitarists and vocalists, for example, and the other instrumentalists be represented by younger talent. In this way we would represent practically most of our major instrumentalists and singers over a whole spectrum, encouraging at the same time our younger musicians as well.

At an East-West venture it would be wise to have a small almost clinical discussion in the afternoon, at a time during which no programme is arranged. If this were done in a sort of series and in progressive fashion, foreigners could get a reasonable under-

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standing of each particular instrument and its artistic significance, etc. At the end of these clinical discussions a few ragas should be demonstrated during the informal discussions, and these ragas (say 4 to 6) should be the ones which are played at the evening concerts, thereby enlivening and training the novitiate. This programme must be an integral part of the conference for there are many people who would come to such conferences if they were sure of obtaining really authentic information and knowledge of Indian music at these encounters.

A terminology conference should be called at a very early date for musicians in India to standardise some sort of terminology and basic values for otherwise this nonconformity leads to even greater confusion at conferences and shows a lack of unity of thinking in Indian artistic circles. This lack of unity is outstanding among musicologists but not quite so apparent among the musicians. This meeting should be called at a very early date with an agenda prepared carefully beforehand so that musicians and musicologists who come, could arrive with some preparation before the discussions started. From this conference, if it is wide and representative enough, regular committees could be drawn up as well as a central committee from the regional ones. This technical congress for standardisation of terminology would serve after 4 or 5 meetings as Indian representatives for an international congress on the same subject.

Indian music must be presented in future in its natural setting, that is without the ominous time factor, but at the same time within reasonable limits (not quite as breif as 40 minutes).

In summary it may be said that the outstanding need is for us to organise ourselves on an all-India representation and any future conferences or artistic ventures be planned on this basis. We need to agree, or agree to disagree on what is essential for Indian musicians when presenting Indian music outside the confines of our country and to do so in a coherent and artistic fashion so that our glorious cultural heritage can be presented in its true perspective.

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ARE THE MODERN INDIAN LANGUAGES DERIVED FROM SANSKRIT ?

By Prof. UMAKANT THAKUR M.A.B.T.

The difference between a literary language and a vernacular or the language spoken by the common people is very great. Literary language is different from the spoken language due to its artificiality. The language spoken by the common people is flexible, rich and full of life and freshness like a stream, while the literary languages are like lakes which are fixed and cut from the stream of fresh water or the language spoken by the masses.

A vernacular cannot derive from a literary language because a literary language is fixed and unchangeable while a Vernacular always takes something from outside and due to this fact it always remains fresh and rich and flows like a stream of fresh water. The conception of some scholars in this that the modern vernaculars are derived from the ancient literary sanskrit—is not only wrong but misleading also. A vernacular can derive only from a spoken language and not from a literary language, because a literary language cannot develop further and it has not adaptability. So the conception of those scholars who think that the vernaculars of modern India are derived from literary sanskrit is proved to be wrong. We must see, first of all, what they mean by Sanskrit when they say that modern Hindi, Bengali, Marathi etc., are derived from sanskrit. If they use the work "Sanskrit" both for the literary and the language spoken by the illiterate people then they should say that these vernaculars are derived from that language which was spoken by he masses during the time of literary sanskrit. But if they mean by sanskrit the literary language then their view is completely wrong. The words of sanskrit, which are found in the modern vernaculars of India do not prove that these languages are derived from sanskrit. It is possible that the literary language sanskrit would have influenced the language spoken by the common people and the vernacular of that time having adaptability would have taken some words of sanskrit. We can say that the present vernaculars are derived from sanskrit but not directly.

Between the present vernaculars of India, and the language which was spoken by the common people there are many stages. We find "Pali" and Prakrit and also Apabhransa Languages between the modern vernaculars namely Hindi, Marathi, Gujrati, Bengali, Maithili, Nepali, etc., and the languages from which all of those are derived. In the whole life or history of a language (spoken by the common people) we can see that the literary languages show only for a particular time. The literary language separates but the flow of the stream of the language of common people does not stop but goes on. Literary language which cannot be a hindrance of the common people again gives birth to another literary language and the literary language is again separated from it like a lake and becomes fixed while the stream goes on for ever. It always gives birth to many literary languages having different names but flows separately from those literary languages. When we say that we find Pali, Prakrit, and apabhransa between the modern vernaculars of India and that language during the time of sanskrit from which those are derived, we mean by Pali and Prakrit those literary languages which were orginated from the language spoken by the common people and then separated from it. Then in the modern time the same stream of the language of the common or illiterate people gave birth to the present vernaculars. We can trace the origin of the present vernaculars and find its origin in the language spoken by the common people. Literary languages influence it but are altogether separate from it. With the help of an illustration it becomes quite clear.

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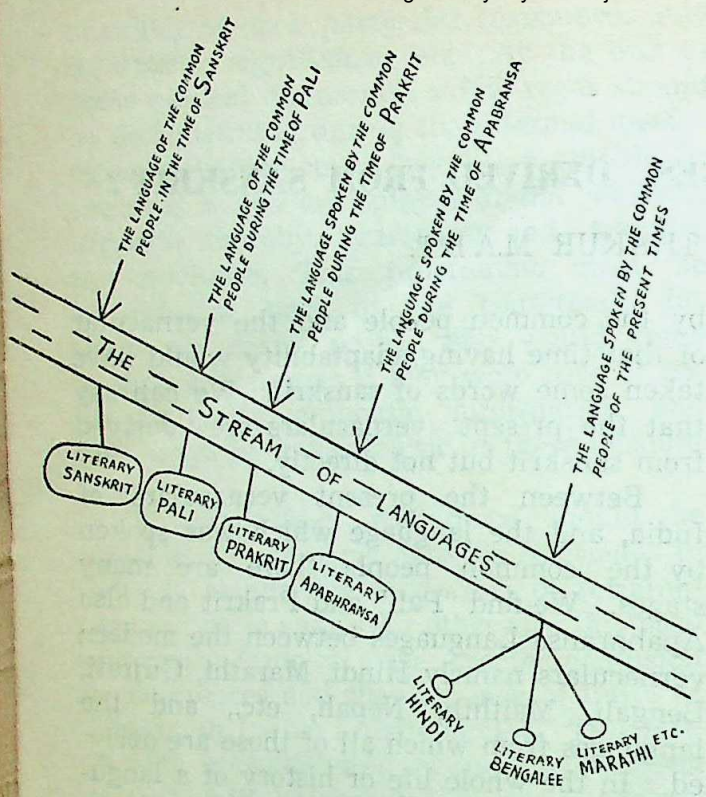

Pali language was used in the time of Lord Buddha. He gave his lectures and sermons in Pali and was also introduced in the Buddha literature. In Pali we find some words, which cannot be traced even to the vedic sanskrit, though Pali is nearer to vedic sanskrit than to classical sanskrit. The dialects of he oldest available inscriptions show that there is some influence of some other non-Aryan language also on Pali. We find the absolutive suffixes **tu** of the Dhauli Version of Asokas edict number one and Tuna, Duna, and Una of the Maharastri Prakrit. We cannot trace them back but must regard them as the forms of other closely related languages, which were spoken at the time of vedic sanskrit. There are many other examples also which show that the influence of some other dialects, spoken in ancient India was in Pali which could be seen very clearly. These examples or linguistic proofs prove that Pali and Prakrit were not the direct descendants of sanskrit and yet they are derived from it. This conception is true because Pali and Prakrit were derived from the language spoken by the common masses during the time of sanskrit, and other languages which were also spoken at the same time influenced it. This view is very easily proved.

The whole thing becomes clear when we take it for granted that all that must have happened when the Indian Aryans penetrated into India. It is a general rule that whenever a conqueror comes, he tries to impose his ideas, his way of living, his language and his culture on the conquered people. When Aryans entered into India they brought their language and their culture also with them. They conquered the land inch by inch from the Dravidians, who were already the inhabitants of these places. The Aryans tried to inflict not only their rule upon these miserable natives who were conquered by them but their superior language also. For the natives it was a very difficult language full of grammatical rules and regulations. They had to learn it and so they learnt it and very slowly they were able to speak in that language. The pronunciatians and the forms were difficult. So whatever was rough, they softened. Whatever was difficult they made easy. Their own native language also influenced this new language. Thus the Aryan dialects were corrupted in the mouth of the original inhabitants and those corruptions were also accepted by the Aryan settlers. This is the most satisfactory and plausible reason of the growth of Pali and Prakrit and for their having some forms quite different. We cannot say that sanskrit developed into Prakrit because a literary language remains always the same. If sanskrit has not changed these three thousand years, how can it change into Prakrit which is quite different from it. In classical sanskrit we do not find the use of the subjunctive mood but in Prakrit literature it is found. Pali and Prakrit were derived from that language which was spoken by the illiterate men during the time of sanskrit, and it was influenced by the language of the native inhabitants of India also. The word Prakrit itself shows that it is not derived from sanskrit. Prakrit means the common or illiterate people, and so Prakrit means the language spoken by these illiterate men.

Hemchandra Acharya and other grammarians introduced the grammatical rules of sanskrit into Prakrit also and consequently it also became an artificial language bound by the rules and regulations of grammar. Due to the artificiality

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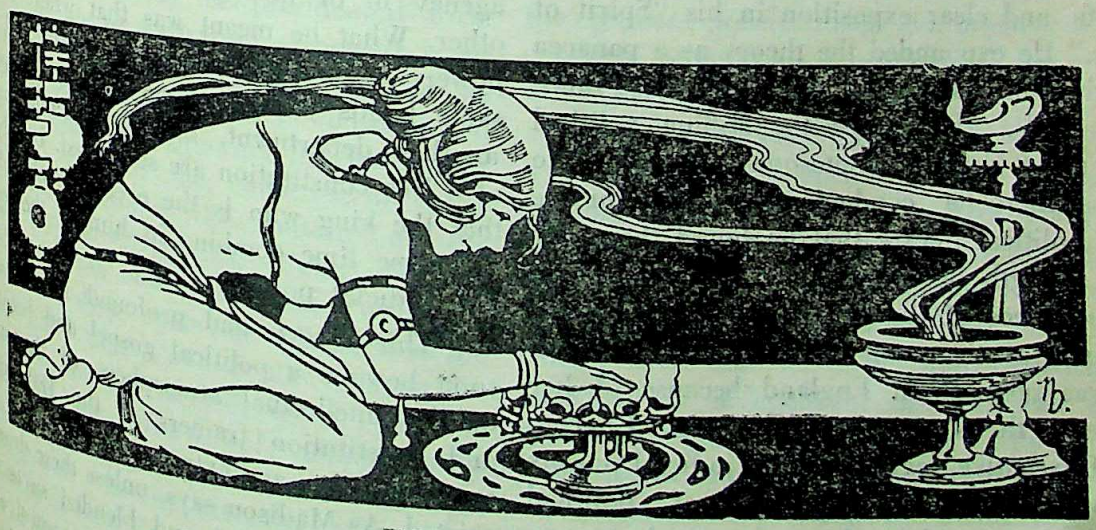
it became only a literary language and became a dead language. It was separated from the stream of the common people's language. After six hundred years another language Apabhransa was introduced. After some time when the grammatical rules were applied in Apabhransa also, then Apabhransa likewise lost its flexibility, power of adaptability and freshness and then it also being an artificial language became a dead language. The stream of languages was still full of freshness, and richness because of its adaptability and having power of changing. After that it gave birth to the present vernaculars namely Hindi, Bengali, Marathi, Gujrati, Panjabi etc.

Very slowly these vernaculars are also losing their freshness and powers of adaptability and are becoming artificial languages because now they are becoming only the literary languages not understood by the illiterate men. Grammatical rules are binding these vernaculars also. After sometime they in their turn will also become dead languages and the stream of languages will introduce other languages. The stream of languages never stops, though the languages cease to exist. A language is a living thing. It should evolve. It is flexible and it should be free from all the rules. These qualities only keep the languages alive, and whenever these qualities are lost at that very moment the language becomes a dead thing. But these things cannot be applied upon the stream of languages which is always fresh and alive and so does not cease to exist.

We can say that the vernaculars of the present day India or the Prakrit and Apabhransa were not, strictly speaking, derived from sanskrit because sanskrit being a perfect, polished and literary language, cannot develop further. The vernaculars of present India and Prakrit and Apabhransa originated from the same stream of languages spoken by the common people.



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U.S.A. AND THE CHANGING CONTENT OF THE THEORY OF SEPARATION OF POWERS

By Mrs. ALEY PHILIP, M.A.

Political practices are conditioned by political theories. Orthodox theories of today become the outmoded theories of tomorrow. It is so, partly due to the dynamic nature of political science. Yet there are certain theories that have stirred men's imagination for a considerable period of time and one such is Montesquieu's theory of Separation of Powers. For nearly two centuries it has held peoples' minds and has had great practical effect on constitution making though one must admit that the theory has lost a great deal of its erstwhile sanctity. It was fortunate that the theory came in to prominence in a pre-eminenly constitutional period in European history—the latter part of the 18th century. The framers of several constitutions accepted it as a practical solution to the problem of the distribution of powers in a government.

Montesquieu, though not the first one ever to conceive of the theory, was indeed the first modern political scientist to have given the theory, a scientific and clear exposition in his "Spirit of the Laws." He expounded the theory as a panacea for all the political ills he found in the France of Louis XIV. To escape the stifling political atmosphere of France, Montesquieu went over to England, where he conducted a search for the secret of political liberty that he found there. He saw the strength of the English Parliament and the independence of the judges, from the Crown. He arrived at the conclusion that individual liberty was possible in England because of her adherence to the separation of powers. Concentration of executive, legislative and judicial powers leads to tyranny and destruction of political liberty while separation of governmental powers, and entrusting them to three different organs, each independent of the other ensures individual liberty.

It is paradoxical that Montesquieu based his theory on the British Constitution because instead of Separation of Powers, conjunction of powers—or fusion of powers as Begehot calls it—is its characteristic feature. The error was perhaps natural because in 1748 England was almost the only country in the civilized world which made a clear distinction in its governmental organization between the executive, legislative and judicial authorities. He found a king as the executive, a parliament that was slowly and steadily consolidating its position in controlling the king's ministers and a judiciary that was independent of both the king and parliament. By the Act of Settlement of 1701, judicial independence was provided for. Thus in the England of 1748 Montesquieu found a judicial organ independent of both the executive and legislature. So he advocated not merely that there should be functional distribution of powers in a government, but that these powers must be entrusted to entirely separate organs that are independent of each other. If the British Constitution was the artist's model to Montesquieu, he did not mean that there ought to be no parliamentary agency in or no control over the acts of each other. What he meant was that where the whole powers of one department are exercised by the same hands which possess the whole powers of another department, the fundamental principles of a free constitution are subverted. It only means that the king who is the executive should not at the same time combine in himself the legislative and judicial powers.

This theory had profound influence. This soon became a political gospel and became part of the intellectual atmosphere of the statesmen and constitution framers of the 18th and 19th centuries. In an extreme form it has seldom existed. As Madison says, unless these departments be so far connected and blended so as to give each organ a constitutional control over the others, the degree of separation which the theory requires can never be maintained. Madison said it was impossible to isolate and insulate each department of government in a corner of the governmental triangle.

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This theory has resulted in a number of factors in the world of constitutions :

I. It has led to written constitutions. Power is of an encroaching nature and any organ entrusted with power will try to press to the limit the powers entrusted to it. The power ought to be effectually restrained from passing the limits assigned to it. It was therefore necessary to write down the constitution and mark the boundary of each organ. This was part of the defence—not perhaps the whole defence—against possible concentration of authority, in any one organ. Thus mainly—not wholly perhaps as a result of Montesquieu's theory, in America at least they felt the necessity for a written constitution. To the Americans it only meant a document which sets limits to the powers of each organ. The Americans believe that the government is based on the consent of the governed and that consent is attested by a written constitution which forms the basis of government. The purpose of a constitution is to set up a government, to endow it with powers and to circumscribe it with limitations. Such written limitations are necessary so that one organ may not encroach on the other. Following partly the American example and partly the recognition of the inherent merits, there after the world entered in to an era of written constitutions.

II. It has led to the acceptance of a form of Government known as the presidential form where the principle of separation of powers is an important or even a predominant feature as against the cabinet system where its contradiction is equally predominant. Following the lead given by the U.S.A., most of the countries of South America, have followed the pattern of the presidential system—Argentina, Peru, Bolivia, Brazil, Liberia. Even outside the new world, this form has taken deep roots in places like the Philippines, South Korea and South Vietnam.

III. This thery has led to a scientific explanation of the growth of administrative justice in France and other continental countries. A judicial system whereby executive officers are to be tried by judges, France felt, was a distinct violation of the theory of separation of powers she had inherited from the French revolutionary theorists.

IV. Even in those countries which have not accepted the theory of separation of powers it has led to the independence of the judicial branch from the other two. By various devices like appointment of the Judges by the executive, guarantees against improper removal by the same body that appoints the judges, the security of tenure, and salary etc., judicial independence has been vouchsafed. In the federal centre of the U.S.A. the Judges are appointed by the executive with the ratification of the Senate and they are removed only by the process of impeachment. In England, India, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, Judges are appointed by the executive and they may be removed only by a concurrent action of the two houses of legislature.

Montesquieu's theory fell on fertile ground and bore fruit in abundance. A few years after the writing of the theory there came an occasion to put it into actual political experience. The majority of those who framed the constitution of the U.S.A. were lawyers and had studied Montesquieu and Blackstone. They respected their dicta as gospel to be quoted as the final word on issues of legal and political philosophy. Madison, Hamilton, Franklin, Mason and others accepted it. It came in handy at a time when they wanted to frame a constitution that placed checks on each organ so that none might become dangerously powerful. Absolute independence of each organ was out of the question since such an experiment might have produced dead locks and absolute paralysis of the Government. So the framers wisely made no attempt to secure complete separation—but provided for a number of connections and blendings.

There is a president who is elected for a fixed tenure and independent of the legislature regarding his powers and prerogatives. The President and the Secretaries do not sit in the legislature. The Congress is directly elected by the people and cannot be dismissed by the President—nor can it drive out of power the President. The judiciary is independent of both the executive and the legislative. Yet not only are those independent, but they also check each other. The appointments made by the President must be submitted to the Senate for confirmation. Treaties negotiated by the President must meet the approval of two-thirds of the Senate. The Acts of the Congress are subject to the executive veto and the Congress determines the appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court has the right of declaring the acts of the Congress null and void. So the power of one

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organ has been made a check and a counter poise to the power of the other organ.

Yet as time has gone on, the theory of separation of powers has become less pronounced in the constitution of U.S.A. Time and circumstances have wrought changes not dreamt of by the framers of the constitution. In a realistic view of the total process of government there is such a blending of powers, functions and duties that the line separating the three branches all but fade from view. If the tendency grows, within the next fifty years, Montesquieu's theory may only be an out dated principle embodied in the parchment kept in the archives at Washington. The most important factor that has modified the theory is the rise of the party system—and the consequent increase in the power of the executive in the U.S.A.

The party system has grown in America not only because the country is so large but also because in U.S.A. there is no single organ of government with the power to shape the course of public policy. The President, the Congress, and even the judiciary have all a share in it. So public policy cannot be determined and put into operation unless the various participants act with some approach to unison which is impossible under the strict theory of separation of powers. Political parties in America arose to accomplish this unison. That is why the parties try to capture not only the higher offices but the lower ones as well. The party organisation has become in fact the great policy unifying factor in American government and it is integrated all the way from top to bottom. Thus the party system has flouted the theory of separation of powers. The president's power has increased tremendously because he is the leader of his party.

The President is usually the leader of his party, and is conceded the right to be consulted on all important matters affecting its interests both in the congress and out of it. He virtually selects the chairman of the National Committee and through him directs the party's activities both inside and outside the legislature. Millions look to the President to carry out the party programme—at least that which formed part of the presidential plank. In America people do not want a president who is timid, but some one who can give not merely executive leadership but also legislative leadership. The degree to which the President may control his party varies with various factors like his capacity for leadership and the extent to which his party is in control of the congress. The President is a power in the party because of his position as the chief executive, and his right of appointment. The constitution embodying the theory of separation of powers expected the president to go along with the Congress, giving it a few mild suggestions now and then—and his main work was to "see that the laws be faithfully executed." But soon the congress came to be divided by political parties and sectional interests and therefore it became difficult for the Congress to legislate in the national interest. So the President had to provide legislative leadership weakening thereby the theory of separation of powers on which the constitution was based.

The legislative leadership started not so much with Jackson and Jefferson, as with Theodore Roosevelt. Today the people and, to a considerable extent, the congress itself, looks to the President for a lead. If the President does not provide the leadership, he is written down as a failure as was President Hoover. The President is, therefore, bound to employ a number of means not mentioned in the constitution to provide it.

As leader of the party he may prepare or cause to be prepared bills that by indirect methods he can cause to be introduced in the Congress through his party henchmen.

He can influence legislation by appealing to congress and if necessary to the nation at large. The constitution, true to Montesquieu's theory of separation of powers, has provided that the President shall only recommend to the Congress such measures as he shall deem necessary and expedient. This can hardly be interpreted as granting to the President the right to introduce bills. Yet a system has developed by which contrary to the theory of separation of powers, the President virtually introduces the bill. All important measures are drafted by the executive and some party henchmen of the President introduces the bill and if the President's party has a comfortable majority it will be enacted in to law. All the new deal legislation of Franklin Roosevelt were drafted not by Congress men but by administrative experts of the President, and thus the work of preparing, and introducing legislative bills belong to the President and his secretaries as it do to the Prime Minister and the Cabinet in United Kingdom. In very recent times the

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President's control over legislation is increased by his being in very close contact not only with the congressional committees, but with the big four—the Vice-President, the Speaker and the majority leader of both the houses. By maintaining close and intimate relations with the big four the President can easily influence legislation. Thus the party system and legislative leadership has broken down the somewhat artificial separation of powers and to some extent provides a uniform programme and concerted action to the legislative and executive branches. Yet it would be wrong to assume that the congress dances to the tune played by the President. We can only indicate the fact that the executive can dominate over the legislature and give it leadership.

A second factor that cuts across the theory is the existence of pressure groups. Outside the party, working both into the party and government, there are pressure groups each seeking to make its own particular programme a governmental policy. There are thousands of groups, pushing, pressing, pulling, mauling and shoving in a grand scramble to control the government. These groups, though they know all about the theoretical separation of powers, ignore it in their actual work. Every unit of government (not perhaps the judiciary) and the party itself is subject to constant request, entreaty and threat from a variety of pressure groups each seeking to make its own particular programme a governmental policy. It works as a unit upon whatever organ it wants to influence in order that its object may be furthered. It exerts pressure on the congress, the state legislature, or a city council, for legislation and it follows the statute to the administrative departments. It fights against the enactment of one law as assidously as it champions the enactment of another. The totality of laws and the degree of law enforcement are actually the result of these conflicting pressures. If north and east exert equal pressure on a light object it will move south-west. If east and west exert equal pressure, there is no movement—but a new pressure from the south will send the object north. Thus in politics as in the world of physics, there are pulls and pressures, not necessarily from west and east but from economic, social and other facts. They cut across the theory of separation of powers. Lobbying by various pressure groups has been in existence in the American system of Government since 1789—and it still goes on merrily—but with very much greater emphasis, today.

The third reason why the theory is apt to recede is the result of judicial review of the courts of U.S.A. This is the power to determine whether a law passed by the Congress or any provision in a State constitution or any law enacted by the State legislature, or any other body that has the legal right of passing a law, is in conformity with the provision of the constitution of U.S.A. or not. If it is not, the Supreme Court takes on itself the right to declare it null and void and ultra vires of the constitution and hence inoperative. The judiciary thus can control the actions of both the legislature and the executive.

The fourth reason is the growth of delegated legislation. In America there was a great deal of mistrust and suspicion towards delegated legislation as was practised in Europe. Yet the congress has from time to time given to the President a wide range of discretion in supplying the detach of law. At various times in American history, it was either the Congress or the President that became dominant. Before the civil war and immediately after civil war, the legislature led the country—but today the executive has become dangerously powerful. Popular conception in America is that the Congress makes the laws and the executive merely carries out the laws. It is only in war and other emergency times that the citizens become aware of the extent to which the executive is charged with the duty of making laws. Suspicion and resentment arise. But such reaction only indicates a general ignorance of modern governmental processes. Lincoln used almost dictatorial powers during civil wars. Wilson dominated the American scene during the first world war. The entry of U.S.A. into the 2nd world war was the signal for further extension of executive authority.

In 1933, The congress conferred on the President discretionary powers to reduce the gold content of the dollar, and to issue aditional paper currency. In 1941 it bestowed upon him by the terms of the so-called Lend Lease Act, a formidable range of executive discretion in the matter of furnishing ships, munitions etc. Democrats complain of executive usurapation of legislative authority when a Republican occupies the White house and the Republicans make

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similar charges of presidential autocracy when the President happens to be a Democrat. The President today is the third Chamber of the legislature. In theory the Americans hold on to the dogma of the theory of separation of powers but they trouble themselves little about its application in the conduct of their government. The old balance is being disturbed, and the checks are being weakened. If these tendencies go on, the constitution may not retain the theory much longer. It seems as if the theory of separation of powers is dying hard in the Constitution of the U.S.A.

SOUTH-EAST ASIA TODAY

By Prof. SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJI

South-East Asia, a happy hunting ground for Euro-American colonialism till the forties of the 20th century is, by and large, politically free today. Nation-states have taken the place of colonies and dependencies. Independent politically, South-East Asia is yet to win economic and military independence.

The expression South-East Asia, which gained currency during the Pacific War (1941-1945), includes the sovereign states of Burma, Malayasia, Thailand, North and South Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Indonesia and the Philippines. It includes, the Trust Territory of Papuan or Australian New Guinea, the 'Protected' Sultanate of Brunei and Portuguese Timor—all "fossils from an earlier age, castaways marooned by the tides of history." Its 1,647,116 square miles of land are inhabited by a population of 200,312,000. Stray patches of over-population notwithstanding, South-East Asia is on the whole sparsely populated, the density of population being 121.61 to the square mile. South-East Asians speak 400 different languages and dialects. They profess all the principal religions of the world, viz., Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism and Islam. Malayasia and Indonesia are primarily Muslim. The latter has a small pocket of Hinduism in Bali, the Isle of the gods. The more or less two and half million Balinese are mostly Hindus. Burma, Thailand, Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam (North and South) are predominantly Buddhist. Christians, mostly Roman Catholics, account for 95% of the 22,000,000 strong Filipinos. Admixture of blood has taken place on a large scale in South-East Asia and the blood of Mongolian and many other races courses through the veins of South-East Asians.

The Equator passes through Sumatra, Kalimantan, Sulawesi and Malukku in Indonesia and South-East Asia south of the Equator lies wholly within the Torrid Zone. Chains of mountains, abundant rainfall and seas on three sides, however, keep down the mercury. The fertility of soil due to alluvial deposits and volcanic ashes has made South-East Asia one of the principal rice bowls of the world. Rice, rubber, tea, coffee, tobacco, tapioca, spices, copra and timber are the principal forest and agricultural products of South-East Asia. Oil, tin ,iron, coal, manganese, wolfram, chromium and precious stones are among its principal mineral wealth.

The wealth of South-East Asia, its temperate climate, the sparseness of its population and, last but not least, its political and military weakness, have always attracted foreigners. Time and again in the past, the countries of South-East Asia have been overrun by foreign conquerors. The aggressors in pre-modern times were China on several occasions from the north and India from across the seas once. Between the 16th and 19th centuries in the modern times, the whole of South-East Asia excepting Thailand was carved out among themselves by various Western powers. Thus, the British became the arbiters of the destinies of Burma, Malaya, Singapore, North Borneo, Sarawak

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and the Sultanate of Brunei; the Dutch of Indonesia and the French of Vietnam (North and Sou.h), Cambodia and Laos. Spain ...ibed the whole of the Philippines, which ...e lost to the U.S.A. in 1898. Ger...y sliced off the eastern portion of ...Guinea in 1884. The Portuguese ...had appeared on the South-East ...in scene long before any other West...n power, share the island of Timor with ...Dutch. Thailand alone escaped en...rement. But the Thais owed their inde...dence more to Anglo-French differences ...n to anything else and their independence ...s more nominal than real.

South-East Asia struck the headlines of ...world press after Pearl Harbour (Decem...1941). South-East Asians welcomed ...n open arms the 'liberators' from the ...d of the Rising Sun. Their discontent ...nst alien rule led them to welcome Japan ...their true friend. Heartless repression, ...less exploitation, which bled the colo...s white, suppression of the legitimate ...rations of the colonial peoples, their ...l exclusion from "the community of ...sel and spirit" of the ruling races into ...e ranks they were never admitted, the ...gress of modern education, which "tore ...veil of mysticism from the power of the ...", frustration of the intelligentsia, dis...ture of Tsarist Russia at the hands of ...n in the Russo-Japanese War (1904-05), ...successful Chinese Revolution under ...Yat-sen which overturned the Manchu ...-eart, and the rising tempo of the ...n nationalist movement under the ...ship of Mahatma Gandhi, had intensi...d South-East Asian nationalism. The ...dle class provided the motor forces be...d the South-East Asian nationalist move...t. The motor forces behind the nation...movement in 19th century Europe ...came from the same middle class. But ...South-East Asian middle class was not a ...dle class of the European pattern, "a ...s formed by economic growth and defin...by economic function." The nationalist ...ement in Indonesia was no doubt head...by professional men, but the professions ...e the creation of a colonial government ...its own convenience. They did not owe ...existence to some industrial revolution. Colonies do never have any. Nationalist movements in 19th century Europe and in South-East Asia, in other words, do not belong to the same category. But "Most of the history of the (nationalist) movements in Asia.....has been written on the assumption that they were structurally indentical with the movements in Europe during the previous (19th) century. We have been thinking about the wrong revolutions in the wrong places at the wrong times." (Prof. John Gallagher of Trinity College, Oxford, over the All-India Radio, New Delhi, 1962).

The discomfiture of the colonial powers at the hands of Japan in 1941-42 in Indonesia, Malaya, Burma and the Philippines—they retreated or capitulated without any resistance worth the name—pricked the balloon of western invincibility for all times to come. The white man lost his face-value in South-East Asia irretrievably. His prestige was damaged beyond repair. Once the white man lost his face-value, the liquidation of his empire was only a question of time.

While the rising tide of South-East Asian nationalism made possible Japan's Pyrrhic victories in South-East Asia, the short-lived Japanese supremacy over the region raised nationalist hopes sky-high. Independence could no longer be withheld. No, certainly not for a long time. To make a long story short, within twelve years of Japan's retreat from the scene the political map of South-East Asia was changed beyond recognition. Nation-states rose in place of colonies. The Republic of Indonesia ushered into existence on August 17, 1945 was finally recognized by the Dutch in December, 1949, after a possibly avoidable conflict between the Dutch and the Indonesian Republicans in which the laws of civilized warfare were set aside by both the combatants. The U.S.A. transferred power to the Philippines in mid-1946 and England to Burma in early 1948. Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos had their independence recognized by the Geneva Conference in 1954 after a bitter and protracted war between the French Republic and the Viet-namese army of resistance under the leadership of Ho Chi Minh. The combatants sustained heavy losses in men and money. But the losses of France were much greater than those of her rivals—she

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lost for ever the good will of her erstwhile subjects, her reputation was damaged beyond repair. Great Britain recognized the independence of Malaya in 1957. Singapore, Sarawak and North Borneo became free with the creation of the Federation of Malayasia on September 16, 1963.

Indepence, the cherished goal of nationalism, has been reached. But the new nation-states find themselves confronted with stupendous problems of construction. The leaders of new South-East Asia are discovering every day that agitational politics is fundamentally different from the constructive, that "it is not good to be always in opposition" as they had been during the days of colonialism in their respective countries. Lack of experience hampers them at every step. What is worse is that new power, like old wine, has gone straight to the head of not a few of them. Many have lost their sense of proportion. Many again confuse their own well-being—being of theirs individually or of the classes which they represent—with the well-being of the nation at large. Last but not least the integrity of many of the new leaders is not above question.

The over-all picture in South-East Asia to-day is a dismal and depressing one. Japanese occupation and the unheaval which followed Japanese withdrawal from the South-East Asian scene—long years of war in Indonesia and Vietnam, Communist uprising in Malaya and Karen, Shan, Kachin and Communist revolts in Burma (these last broke out after Burma had been granted independence in 1948)—threw life out of gear. The presence of nearly 15 million Chinese pose a serious threat to the sovereignty and integrity of South-East Asia. Discipline in all walks of life was seriously undermined. Added to these are the evils of long centuries of alien rule characterized by "a callous neglect of such minimum necessities of life as adequate provision for food, clothing, educational and medical facilities for the people" by the rulers. What Tagore said with reference to India a few months before his death in 1941 applies to South-East Asia to the letter—"The wheels of Fate will some day compel the English to give up their Indian Empire. But what kind of India will they leave behind, what stark misery? When the stream of their two centuries' administration runs dry at last, what a waste of mud and filth will they leave behind them!" (**Crisis in Civilization**, pp. 16-17).

The problem of political and emotional integration is one of the major problems before the South-East Asian leadership to-day. The reader will please note that lack of unity was responsible for South-East Asia's vulnerability, which made it an easy prey of foreign aggressors in the past. Colonial rulers, far from encouraging political and emotional integration, sought to keep the people apart. "Divide et impera" was their watchword. The apparent unity in the various South-East Asian countries in the days of colonialism was no unity in the true sense of the term. It was only administrative centralization. The fissiparous tendencies in the body-politic were carefully nursed to be unleashed as and when it suited the third party (the rulers). We are reminded of Tagore's indictment of British rule in India—"In India the misfortune of being governed by a foreign race is daily brought home to us.....in the way the people have been divided among themselves. The plea of this is that the blame is laid at the door of our own society. So frightful a culmination of the history of our people (The reference is to the Hindu-Muslim bickerings culminating in communal riots and holocausts) could never have been possible but for the encouragement it has received from secret influences emanating from high places .....It is the mission of civilization to bring unity among people and establish peace and harmony. But in unfortunate India the social fabric is being rent into shreds by unseemly outbursts of hooliganism, daily growing in intensity, right under the very aegis of 'law and order'". (**Crisis in Civilisation**, pp. 12-14).

The new national governments are everywhere weaker than the alien governments they have replaced and their weakness has encouraged the fissiparous tendencies to raise their heads. In some countries the dissident elements have even raised

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standards of revolt. South-East Asia is no exception and many of the new South-East Asian nations are "plagued with some problems of political unity. Indonesia's major islands outside Java and Madura-Sumatra, Kalimantan (Borneo), Sulawesi (Celebes), Malakus (Moluccas and Spice Islands) and Nusa Tenggara (Lesser Sunda Islands) comprising Bali, Lombok, Timor, Flores, Savu etc.,—are insistent upon greater autonomy .....Thailand cannot forget its influence with Laos, Cambodia, north Malaya, and the Shan states (in Burma). The Union of Burma is more perfect in name than in fact because of the claims of minority groups including Shans and Karens. (The Federation of Malayasia must work out a mutually satisfactory arrangement with Sarawak, North Borneo and Singapore). Neither half of Vietnam will cease to bubble and boil politically until the dividing line at the seventeenth parallel is somehow erased." (Claude A. Buss—**South-East Asia and the World Today**, p. 10).

Of all the problems of South-East Asia none is so serious as the economic. The solution of no other problem is so urgent. South-East Asia has won its battle for liberty. That for equality has yet to be won. Political liberty alone does not make life worth living To be an instrument of human welfare, it must have an economic content. South-East Asia must fight and win its battle for economic liberty and equality. Freedom from want, among others, must be made a reality. Till recently, the countries of South-East Asia were "bound hand and foot" economically to the various metropolitan countries, viz., France, Great Britain, Holland and the U.S.A. Their economy was 'colonial' to an extent. Their currencies were tied up with metropolitan currencies. Their banking system was dominated and in many cases monopolized by metropolitan banks. Some of the principal commercial products, rubber, petroleum and sugar, for example, were predominantly in the hands of the respective metropolitan countries, which had a dominant voice even in the disposal of raw products. But circumstances have changed to-day and they must abandon traditional economic thinking, which must give place to fresh and bold economic thinking. New policies and novel measures are needed to meet the requirements of a changed situation. They are necessary to ensure economic freedom and to raise the level of living of the masses, a vast majority of whom have lived for centuries on the margin of subsistence, in the midst of malignant poverty with its attendant sufferings. The nationalist leadership had drawn—rather overdrawn—rosy pictures of life after the attainment of independence. The rank and file had been assured that freedom would usher in an era of unprecedented plenty and prosperity. But the prophecy has misfired. Speaking generally, nowhere in South-East Asia the level of living of the masses has gone up since independence. In Burma and Indonesia it is to-day definitely lower than what it was in 1938 on the eve of World War II. Many of the essential and not so essential commodities, commodities which make life possible and worth living, are in short supply.

Industrialization, which seems to be the only solution, is beset with a number of serious difficulties. Adequate capital, scientific and managerial skill and technical know-how, among others, are indispensable for industrial development. But South-East Asia is deficient in each and every one of these factors of industrialization. There is a shortage of even unskilled labour in Burma, Malaya and Singapore, which accounts for the presence of the very large numbers of Chinese and Indians in these areas. The integration of these extraneous elements in the body-politic of the countries concerned is a tough problem which almost defies a satisfactory solution.

Foreign aid may, of course, meet the requirements of South-East Asia's industrial development. But foreign aid is no real solution of the problem in the long run. Industries cannot thrive for all times to come on capital and capital goods, scientific and managerial skill, technical know-how and labour imported from abroad. Besides, foreign assistance to backward countries is a complicated problem with numerous implications. In this era of cold war, foreign propaganda invariably accompanies foreign

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aid, which is not always "without strings". Foreign economic assistance is more dangerous than other kinds of assistance. The supply of large sums of money to countries without regular or fruitful channels of expenditure often becomes a great unsettling factor and may create large vested interests, which create conflicts within the country. Kuomintang China, Indonesia and South Vietnam, among others, are cases in point. The very considerable sums advanced to these countries by the U.S.A. only made the rich richer and the poor poorer. They created a class of intermediaries which widened the gulf between the people and the administration. Foreign financial assistance to countries without competent administrative machinery and without carefully worked out plans for expenditure may become more a source of public corruption than an aid to industrialization. (Vide K. M. Panikkar—**The Afro-Asian States and Their Problems**, pp. 47-8). The experience of the last fifteen years in many under-developed countries proves what has been said above.

It should also be noted that rapid industrialization, however necessary, cannot be achieved overnight. Nor should a primarily agricultural region like South-East Asia be switched on to industry all at once and at the cost of agriculture. Agricultural and industrial development in such areas must go hand in hand for years to come.

New South-East Asia is in the midst of a revolution, which, however, is not an isolated phenomenon. It is rather a part of a world revolution. "The plain fact", observes Corliss Lamont, "is that the world is in a revolution which cannot be bought off with dollars. There are rumblings in every village from the Mediterranean to the Pacific. A force is gathering for a mighty effort.....

The revolutionaries are hungry men who have been exploited from time out of mind. This is the century of their awakening and mobilization." (**Soviet Civilization**, p. 321).

The revolution in question is spontaneous and not communist-inspired as many would have us believe. It will not end even if the communist powers are crushed. It must be admitted, however, that the communists take advantage of the revolution and keep the pot boiling. The supreme fact about the under-developed world is that its peoples are waking up to-day. They are stirring after a long night of sleep blinking away their drowsiness and stretching their limbs "with all the eager, impatient spirit of a youth approaching manhood."

The incipient revolution in the under-developed world is, in fact, three revolutions in one. Emancipation from alien political and economic tutelage, attainment of full human dignity irrespective of race, religion and colour and broadly shared increased economic opportunities are the objectives aimed at by this "Revolution of Rising Expectations." The greater part of South-East Asia has thrown off political yoke. But the other objectives are yet to be achieved. South-East Asia will continue to rumble "with explosive problems, conflicts and headlines" till their achivement.

Fast falling levels of living notwithstanding, the rising tempo of the expansion of education (Education has been spreading rapidly over South-East Asia; but as in India its quality has been deteriorating as rapidly) is dumping large numbers of intellectuals of some sort on a market which can absorb but a small fraction of them. Little wonder, larger and larger numbers of young South-East Asians in their frustration are turning to dictatorship and totalitarianism as the panacea for all their problems. Communist propaganda finds easy recruits among them. The rise of Red China and the boosting up of Chinese prestige as a result of the recent (1962) Sino-Indian clashes have considerably influenced South-East Asian thinking.

The supreme task before the new South-East Asian leadership is to canalize into constructive channels the new forces released by political emancipation. This is history's challenge to the leaders of new South-East Asia. Posterity will size them up by the manner of their response to this challenge and the measure of success they achieve. History is nothing if not an endless chain of challenges and responses.

Waters are fast flowing down the Irrawaddy, the Mekong and the Menam. The sands of time are fast running out.

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BOOK REVIEWS

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MARX, GANDHI AND SOCIALISM by Dr. Rammanohar Lohia, Published by Navahind Prakashan, 831, Begum Bazar, Hyderabad—A.P. Price Rs. 30/- Pages XXXXVII + 550.

To Lohia Marxism is not the only doctrine that has sought or maintained Europe's superiority over coloured peoples but all doctrines emanating from Europe for the last three centuries of capitalism or liberalism are tied up with the oppression and exploitation of Asia and other coloured lands. Marxism is more revolutionary after it captures the Government than when it is struggling for power. It must upset the old order of property, religion and other relationships. Not so with Gandhism. Gandhism in government is not at all up-setting. It lets everything live as of old, or almost everything. Gandhi is more unfortunate with his disciples than any other prophet. Although his doctrines are preached, the disciples in Government have made the list of daily chores out of non-Gandhian books. Marx will destroy rights in private property—not of all evil—but Gandhi will make the owners trustees for others. There are inadequacies in Gandhism as a governmental doctrine of doing good, but it was unmatched in all history as a people's doctrine of resisting evil.

India lost statehood for centuries and collective immorality has became a part of national character. Ruling classes had shown peerless skill in adjustments for keeping their powers for centuries. Gandhi had a tremendous job in carrying out a revolution in this environment of slavery physical, moral, mental and religious. India is the land of Sankar's pholosophy—an extreme philosophy exists side by side with a liberal programme, a philosophy of undefiled principles with a programme of multiform defilements. Karl Marx was a philosophical doctrine of another type—to whom the world was changing and changing and his philosophy left no room for meditation or qietism. If Sankar was a philosophical extremist, Marx was a pragmatic fanatic. Results of Sankar's philosophy are known through ages but of Marx's are yet somewhat fluid.

The book consists of 24 chapters and the author's writings, speeches, party manifestos, interviews during the last 20 years are incorporated in it. Although the original Lohia remains the same, there are certain signs as to his change or at least modification

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of his views. This is sure to happen with a thinker bold and revolutionary of Dr. Lohia's stature. If he is strong with a party behind him, he is stronger still in his faith in socialism—true socialism not of so many brands all over the world.

He had the boldness to speek to Gandhiji that he does not believe in God. Gandhiji doubted under the circumstances that a non-believer in God can be a Satyagrahi. Even at the request of Gandhi, Lohia did not give up smoking till seven years after his death. He spoke fearlessly in "violent, rough and sharp language" with Gandhiji to quote Lohia's own words but in spite of these he had the highest respect for this great personality. Here was one with whom Lohia could speak his mind freely and fearlessly. The chapter "Anecdotes of Mahatma Gandhi" will be a fascinating study to readers.

The most important question in democracy or socialism is equality. All great religious sects which begin with the struggle for equality get frozen in course of time by customs and manners. To achieve equality in practice there must be both levelling up and levelling down in programmes of equality. Europe suffers from the disease of identyfying the abstruct and the concrete. India separates the abstruct from the concrete. Middle course is the right way but the achievement of equality is difficult not only because there is existence of inequality but also error in thought.

Dr. Lohia is not happy with Communist China in its programme of chaos. Capitalism is a doctrine of the individual and of free enterprise. Communism is a doctrine of social owership and release of means of production from their relations of private property. Capitalism and Communism are but two parts of this single complex of existing civilization. **Socialism** differs from both in ideal and method of work. **It is not for violence in the attainment of its goal.** "Man's current civilization is cracking, and nothing but socialism can lead him into the new age" says Lohia.

Capitalism and Communism are closed systems and Socialism the third system is still open and with Gandhiji's life, action and philosophy it operates successfully for the betterment of modern civilization reacting on existing Capitalism and Communism favourably. It will indeed be a happy day in world history. No body will be happier than Dr. Lohia if this ideal is realized.

This book, suggestive and thought provoking as it is, deserves to be read widely by the youth of the country.

NANA SAHEB PESHWA by Mr. Anand Swarup Misra. Published by Uttar Pradesh Government, Lucknow. Price Rs. 35/ pages XXII + 636.

The book is divided into four parts—**Part One** contains 14 Chapters in which the author gives in short, besides a short history of the country and its culture, a history of East India Company, Peshwas of Poona—their rise and fall, exile of Baji Rao II, the last Peshwa, to Bithoor, parentage and early life of Nana Saheb whom the last Peshwa adopted as his son, refusal of the Government of India to accept Nana Saheb as successor to the Peshwa and thus depriving him of the use of the title and depriving him also of the pensions allowed to his adopted father. **Part Two** contains 25 chapters dealing in detail the revolt and its ruthless suppression. **Part Three** contains 11 chapters describing the consequenres—end of the East India Company and the Queen's proclamation. Last days of Nana Saheb—trials of Tatya Tope and other leaders are also given in this part. **Part Four** contains eight appendices which throw lights on the current happenings of the period besides interesting anecdotes in relation to the revolt.

The writer of this big volume does not claim any originality but his painstaking collections from various sources will earn him thanks from the readers. The main objects of writing this book seem to exonerate Nana Saheb of this guilt as leader of the revolution who murdered in cold blood Englishmen, women and children at Sattichaura Ghat (27th June 1857) and also the cold blooded and inhuman murder of women and children who were given shelter at Bibighur (July 15, 1857). In this

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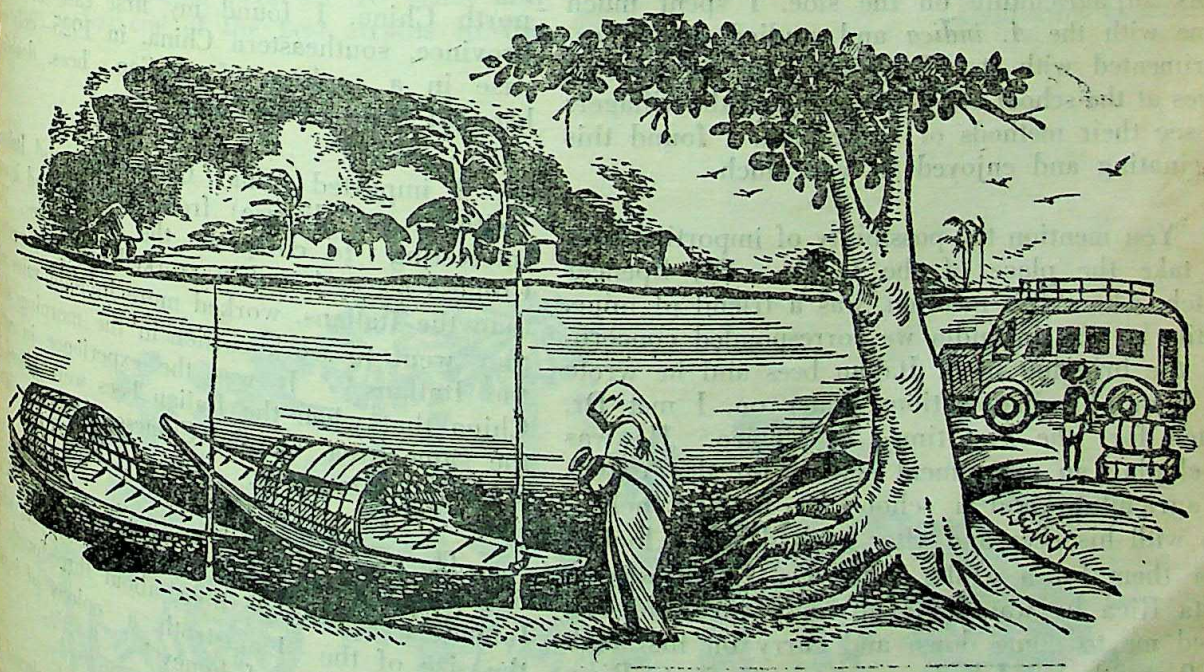
the author is partially successful. Nana Saheb took strong action when the mischief was already done at Sattichaura Ghat and saved some women and children but he could not give protection to the prisoners and the safety they were promised on their way to Allahabad. About Bibighur atrocities, Dr. S. N. Sen in his book **Eighteen Fifty-seven** holds that while Nana Saheb "was legally and morally responsible for the lives of his prisoners and the massacre was committed in his name, there is no adequate evidence to establish that the order for killing had actually been given by him."

Thus Nana Saheb's name although painted in the blackest colours by most of the British writers is not so black and all the atrocities of this period, particularly those perpetrated at Kanpur, although attributed to him as leader of the revolt, are not his. When we take into consideration terrible happening and British cruelties of the period done on Indians, many of whom were innocent, we have to make a fresh assessment of the guilt on either side.

Besides the subject matter of the book, the author has introduced many post revolt (war of independence) matters and matters of recent history into this volume unnecessarily in support of the present Congress Administration. The author being a Government servant, this action on his part, has diminished the worth of this otherwise authantic publication.

The book is profusely illustrated and well documented and the printing and binding are excellent.

A. B. Dutta.



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Indian Periodicals

BEEKEEPING IN INDIA

The following is not an article properly so called culled from the *Khadi Gramodyog*, but a correspondence from one whose interest in and knowledge and experience of beekeeping would seem to be both extensive and encyclopeadic. We reproduce it in the hope that it will be found profitable by many of our readers :

Your article ("Beekeeping in India" by Subhash Chandra Sarker, *Khadigramodyog*, March 1964,) is a very interesting account of your work to interest the people in beekeeping. We share very much the same problems.

Your mention of the Indian bee, *Apis indica*, interests me. I lived in China for 25 years, as an educational missionary under the Methodist church, teaching zoology and doing extension work in agriculture on the side. I spent much time with the *A. indica* and studied it and experimented with it. I always had several box hives at the school and I often visited the villagers to see their methods of beekeeping. I found this fascinating and enjoyed it very much.

You mention the possibility of importing bees to take the place of the *indica*. Dr. Spencer Hatch, whom you mention, was a friend of mine. While he was in India we corresponded concerning the bringing in of Italian bees and he wrote me about his importations. Later on, I met Dr. Hatch for the first time in Mexico. He was developing an experiment station for the YMCA in agriculture and a school for boys. I helped him with his bees and after he had left, I looked after them for a while. When Dr. Hatch was in Costa Rica he wanted to go on a vacation, and asked me to come down and carry on his work for 9 months, so I had a nice trip to Costa Rica. About a year ago he passed away, may be, less than a year.

As you say in your article, importing bees may be dangerous, for it may bring in some new disease or parasite. American and European foul-brood diseases are worldwide and so I doubt if it matters—just for that one disease—if bees are imported. If the disease is already present it can do no harm, but we must be sure there is no disease.

Apparently China did not have any foul-brood disease. In all my 25 years there, I looked into every Chinese box-hive I could find but I never found any foul-brood. Do you find foul-brood among the Indian bees ? That would be a very interesting study to pursue, to find out if there are any places with no foul-brood diseases present.

In China, around 1922 or 1923 there was a craze for beekeeping. Bees were being shipped from Japan (may be other places, too) in countless numbers and they went to north China for the most part. But the shippers were careless and some colonies came in with foul-brood present. Soon it had spread to many places in north China. I found my first case in Fukein province, southeastern China, in 1925—only one case in a colony of Italian bees, doubtless brought from north China.

I imported some Caucasians and Italians (without any disease) from America and it was interesting to compare the two species. The Chinese bees, *A. indica*, worked in cooler weather than the Italians, worked more in light rains and they went to work earlier in the mornings than the Italians ! It was the experience in north China that when the Italian bees were placed in the same area as the Chinese bees, the latter tended to disappear.

The Chinese bees normally produced 5 or 6 lbs. of honey a year, possibly 8 lbs., but when I made a small-scale hive, about three-fourths of the size of the Langstroth, a colony of indica produced 40 lbs. of honey !

Apis indica could, of course, be selected to perform better than it now does but selection takes a long time. We have on record that the beekeepers in Austria were selling queen bees and nuclei to many regions in 1879. They were

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not interested in honey but wished to have bees to sell, so they crowded their bees in small hives and now the Carniolan bees have a reputation for swarming too much. Some beekeepers do not like them for that reason, but I have tried them on a small scale and I like them very much. 1879 is the date given, the earliest recorded date for the beginning of the shipments, but they had been selecting long before that. We may find it more economical to use bees already selected, as the Italian or Caucasian or Carniolan bees than to improve the Indian or Chinese bee.

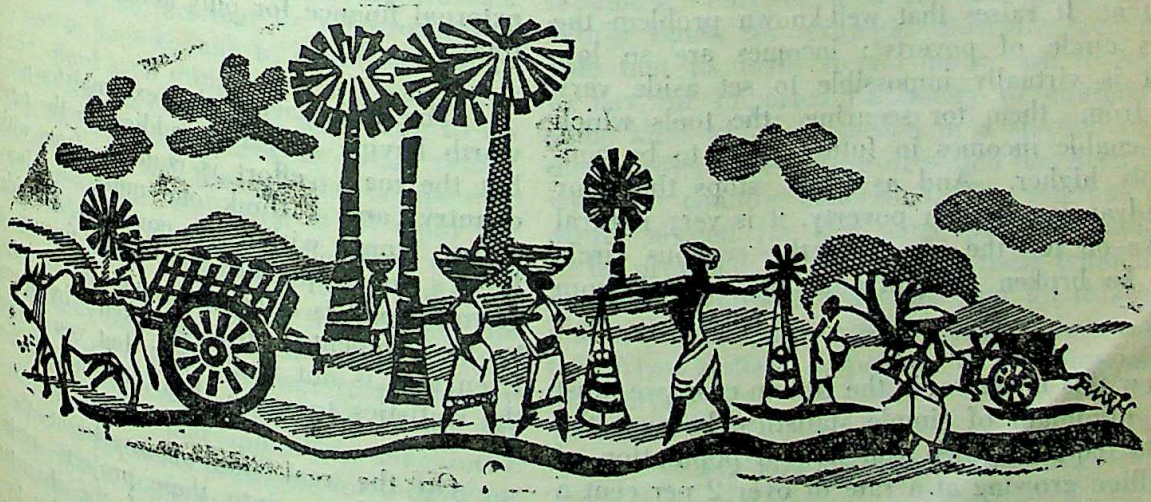
I am corresponding with an apiculturist in Argentina. I do not know what kind of bees they had in Argentina to begin with, but about 50 years ago they imported some Italian bees and found them much better producers than the ones they had. Then I had been writing to them about the Caucasian bees and they imported some of the latter and found them even better than the Italians!

I am interested in beekeeping as a hobby and from the scientific side. I have had no experience in commercial beekeeping. I have only three colonies and I use the Caucasian bees. There is a man in Canada who has been producing fine Caucasian bees for 10 years and I believe he has one of the best strains in the country. He sells his breeder queens in Australia, Poland, England, U.S.A., etc. and gets $20.00 for each queen. Last year he had more demands than he could fulfil.

I have grand-daughters of his breeder queens and they are the best I have ever had. Mr. Hastings sells his breeder queens to a beekeeper in California (and to many others in other countries) and this California beekeeper (who has an apiary of pure Caucasians) keeps the breeder queen and raises daughters from that queen. He has given queens to all apiaries within 3 to 5 miles of his apiary, and so all the drones around his apiary are pure Caucasians. The young queens, after mating, are sold for $1.60 each, and that is the kind of queen I buy. They are very good.

I would like to learn more about *apis indica* in India. Does the Government have any bulletins concerning those bees? Do you know of any research that has been done on *A. indica*? Has any one studied the parasites? I believe I have read somewhere that *Acarapis woodii* has been found in India. Is *Nosema apis* found in India? I do not know if it is in China, but we have it here in U.S.A.

Claude R. Kellogg
California (U.S.A.)



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Foreign Periodicals

THE FINANCING OF DEVELOPMENT IN THE COMMONWEALTH

The following are excerpts from a learned paper presented by Prof. B. R. Reddaway of Cambridge University to the Royal Society of Arts and published in the Journal of the Society in its June, 1964 issue :

Let us turn to addition to the capital stocks, and see what it is that is limiting this sort of addition in the development of India. There are two different conditions which have to be fulfilled if there is to be a certain amount of investment done in any country. The first is what one might call a financial condition : either the people or the corporate bodies or the government of the country, or all three taken together, must be willing and able to save the necessary part of their income, or as an alternative they must be willing and able to borrow the necessary savings from abroad. The second condition is a physical one : it must be possible to translate the potential sources of finance into those real goods which are wanted for the country's development.

The first condition is a very familiar one, and I only emphasize it because it is so very important. It raises that well-known problem the vicious circle of poverty : incomes are so low that it is virtually impossible to set aside very much from them for securing the tools which would enable incomes in future years to be considerably higher. And as what stops the poor from advancing is their poverty, it is very natural to move on to the idea that the vicious circle should be broken by introducing capital from outside.

Now this is where, in the Indian case, we must have a minimum of simple statistics, because the amounts required when you have a population of 450 million growing at a rate of over 2 per cent a year are simply staggering. The labour force—not the population—in India is growing by four or five million people every year and even for handicraft production a new enterprise needs something over £100 worth of capital per person for tools, etc. So that if we were going to equip India with capital from abroad £400 to £500 million of external finance a year would be needed merely to deal with the increase in the labour force, not counting anything for the capital needed for houses, or for raising the amount of capital per head, and of course without allowing anything for modern type industries where the requirements are so much higher. The rest of the world may be prepared to do quite a lot in the way of aid, but India is not the only country wanting it, so clearly there must be something else besides external aid to cover her need for savings.

This fact—that you cannot expect unlimited supplies of finance from abroad—is reflected in the very simple fact that the main bulk of the finance needed to cover India's total investment does come from India's own savings. In the five years covered by the Second Plan up to 1961 the proportion of savings from Indian sources to the total of investment was something like 80 per cent. External aid was helpful, but quantitatively it was internal savings which were providing the bulk of the finance for the development. Even the Third Plan, which envisages a much higher level of investment and capital expenditure, looks to external finance for only about one quarter of the total.

The plain fact is that external finance is well worth having so far as adding to the total goes, but the main effort is coming from within the country, and I think one must say always will come from within the country. The idea that India's development has been finance mainly from abroad is either just mistaken or may relate to Government projects taken by themselves. Even that is not really true, but you can arrange the statistics to make them accord with the idea.

On the real side of investment—the actual goods which go into these projects—again it is commonly said that one of the characteristics of an underdeveloped country is that the bulk of the capital goods have to come from abroad.

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That is true if you don't say 'capital goods' but 'machinery.' But if you are looking at the investment as a whole it just isn't true. The very substantial preponderance of the value of the capital goods which constitute the investment for the Second Plan or the Third Plan is made in India. The reason is a simple one. All capital development plans include a tremendous amount of building and civil engineering work. The roads, the dams, the air ports and so on, must all, broadly speaking, be made in the country in which they are going to be used. Even industrial development generally requires a building to contain the machinery, and that building will be made in the country. For the Third Plan, the estimate of the amount of capital goods which will be imported and go into the investment represented in value about 20 per cent of the total.

Imported Machinery

Having made that point about how much of the capital goods were made in India, however, I do want to stress how vital the imported component is. Most of the machinery is imported, and in a sense must be imported ; and not only is it qualitatively important, but although it is only 20 per cent of the total, for the five years it amounts to £1,500 million.

What does this fact that the machinery has to be imported mean ? It does not automatically follow that an underdeveloped country will be in balance of payments difficulties if it tries to have a development plan just because the machinery has to be imported. Kuwait, for example, is an underdeveloped country and does not rely on external finance at all ; far from it—it finances us. This follows from the fact that its oil production yields an income large enough to enable its rulers to save and afford such things as a sea water distillation plant. Kuwait could, if it were wise to do so, finance the oil development as well, rather than getting that abroad through the companies. Kuwait exports capital. Well, that is all right for the savings side ; and the translation of the savings into machinery which has to be imported does raises no problems because the oil has its market essentially abroad, and therefore if you are prepared to save you can import machinery instead of importing Cadillacs. So it is not an automatic consequence that importing machinery means balance of payments problems for a developing country. But it happens pretty often, and it certainly happens in the case of India.

In India's case the difficulty in expanding her exports is very great. In consequence a substantial development plan which involves substantial imports of machinery was bound to lead to foreign exchange problems, however much of its income the country has been prepared to save. India has had balance of payments problems since 1957 and I think it is fair to say that it will go on having them for as long as it goes on having a development programme which is even remotely in line with its requirements. It is the characteristic of external finance that it not only adds to your total supply of savings but it also provides the means for enabling those savings to be taken out in the form of machinery. The great role of external capital is that it helps with both the problems I have mentioned as needing to be solve.

Perhaps I may add a little homely analogy to make this point clear. Not so very long ago we had exchange control in this country, which limited the amount which tourists could spend abroad, so that the amount which you could spend on travel was limited by whichever was the lower of two figures—the amount of pounds that you could provide and the amount for which you could get permission to convert your pounds into foreign exchange. For a family man like myself the first limit frequently proved the effective one, but it might also be that the limit came from the conversion. External finance—say, friends living in America who will put you up—solves both problems in one. The same is true for Indian development.

It is frequently deduced from that that the role of external finance for a country like India is simply to pay for imported machinery and that it should only be used for that purpose. The World Bank, for example, normally adopts the rule that its loans to a country are to be used to pay for imported machinery or equipment of some kind which is needed in a specific development project, the nature of which has been agreed with the country concerned. The internal expenditure needed for that same project usually has to be provided by the country itself from its own financial resources. We can sum up this general philosophy in the words 'A country does not need to borrow dollars or pounds to cover expenditure in rupees.'

Aid for General Imports ?

I want to look at this rather carefully as a basis for considering what aid does and how much is required. It is obvious that external finance provided on this principle is a very real help to the recipient country. It is true that the

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procedure is generally a very cumbrous one, that there are long delays between the agreement providing the finance and the actual expenditure of the money, and these delays unfortunately create a situation where there seems to be a large carry-over of unused aid, and legislators in the donor countries are liable to take the view that there is no need to give any more aid until that already given or promised has been used. But while that is a real drawback, it is not the one which I want to talk about today.

The point I want to make is basically a simple one. If one thinks of aid as being needed simply to cover imported machinery for specific projects it is easy to see that there are a certain number of praradoxes. If the country develops an engineering industry of its own, as India is slowly doing, this seems to lead to the proposition that it won't need any aid for projects where it can use Indian machinery. So far as the savings side of the aid goes, that is obviously wrong, because aids provides not only foreign exchange but also savings. If the country is poor, it still needs foreign capital for the purpose of adding to the available finance. But that is not the worst consequence of faulty logic. It the country is finding it hard to expand its exports, as India certainly is, then growth in national income will mean that there is a bigger need for imported materials, fuels and all the rest of it, very frequently including food. (A notion we are only too familiar with in this country.) This means that the process of development stimulates a general need for more imports, and if exports won't grow it throws up a need for an inflow of foreign exchange to cover what in Indian terminology is called 'increased maintenance imports.' It is a feature of the Indian situation that the people find themselves much more anxious to get foreign exchange for maintenance imports than to get foreign exchange for the machinery to be included in new projects.

This is not confined to India. I might add here a story drawn from earlier days, in 1958, in Pakistan. We had a refresher course for Pakistani economists, and one of them who was working in the Government put to me the following problem. 'I only have a limited amount of foreign exchange. Should I, in order to get a good development, use it for importing new machinery to carry on with industrialization, or should I use it to import raw materials to keep the machinery which I bought last year fully employed?' In his case there was the option, because the foreign exchange was not tied to any particular purpose. I found it a very embarrassing question to answer. The Indians in the main don't get that question, because the foreign exchange which they are getting under aid has mostly been tied to machinery imports, and it has been quite clear that all the foreign exchange which they have which is not tied is needed for maintenance imports: a very embarrassing situation, because it means that you have got to get external finance for almost any machine you need. That is the situation in India as things are. There greatest need is for foreign exchange to be used for 'non-project purposes'—the other jargon which is employed for general balance of payments support for maintenance imports.

I want to use the remainder of my time in considering whether it is legitimate to give foreign loans for this sort of purpose. Many people have an instinctive objection to supplying what seems to be 'external finance for current purposes,' and indeed that sort of objection would be thoroughly justified if the recipient country were not making any real effort to mobilize its resources for development but were taking the easy course of living on foreign money. But when there is a real plan for development, aid of this kind for current imports is a thoroughly logical thing. It does not mean that aid is being just eaten up with nothing to show for it, it means that the foreign finance is being converted into capital assets—for example, irrigation dams produced by Indian labour—*indirectly* instead of being converted into capital assets directly by using the money to pay for imported machinery.

This may seem a strange notion, and as it is so important I want to look at it from several angles. One angle which sometimes appeals more to an audience than any other is simply to apply the analogy of Marshall Aid. You will probably remember that when we were given Marshall Aid there was a certain amount of uneasy discussion as to whether it was really right to be using the dollars thereby obtained for importing wheat or cotton or even tobacco. Aid was supposed to be for a capital purpose, to cope with a recovery problem. That argument was quite rightly countered by saying that we were not burning the aid, not running into debt, we were adding to our assets far more than the amount of Marshall Aid. We were building our own power stations, and the people building them were receiving incomes and spending them, and part of what they were spending them on was tobacco. It would clearly be ridiculous to have imported ready-made power stations, on the grounds that this was a capital import and therefore legitimate, rather than to have made them

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ourselves and imported the consumer goods, or the raw materials to make consumer goods to supply the people on the job. More realistically, in our case the choice was between using our electrical engineering industry to produce power stations for ourselves and relying to a much smaller extent on Marshall Aid to import the raw materials needed, and as the alternative, exporting the electrical machinery in order to buy the essential food and raw materials. This is essentially the position in India too.

The Financial Mechanisms

Perhaps I may take an actual important programme to sketch the financial mechanism which operates, so that one can see how it is that aid in the form of consumer goods adds to the capital assets of India. The example is wheat, supplied by the United States under what we call Public Law 480. If that wheat were simply distributed to individual Indians as a free gift then it would do virtually nothing to add to the capital assets which India would have at the end of the year. Indians might as a result be stronger and therefore able to build more, but fundamentally this would be a gift straight to consumption by the Indians. But in fact Public Law 480 doesn't work that way. In effect it provides that the wheat is received not by individuals but by the Government. The Government sells the wheat to its citizens for rupees, and then spends the rupees for capital purposes such as paying wages of the people building the irrigation dam, which I mentioned just now as a project indirectly financed by foreign finance in the form of wheat. The actual mechanism of the finance is more complicated than that, but that is its essence, and it shows how a loan or gift of pure consumer goods gets indirectly converted into capital assets.

The position is similar when finance is given in the form of cash loans for balance of payments support or general imports. Again, the essential point is that the loan is made to the Indian Government in pounds or dollars and the Indian Government sells those pounds or dollars to the Reserve Bank for rupees, and spends the rupees for capital purposes. The inflationary effect of the capital expenditure is neutralized by the inflationary effect which is produced when the Reserve Bank sells the pounds or dollars to importers who bring in additional goods, usually raw materials.

Perhaps one can visualize an alternative mechanism whereby this foreign exchange was made available for general purposes which might not create the same prejudices. If the loan to the Indian Government were made not just for a part of a project—the imported machinery going into a hydro-electric scheme, for example—but were made for the whole cost of the project, this would seem, according to nineteenth-century notions, a perfectly proper procedure. But of course then the workers engaged in construction work would not be paid in pounds and dollars : you would have just the same mechanism as I have described —pounds and dollars would be sold to the Reserve Bank for rupees, and the procedure would continue from there. The only thing would be that in that way the use of the rupees obtained by selling the dollars to the Reserve Bank would be controlled ; they would have to be used for building the hydro-electric scheme. On the other side, the use of the pounds and dollars would not be controlled in any way, and that perhaps is one of the reasons why it is not done. When aid is given for balance of payments support it is usually on the condition (sometimes a very mild one) that the foreign exchange shall be spent on goods from the donor country. That is quite reasonable when you are giving a loan for balance of payments support, but it would seem rather odd to say, of a loan in pounds given for a hydro-electric scheme, that the pounds must be used for importing goods from the donor country, even when in fact the Indians are converting them into rupees in order to pay the labourers for doing the construction work in their own country.

I want to say a word also about private investment. I ought to be giving you a lot of statistics, but there is only one statistic that is in a sense necessary, and that is the quantitative importance of the private flow of finance into India as against Government-to-Government or World Bank-to-Government finance which goes under the Aid-to-India consortium. Quantitatively the flow of private investment into India is almost negligible. There is an inflow, but there is an outflow as tea plantations and merchant businesses and so on are Indianized and the proceeds repatriated. Thus, the net flow is very small, but that is not to say that it is unimportant. Remember the finance needed for that stick to dig the holes to put the seeds in—it was very small quantitatively but it was an essential part of getting a much higher rate of output. The role of private investment in India's development is essentially just that. It goes along with expertise, know-how and all the rest of it, and this can be important out of all proportion to the funds involved.

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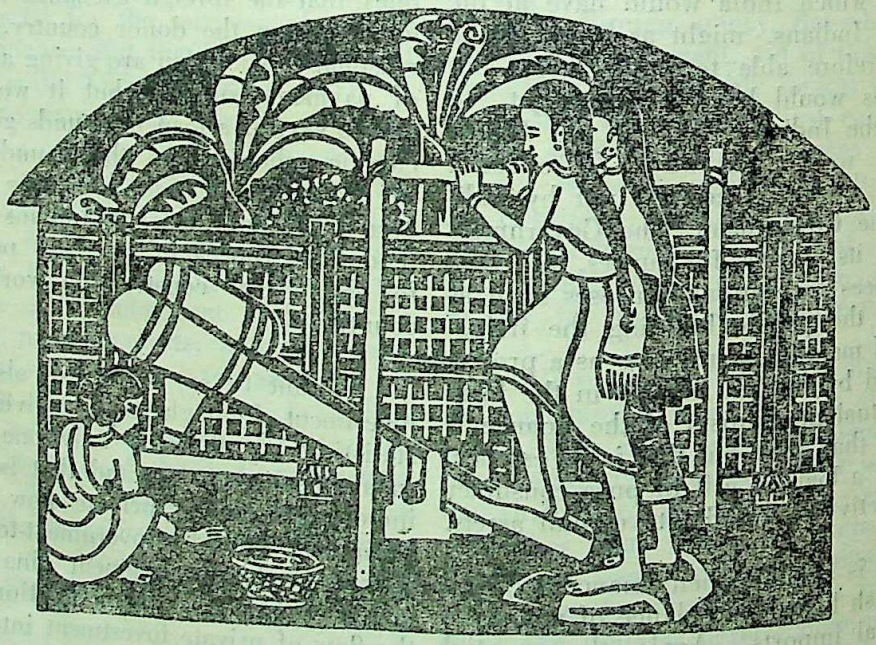
Trade as well as Aid

But the final point which I want to make is this. If we see the most important role of foreign finance in India's development as providing the vital foreign exchange element not merely for imported machinery but for general balance of payments, then it follows quite quickly that there are other ways of providing that foreign exchange as well as the provision of foreign capital. 'Trade as well as Aid' should be the keynote: the balance of payments problem of India springs more fundamentally from the difficulties of increasing her exports than from her development programme. A great deal of the responsibility for developing India's exports obviously rests on the Indians themselves. There are all sorts of things which they might do, but I want to look from the developed countries' end and say quite bluntly that one of the major obstacles to the development of the exports from India, and from other countries in a similar position, is the formidable number of devices adopted (which are sometimes contrary to the letter and the spirit of GATT) to keep down the imports of what are branded as low-priced Asiatic manufactures. The benefits which these devices bring to the industries in the developed countries (which are in any case partly matched by the losses to consumers in those countries) are really of quite a different order of importance from the detriment which they bring to the development of poverty-stricken countries like India; and incidentally they do a good deal to perpetuate the need for aid.



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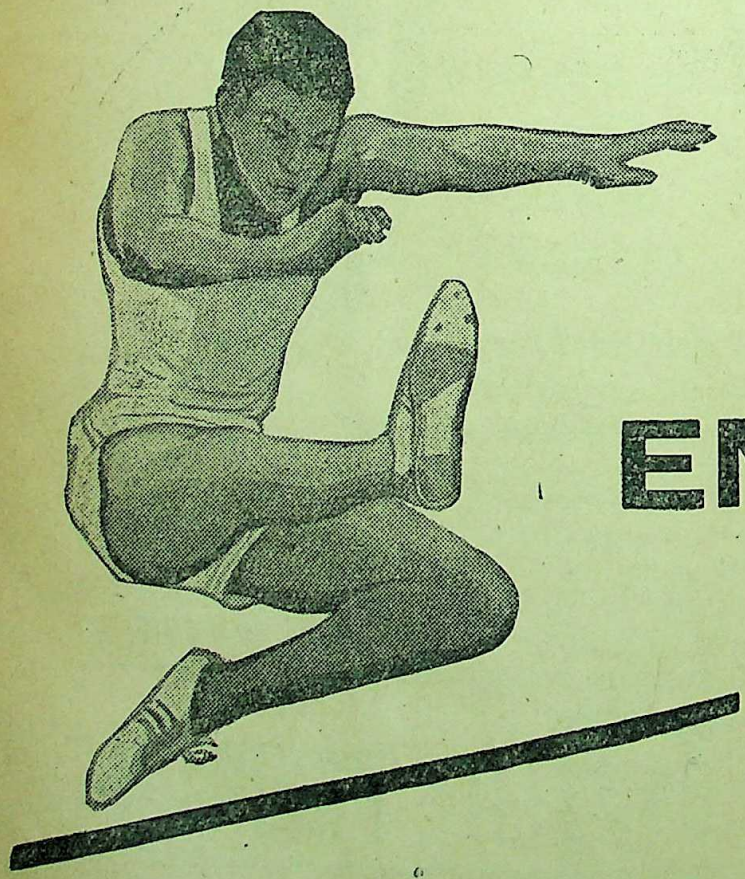

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NOTES

The World

At the time of writing these notes, there were only two Zones in the international areas of unrest and tension where there were chances that armed conflicts, that had begun at the beginning of August and then had died down, might assume major proportions. The Zones were situated firstly along the coastal areas of the gulf of Tonkin and within the border areas of North and South Vietnam and secondly in the north of Cyprus in the eastern Mediterranean Sea.

The U. S. version of the incidents that led to the mounting of tension to a critical point in the Gulf of Tonkin is given in the following extracts from the **N. Y. Times** (Weekly Review) editorials as given in the Monday, August 9, issue. The Sunday on which the first incident is said to have taken place was on August 2. The narration is as follows:

The first word reached Washington in the early hours of Sunday morning. It was relayed from practically the front doorstep of the Communists in Southeast Asia—from the Gulf of Tonkin, which is three-quarters enclosed by the shores of North Vietnam and Communist China.

The word came from the American destroyer Maddox. She is one of the ships of the United States Seventh Fleet that have been patrolling Southeast Asian waters for the double purpose of observing coastal movements by the North Vietnamese and "showing the flag" for psychological effect.

Maddox's message was that she had been attacked with torpedoes in daytime by three North Vietnamese PT boats about 30 miles offshore—well beyond the 12-mile limit of territorial waters that Communist nations claim (the U.S. recognizes a 3-mile limit). The destroyer and fighter planes from the carrier Ticonderoga counterattacked, damaging two of the boats and leaving the third dead in the water. The American forces suffered no damage or casualties. They did not pursue the boats because their orders were to repel attacks, not to destroy attackers.

In Washington the incident seemed to cause concern but no great alarm.

Monday Washington again sounded this note of warning to the Communists. Mr. Johnson called reporters into his office and told them that another destroyer, the C. Turner Joy, was joining Maddox on patrol under air cover and that they now had orders to destroy any attackers.

Tuesday the realization that a crisis was at hand burst upon Washington. It came with the news of a second North Vietnamese attack in the Gulf of Tonkin. It was a night attack, about 65 miles offshore, and longer and fiercer than the one of Sunday; the PT boats were driven off and at least two sunk, and again there was no American damage or casualties.

At the White House the atmosphere was

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tense. The President took counsel with his highest advisers.

They discussed the question of why the North Vietnamese attacked; how they should be answered; what would convince the North Vietnamese and their Chinese backers that the United States was determined not to be driven out of Southeast Asia.

Close to midnight, after informing Congressional leaders and Senator Goldwater, Mr. Johnson went on live television to announce:

". . . repeated acts of violence against the armed forces of the United States must be met not only with alert defense but with positive reply. That reply is being given, as I speak to you tonight. Air action is now in execution against gunboats and certain supporting facilities in North Vietnam which have been used in these hostile operations."

In California Senator Goldwater backed the President's decision, saying, "We cannot allow the American flag to be shot at anywhere on earth . . ."

Wednesday Secretary McNamara told newsmen that the American reprisal was "very successful." He said that in 64 sorties by carrier-based planes about 25 North Vietnamese PT boats—a "substantial" part of the North Vietnamese navy—had been destroyed or damaged; four PT-boat bases and an oil depot were damaged. Two American planes were shot down. Whether there would be any further action against North Vietnam, he said, "depends entirely on the North Vietnamese."

The reaction to the American move in countries other than those directly involved, varied widely. Peking warned the U.S.A. that it had "gone over the brink". A Government statement said that its aggression against the Vietnamese bases meant aggression against China. It added "The debt of blood to the Vietnamese people must be repaid and the Chinese people would not sit idly by without lending a helping hand." Mr. Khrushchev at first referred to the American relation as a "stupid act", but later issued a warning that the Soviets would honour their pledge to defend all Communist countries if they are attacked.

Australia, Britain and Japan have supported the action. Indeed all the powers of the NATO and SEATO have approved with the exception of France. The press in Arab countries reacted strongly against the American move. New Delhi expressed grave concern over these incidents as they threatened peace in South-East Asia and hoped that at least the atmosphere of an uneasy peace would be restored soon.

The U.S.A. has taken the case to the Security Council of the U. N. citing the original incidents as acts of aggression. The Soviets have referred to the American air-strikes as aggression in a counter-accusation on behalf of North Vietnam.

The position has remained tense since the U.S.A. struck at the North Vietnamese torpedo boats and their bases round the gulf of Tonkin. But until the time of writing these no further "incident" has happened to bring the crisis to a head. North Vietnamese and the South Vietnamese armies have been put on the alert along their borders, which in the case of South-Vietnam seems very indeterminate as the border-line on the Western side adjoins that area of Laos which is under virtual control of the North Vietnam assisted Pathet Lao forces. The Viet-Cong guerillas, who are fighting an internecine war against the South Vietnamese Government, are being regularly supplied by North Vietnam with munitions etc., through the Pathet Lao occupied areas of Laos. It seems that the Viet-Cong is somewhat less active since the American attack on the North Vietnam ports.

In South- Vietnam two **coups d'etat** have taken place in August, in quick succession, towards the end of the month. The first followed soon after General Nguyen Khanh had promoted himself from Premier to President and took over virtually absolute power. This was done by an "arranged" ballot in South Vietnam's Military Revolutionary Council, and it cleverly manoeuvred General Duong Van Minh out of the political set-up although the original **coup** that brought down the regime of Ngo Dinh Diem was led by General Minh. Students launched a vigorous agitation against the new

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dictatorship of General Khanh and their campaign developed in a nationwide demonstration. Khanh abdicated and a new caretaker Government was set-up pending elections for a Civil Government chosen from elected representatives of the South Vietnamese peoples. This caretaker Government was dissolved and a new Military Government of three members was set-up, exclusive of General Khanh as Chairman to act as Caretaker till the elections were over, by the military junta now in control of South Vietnamese affairs.

Some thousands of miles further West the island of Cyprus in the eastern Mediterranean region experienced severe aerial strafing, by rockets, bombs, highly destructive napalm bombs, and by machine-gun and cannon fire. The planes were U.S.A. jet planes but they were manned by Turkish Air Force men. This aerial action erupted out of the blue when the Greek Cypriots had come within an ace of either exterminating the determined core of Turkish Cypriot resistance in the North-West coast of Cyprus. The Greek Cypriots who were immensely superior in numbers, equipment and ability to manoevure had ringed a small 10 mile long strip of coastal villages with Turkish population.

The Greek Cypriots had received large supplies of arms, munitions and other military stores from the Greeks. And according to some reports quite a few thousands of trained Greek army personnel had "volunteered" into the Greek Cypriot ranks, thereby greatly emboldening the Greeks in their attempt to "liquidate" Turkish opposition by annihilation or by capitulation of the Turkish resistance forces. The U.N. peace-keeping forces were practically rendered immobile by Greek Cypriot restrictions and despite protests by General Thimayya (from India) the United Nations Commander, Archbishop Makarios, the dictator President of Cyprus, refused to remove them. He was confident of victory and further he had "Grivas" of the Cyprus Underground, who was back from Greece, in command of his forces, so he did not stop the Greek Cypriot "Operation Extermina-

Village after village fell before the Greek Cypriot attack, launched along the coastal strip with bazooka, mortars and machine-guns. The Archbishop had rejected all proposals for a peaceful settlement and had demanded that the Turkish Cypriots lay down their arms and accede to majority rule by the Greek Cypriots. The only alternatives left to the Turkish Cypriots was either to fight to the bitter and bloody end of their existence or to fly the country. And it was to this final end that the stage was set when the Turks on the mainland came to the end of their patience on the 8th of August last when three Turkish jet planes made two strafing runs on the Greek Cypriot positions in that area. The first news said :

NICOSIA, Aug. 8.—Turkish Air Force planes made a series of rocket and machine-gun attacks today on Greek Cypriot positions along the north-west coast of the island between the towns of Polis and Xeros on either side of the Pilliria promontory, the U.N. Command here announced, report AP and Reuter.

While in Paris the NATO permanent council held an emergency meeting to study the latest developments, both Turkey and Greece separately asked the U.N. Security Council to meet immediately to discuss the Cyprus crisis. It was later announced the world body would meet at 11-30 p.m. (GMT).

The U.N. Cyprus Command reported that Turkish jet fighters made two separate strafing runs on Greek Cypriot positions around the embattled Turkish Cypriot village of Kokkina.

A U.N. spokesman said a total of three aircraft flew in low from the sea, machine-gunning Greek Cypriot forces who had been encircling Kokkina.

At the Port of Xeros, four Turkish jets strafed a Greek Cypriot gunboat setting it on fire and forcing its crew to beach it.

He said at least five Greek Cypriot crew members were killed and 13 wounded in the attack on the patrol boat.

The Cyprus Government later announced that a fourth violation of Cyprus air space since yesterday took place when eight Turkish Air Force jets in two groups of

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four hit the Greek Cypriot towns of Polis, Pomos, Pahyammos and Xeros.

The Turkish Government later in a communique said that the air action carried out over Cyprus by Turkish aircraft was a "limited police operation" aimed at "cleaning up" all Greek Cypriot military vehicles on their way to "annihilate Turkish Cypriots in the Mansoura area."

Meanwhile the Greek Prime Minister, Mr. Papandreou, made an urgent appeal to President Makarios of Cyprus for an immediate cessation of all military operations in the island.

The **New York Times** commented thus, immediately after receiving the news:

The abiding danger all during the seven-month-old Cyprus crisis has been that it might precipitate a military struggle between Greece and Turkey. Yesterday that grave possibility heightened when Turkish planes made strafing attacks on the island.

Although tiny, Cyprus occupies a strategic position in the eastern Mediterranean, and the controversy over her future has brought all the major powers and the U.N. into the arena. For the West the situation is especially alarming since war between two NATO allies would have disastrous consequences for the defense of Europe and might shatter the alliance altogether.

At the heart of the conflict is the long-standing suspicion and hostility between the island's inhabitants of Greek and Turkish descent, now numbering about 400,000 and 100,000 respectively. Under the constitution and treaties promulgated when the island was granted independence from Britain in 1960, the Turkish minority was given certain veto rights over legislation, and Turkey —along with Greece—was granted certain rights of military intervention.

The Greek Cypriote Government under President Makarios has found the concessions onerous, and last fall it sought constitutional changes to reduce the power of the Turkish community. With passions strong on both sides, clashes between the two communities erupted last December and soon both Greece and Turkey were threatening military action on behalf of each side."

The short background summary in the **N. Y. Times** editorial has left out another feature in the agreement which was signed by British, Greek, Turkish and Cypriote (both Greek and Turkish) leaders on Feb. 19, 1959 and under the conditions of which agreement Cyprus became an independent republic. By a clause in that agreement Great Britiain retains sovereignty over two military enclaves with a total area of 99 sq. miles. Further the ethnic Turkish Cypriot community though only 20% of the total population in numerical strength, has 30% of the seats in the House of Representatives. There are some other complex arrangements in the agreement regarding communal affairs. In short the British design was to keep the communities apart and in a state of smouldering hostility right from the beginning. This has borne inevitable results, as it did in India, and Palestine.

The Turkish strafing continued for two days, during which the U.N. called for a ceasefire all round. The Turk discontinued strafing but kept on with reconnaissance flights over the areas where the Turkish Cypriot minorities were hemmed in. But finally, with the NATO powers adding their efforts to the U.N.O. an uneasy peace was restored. President Makarios had asked for military and other aid from many countries, in the event of the threatened Turkish invasion materializing, inclusive of the U.A.R. and other Arab countries and the Soviets. The Arab countries inclusive of U.A.R. had responded sympathetically saying that they would render all aid within their power and the Soviets had given a definite assurance of a strong military response in case Cyprus was invaded. It was this threat of military reprisal on the part of the Soviets that brought a sense of urgency and of an imminent danger of a major conflagration to all parties concerned.

Greece was preparing to withdraw air and army units from NATO when the Turkish strike at Greek Cypriote forces took place. But the Greek Government likewise expressed its strong disapproval of the military action launched by Archbishop Makarios at the Turkish minorities despite the Greek Premier's clear advice and requests to the contrary. The Soviets

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also expressed their firm desire that the Greek Cypriot moves for the annihilation of the Turkish minorities should be immediately stopped and that Archbishop Makarios should reverse his attempts to blockading supplies—inclusive of water—to the Turkish minorities and that he should reopen the roads etc., leading to their villages.

All these seem to have helped in opening the intransigent Archbishop's eyes to the consequences that might accrue to his thoughtless decisions. This again goes to show that the millenium is almost as far off today as it was a century back. In any case the Turkish aerial strafing has made it possible for the U.N. to reopen its proposals for a peaceful settlement of the tangled issues involved in the Cyprus affairs.

Some curious interludes seem to have come to light during the critical phase when the Turks were striking at the Greek Cypriote forces and were threatening an invasion, resulting in a broadcast appeal for help by President Makarios. Commenting on the favourable response to this appeal for military aid against the Turks that came from Syria, U.A.R. and other Arab countries, President Ayub said that this promise for military aid and action against the Turks displayed an "un-Islamic" attitude on the part of the Arab States concerned. This comment brought forth a strongly worded reply from President Nasser, pointing out that when Egypt was subjected to aggression of the most blatant and violent type by Britain, France and Israel, during the Suez critical incidents, neither Turkey nor Pakistan seemed to have displayed even a trace of pro-Islamic sentiments. This reply seems to have effectively stopped the outflow of pro-Turkish effusions from President Ayub.

In the Congo some tribals and others have been equipped with arms and given training in guerilla warfare by Red Chinese emissaries who are based just outside the borders of the State. It is a major rebellion and has assumed formidable dimensions due to the reluctance of the Government troops to face them. Moise Tsombe, the ex-secessionist head of the Katanga province, has been appointed Premier of Congo by the desperate Congo President, and he has been given some "aid" by the U.S.A., in the form of transport planes, "trainer" planes that can be used for strafing, helicopters, arms, ammunition and a certain number of "advisers" and paratroopers to "guard" the planes. Ground Transport has been given in the form of 70 jeeps and 250 trucks and amongst the "advisers" some 70 American officers and men have been working closely with the Congolese army on paratroop and guerilla warfare techniques. The affairs of the Congo State are, therefore, in a very liquid state, with day to day changes in the situation.

There was little else to note in World affairs which indicates a change from the drift of circumstances that has been going on during the previous months of this year.

The latest American spacecraft, Ranger 7, has successfully taken and transmitted 4316 photographs of the moons surface at the beginning of this month.

Independence Day

The seventeenth anniversary of our Independence Day has come and gone. This anniversary was saddened by the absence of Jawaharlal Nehru, India's Man of Destiny, as was said by our President in his Independence day message.

The President's message contained some significant comments, on anti-social practices, corruption, etc., which we append below as they are worthy of record, coming as they did at this critical moment in our nation's life.

The President said :

It is my privilege once again to say a few words to you on the eve of the seventeenth anniversary of our Independence Day. This would normally have been a day of rejoicing ; but we are living in the shadow of the loss we have suffered by the passing away of our great national leader—Jawaharlal Nehru—who left an imprint on our life and gave a new outlook to it. He strove to build a new future for India and gave to us a purpose in national life ; and we should adhere to this purpose and dedicate ourselves to the task of accomplishing it. He gave us the ideals of parliamentary

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democracy, a non-communal State, planned development, sobriety in international affairs and friendship among nations. There were many in our country who were impatient with what they called the unnecessary patience of Nehru, but being a democrat, he wished to carry the bulk of the people with him in whatever he did.

Our situation at home is not free from difficulties. Our achievement in the industrial sector is somewhat encouraging. It is a matter of satisfaction that, at long last, work will be begun on the Bokaro Steel Project. What is necessary is increased production in agriculture and industry and equitable distribution of the products. Soaring prices of foodgrains and other essential commodities are causing great concern among our people. I am glad that the Government is taking speedy and effective measures to check this rise in prices.

We should face the present situation with concerted action. The members of all parties, I dare say, are interested in fighting this evil and so would co-operate and work together in increasing food production and organising fair distribution of the produce. Personal rivalries and group factions have caused much injury to our progress and our good name. We should avoid them at all times, specially at a time like this, when we are facing many problems. Lawlessness should be discouraged and it is my hope that members of all parties would help in putting down any expression of violence. Democracy and lawlessness are inconsistent with each other.

A recent report shows that food adulteration is being practised on a large scale. Of all anti-social practices there is none more heinous than adulteration of foodstuffs. The practitioners of this evil, the hoarders, the profiteers, the black-marketeers and the speculators are among the worst enemies of our society. They have to be dealt with sternly, however, well-placed, important and influential they may be. If we acquiesce in wrong doing, people will lose faith in us.

The increase of corruption against which we are putting up a heroic fight is due to a considerable extent to our misplaced kindness and indifference to wrong doing. Maudlin sentimentality is not to be confused with generosity or compassion. If we are soft to the anti-social wrong-doers, we will be doing a great wrong to society itself.

When we speak of a free, classless society, we mean that we should not use other people as tools for implementing our desires. Democracy strives to provide all individuals with the wherewithal and opportunity for self-expression and development. Artificially imposed barriers should be removed and the opportunities for self-development of all individuals should not be restricted. Whatever they are capable of by their genius and ability, all individuals should be able to manifest. We have still the problem of the hungry, the neglected, the poor and the downtrodden. We should avoid the extremes of colossal affluence and grinding poverty, and whatever measures are necessary to bring about greater equality among our people should be attempted. We are attempting to bring about a revolution —economic and social—through consent and not through coercion.

An essential element of socialism is the application of social purpose to our national life. Most of us suffer from a streak of laziness ; and a progressive society has little scope for lazy people.

The other major problem, which is engaging our attention today, is that of national integration. We have been attempting to build a structure of society, where everyone, whatever his tribe, race, religion or caste may be, has equal rights with every other citizen.

I hope the members of all communities will seek areas of agreement and co-operation and not of discord and dissension. It is easy to rouse the lower passions of human nature but what we have to do is to enlist the higher qualities of understanding and appreciation of one another.

We have had people following different cultural patterns and all these by action and reaction brought about a common spiritual outlook. We also, from the beginning, spoke different languages and looked upon all these languages as vehicles of culture. Because our people speak different langu-

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...ages it does not follow that they belong to ...erent species. A twelfth century (1125 ...D.) Kannada writer observes :

sarvajnam tad aham vande
param-jyotis tamopaham
pravrtta yan-mukhad devi
sarva-bhasha sarasvati

All the languages are the utterances of ...e great goddess Saraswati and we should ...y, as far as possible, to understand the ...guages of others and the cultures they ...press.

In our country we have banned untouch-...bility by law, but, in practice, it is still be...ct in many places. To root it out, law ...one will not do. Education is necessary. ...e recognition of human nature leads to ...mination of race prejudices and social ...crimination. We are committed to a ...ntinuous process of self-education and ...lf-discipline ; without them we will fall ...part. History is a dynamic process and we ...annot escape from it. If we try to do so, ...e will fail to survive. No pride or preju-...ce should prevent us pose of time—the ...rpose that has not spent itself in the past ...t moves onward to fulfilment in the ...ture. Our future is larger and longer ...an our past. We can change history and ...t not merely to be changed by it. In the ...ter of industrial development, food pro-...ction and such other vital topics, the ...untry has to be treated as one whole an... ...l parts of it should receive equitable ...atment.

We are trying to remove hate and ...lence from our national and international ...e. We cannot say that we have succeed-...in this attempt though we are working ...these ideals."

We would lay special emphasis on the ...marks of President Radhakrishnan in re-...rd to the punishment that should be meted ...t to those who are guilty of corrupt prac-...es and the adulteration of food. Indeed ...r Freedom is being deeply affected by ...ese vital afflictions on our national life. ...e exhortations towards national uplift ...ntained in the message can only bear ...uit if these cankers are removed from our ...tion's body politic.

After Seventeen Years of Independence !

It is indeed a tragic reminder of the prevalence of an insatiable greed for illicit gain on the part of those who have gained a strangle hold on the trade and industries of the country, when one reads between the lines of the President's Independence Day message. We find an echo to that in the report of a statement made by Mr. Subramaniam while inaugurating a two-day Conference on agricultural development and economic progress organised by the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry. We quote from the report as follows :

'It is not, however, a question of ideology but a grim administrative responsibility of Government to see that speculators do not get a chance to exploit people's hunger to make money,' Mr. Subramaniam said.

The Food Minister referred to the views expressed by Mr. S. L. Kirloskar, Vice-President of the Federation and some others that the trade had been blamed "unjustifiably" for the present rise in prices. Views had also been expressed that it was the producer who had acquired a substantial holding power due to large amounts of co-operative credit.

"I do not quite accept this pose of wounded innocence on the part of the trader. The producer could not have acquired this holding strength overnight. Every year, crop credit has been pumped in and it is not as though the last year marked any particular water shortage," Mr. Subramaniam declared.

"What one sees is that over the years, there have been increasingly speculative trends in the economy, aided and abetted by substantial sums of unaccounted money. The trader and the producer who want to get rich quick (who does not ?) sees a golden opportunity in foodgrains where they can put their money with every hope of its multiplication," Mr. Subramaniam said.

We are glad that Mr. Subramaniam refused to accept the pose of wounded innocence on the part of the trader, and he is quite right that over the years speculative trends in economy has increased.

Regarding the innocent trader and the

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immaculate capitalist with "unaccounted money" who is his principal, we seem to remember that a few years back Sir Ramswamy Mudaliar lamented at a similar meeting or Conference that things had come to such a pass that captains of trade and industry are taken to be dishonest as a class. Today, following the rampant profiteering and adulteration, practised all over the country in the nation's food, they are more likely to be taken as habitual criminals. Mr. Kirloskar and others of his ilk should realise that sober men are seriously thinking of advocating and agitating for the death-penalty for profiteering, adulteration etc., in foodstuffs. They say that this would prevent the real criminal from securing willing stooges due to extreme risks involved in such nefarious ventures.

Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari gave pressmen the information on his arrival at Bombay on August 28, that Government proposed to make attractive rewards to people giving information leading to the detection of black money. We are unable to guess how attractive the awards would be or how efficient the follow-up after information is received would be, but the statement certainly does indicate a change in the attitude of the Government. If it be a serious statement and, if it be pressed forward into really forceful executive action then Mr. Krishnamachari's firm conviction that the black money in the country will be unearthed in due course would be justified undoubtedly.

In connection with the unearthing of "black money", we have to mention the reports of large sums in cash and gold that have been unearthed from the hidden hoards of film stars in Bombay. We must say we are not impressed—indeed on the contrary and for the following reasons.

The artists mentioned are undoubtedly guilty unless they can prove that the proper dues regarding income taxes etc., have been paid on the sums involved. In the absence of such proof they are guilty of tax evasion **and their guilt ends at that.** They have not earned those sums by either swindling the public, or swindling the innocent investors in shares etc., of concerns under the management of shady financiers. They have earned their money through gainful display of their artistic talents. And indeed they have more reasons to grumble at the imposition of heavy taxes on their earnings than any businessman, because like all artists they are subject to the vagaries of public likes and dislikes and what they earn in a few years may have to provide them for the rest of their lives.

To pillory them as they have been done in the press, can only enhance the disbelief in the minds of thoughtful peoples about the bona fides of government protestations against black money hoarders. Why were the names of those who had evaded taxes to the tune of crores, as found by the Varadachari Commission, never published? Their money was neither earned in straightforward business nor were the immense sums involved—the taxes due alone were in crores in many cases—used in open transactions. And yet the guilty ones were neither penalised as they should have been nor were they publicized as in the case of these Cinema Stars.

We are no Cinema addicts, indeed the total number of Cinema shows we have attended within the last six years would not amount to more than ten in all. So we are not in a position to judge whether the artistic talent of the film stars concerned does deserve the sums unearthed over their years of work. But from the very nature of the finds it is transparently clear that the large sums they had hidden way were not being utilized by them to finance crooked transactions or anti-social deals that might harm the public. In short their's were not part of the "unaccounted moneys" that are being criminally utilized to harm the common man, body and soul.

The "unaccounted money" employed to enhance prices to famine levels by creating artificial shortages of essential foodstuffs and other commodities and to adulterate foodstuffs on large scale, belongs to a class of men who seem to go unscathed and untroubled by the tax and other revenue officials. And they seem to be able to impose their will on the common man's life in every aspect of his being, with impunity

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without any interference from the powers that be. And that is why the nationals of India are in this sorry state after seventeen years of Freedom, and that is why the name and style of India as a Welfare State is a mockery today. Let us hope that those in whom we have put our trust and in whose hands we have put the reins of state are fully cognizant of all that.

At the A.I.C.C. meeting at New Delhi on August 29, there was an eight-hour debate on the steps the Government propose to take in order to control the prices of daily necessities for the life of the Common Man. After the debate the Working Committee's official resolution was passed by the A.I.C.C. The resolution expressed its general satisfaction with the way in which the food problem has been tackled on the whole. It particularly welcomed and endorsed the policy statement made by the Prime Minister in his letter to the Chief Ministers. In regard to the tendency on the part of traders and producers to keep back stocks, it said "The country will be wholeheartedly and fully behind the Government in any action they might take against anti-Social elements."

Yes, but where is there any indication that the Government has made up its mind to deal out condign and drastic punishment to the profiteer, hoarder and adulterator? Deterrent sentences are urgently awaited.

The A.I.C.C. meeting itself was a pointer showing up the mentality of some of those who had ruled and led the factions inside the ruling party uptil the inplementation of the Kamaraj Plan. This was particularly marked in the attendance of the members on the two days of the meeting. On the first day, when the burning problem of food and necessities of life for the common man was being debated and discussed, the benches were half-empty. But on the second day, when the Kamaraj Plan was being assailed, the sleek well-fed looking gentlemen—who had little interest in the half-starved hundreds of millions but had intense concern for the loaves and fishes of office and the bye-products thereof—filled the benches to capacity.

There were others too who were interested in this attempt to get the Kamaraj Plan reversed. The visitors who filled the seats kept for them, included quite a few of Delhi's Society Ladies when the discussions were resumed after the lunch interval, although most of them had seldom appeared at such meetings. It was evident that something more than were feminine curiousity had drawn them there, it was hardly likely that they would have abandoned their beauty sleep after lunch otherwise.

The move to get the Kamaraj Plan condemned—which would have meant recasting of Central and State cabinets—was defeated. The quietus was given by Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, who spoke for fifty minutes in support of the Kamaraj Plan and its consequences. Shri Dhebar had, prior to Shastrijis speech pointed out the damage that was being done to the image of the Congress by the proposed resolution. The resolution was finally withdrawn by the mover after a day-long bitter debate, which did no good to any of the participants and maximum damage to the anti-Kamaraj groups.

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Current Affairs

By KARUNA K. NANDI

FOOD PRICES AND THE PLAN

Shri Ashoke Mehta, Vice-Chairman of the Planning Commission, whose reaction to the currently developing demand in the country for a shift in the approach to planning was not altogether unexpected is not, by any means, in a minority of one in his desire to save the Fourth Plan from being severely pruned in size. That the demand for attenuating the size of the Fourth Plan to conform more closely to the financial and physical resources of the economy, especially in the context of the currently raging inflationary price spiral impinging a near crisis in food prices which can be said to have reached the brinks of a wide-spread famine, would seem to have been inescapable in view of past performances. We have just completed thirteen years of planned growth the average annual rate of which has barely been more than 3.5 per cent, if really that much, over this period, at 1952-53 constant prices. The population of the country has been estimated to have risen at an average rate close to 2.5 per cent during the corresponding period. This would not seem to leave, especially when the incidence of rise in taxation burdens have been accounted for, a great deal for any improvement in the standards of living. Performances during the last two years have been especially depressing not merely from the point of view of significant shortfalls in the growth rate but also from the angle of very substantially accelerating price pressures especially in the sector of essential consumables, edibles in particular.

Available Choices

Recent discussions persistently pose the question, first, whether it were wise to continue to accelerate the rate of investment and, secondly, if there should not be a shift from the emphasis on physical capital investment to what is broardly and rather vaguely described as human capital. Toning down investment efforts is generally demanded because of doubts about the ability to sustain a fast growth rate without causing critical inflationary pressures. There would seem to be cogent grounds for such apprehension especially in view of recent experiences and their obvious and disastrous impacts on food prices. Inflation of a certain measure may be altogether unavoidable in the process of fast economic growth especially when regard is had to the fact that the very nature of this growth process has to accord first priority to the development of essential producer and key economic bases far ahead of consumables. But when the incidence of inflation reaches altitudes where it inevitably affects the levels of subsistence, it unquestionably acts as a retrogressive factor. This, as it visibly has, leads in turn, to inadequate development yields in terms of the size of the investment incurred. In such a situation the factor of investment itself, acts as a stimulant to rising demand and corresponding pressures on the price structure.

The advocates of planned growth like Shri Ashoke Mehta and his high level expertise, seem to dissmiss these arguments as being of no particular substance. Many Latin American countries, they argue, have had a larger rate of rise in prices in a year than we have had in this country in a whole decade. And if these countries in South America could nevertheless sustain the processes of growth, they do not see why India could not achieve comparable results if the acceleration in the rate of new investments could continue to be sustained. They concede, however, that failures of development targets in the agricultural sector, especially in the context of burgeoning population explosion, has been a seriously dislocating factor. Agricultural performances, especially in food production, will have to be significantly raised in the next two years and followed through to the next two Plan periods, to eliminate shortages in supply and, consequently, the present dislocations in the rate

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development. These agruments, however, disregard a factual analysis of the realities of effective consumption demand of foodgrains in the country. A realistic analysis will demonstrate that although production has been marginal, there is no actual, at least not more than nominal, shortage. What has actually been happening is that for the overwhelming majority of the country's population this is the most vulnerable sector of the consumer market and is consequently more deeply sensitive to price pressures than any other sector. According to a study (*Towards Self-Reliant Economy*) published some years ago, more than 70 per cent of the disposable income of well above 60 per cent of the population is, at normal price levels, absorbed in the purchase of food grains and salt only. After covering other undeniable claims on the balance of this income there is practically nothing left over for other subsidiary edibles. The whole thing may be nonchalantly dismissed that it affects only a few essential commodities, not having regard to the realities of the economic level of the overwhelming majority in the community, even these very few essentials are so vitally crucial that they are able, as clearly they have been doing, to significantly affect the fortunes and prospects of the entire national economy.

Cause and Effect

The obvious confusion in thinking—conceding that each of the parties to the dispute is equally honest and sincere in its convictions—would seem to stem from the basic confusion in identifying cause and effect and the realisation that the present crisis in food prices is not the cause but the end-result of a series of causes that have been accelarating inflationary pressures over the entire economy does not seem to have been dawning upon the consciousness of those who seem to argue so glibly for or against a larger Fourth Plan. There can be no other indictment against a bigger next plan on fundamental grounds except the apprehension of infructuous investments failing to yield commensurate growth rate in actual rises in production, thereby hopelessly and, correspondingly in the measure they fail to provide yield, increasing aggregate demand, and consequent inflationary pressures. Demands for attenuating the size of the coming Plan can only be justified on this ground. The causes that may have contributed to failures and shortfalls in yeld must be a matter of a wholly independent and separate analysis. Broadly it may be stated that they have been the inevitable consequences of wrong priorities and ill-balanced coordination between mutually complementary factors in planning and cannot be said to have stemmed from within the framework of the Third Plan alone and is also a part of the inherited spill-overs from the wrong priorities and maladjustments of earlier Plans. The appiehension was not, therefore, entirely unfounded that the spill-overs from the wrong priorities and maladjustments of earlier plans, in which those of the Third Plan would occupy a sizeably larger share, would similarly be bound to bedevil the Forth Plan as well. And since the larger the plan correspondingly wider would be the area of dislocation and failures, one naturally pleads for a sizeably attenuated Plan. This does not, however, repudiate the scope, given the determination and clarity of thinking and vigorousness of action, for readjustment of priorities and rephasing of plan projects to eliminate the continuing consequences of past mistakes and failures.

Agricultural Priorities

It is, however, gratifying that the realization of the importance of a far more accelerated rate of agricultural development as a basic factor in economic growth appears to have been increasingly impinging upon the consciousness of both the school of opinion pleading for a slower growth rate as well as those advocates of planning who insist on sustaining the growth rate at a faster pace than hitherto. The development of agricultural potentials as an essential factor in over-all and balanced economic growth is inherent in all developmental programmes with a widening industrial base. The history of growth in all developed economies will bear out the truth of this assertion. But this need is especially vital in the particular contexts of the overwhelmingly agrarian economy with its present rural-orientations. The trends of urbanization that have been increasingly characterising current development planning is not an unmixed good and thereaten to dislocate social balances and values which may end by permanently according a dangerously low priority to the agricultural sector. The fact that even after thirteen years of massive indus-

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try-oriented planned development and in spite of the comparatively aenemic agricultural performance during the last half a decade, agricultural output constitutes well over one-half of the gross national product, appears to be regarded in a widening school of opinion as a deeply deplorable condition. Such thinking and the fact that supplemental modern employment resources are not being developed in a rural orientation reinforced by the low priority for agriculture in the Plan framework hitherto, have been factors that would appear to have been playing a crucial role in the increasing urban orientation of the community as a whole. If a serious breakdown in existing social balances has to be averted, this trend must be arrested, first by restoring to agriculture a much higher priority in conformity with its vital importance to the national economy and, secondly, by adequate supplemental job opportunities in the agrarian context. Important as the development of key producer and economic bases in an accelerating growth process admittedly is, no less deserving of an almost equally high priority are the claims of balancing development in this all-important sector of the economy. This will help to create incentives for agricultural enterprise which has been visibly and increasingly yielding place to the more spectacular and the quicker and more adequately yielding industrial adventure.

Abstemeousness In Administration Outlays

But to revert to a consideration of the basic issue under discussion, infructious plan investments are not the only, nor even the most important factor responsible for creating the conditions, of the sum-total of which the present crisis in food prices has been an end-result. Extravagant administration outlays out of all proportion to the real resources of the economy both actual and potential in the immediate future context, have been another important factor in the process. A very large measure of abstemeousness is immediately called for as also a complete reorienation of taxation trends which also have been contributing their quota of complications to the general malaise.

Prices and the Plan

But to confine our discussion within the limits of the chosen issue, that of the food crisis and the Plan, it is necessary to realise and clearly understand that the food crisis is only a facet of the composite and complex problem of prices. The Third and, to a limited extent, even earlier Plans in the manner they have been conceived and implemented, leaving as they did a fairly substantial lag between investments and their actual yield-shortfalls in relation to the targets envisaged, whatever the causes, inherent or otherwise in the Plan itself, that may have produced these lags, have largely contributed to the pressures that have been generated with their more disastrous impact on food prices. To attenuate the growth rate by slowing down the rate of investments in the next Plan is not a real curative of enduring worth but a mere palliative to deal with an intractable and immediate crisis. To resort to an analogy, it is very much like administering a palliative to a dangerously sick patient to avert imminent disaster. It is only an expedient to earn a respite and, therefore, mainly negative in its application. But even a negatively worthwhile palliative may become an inevitable condition of survival. So with planning. The need for immediate survival may dictate the application of the brake for the while, but it is neither an end in itself nor a very desirable method of treatment if its application can at all be averted by the use of more wholesome remedies. A far better way would be to redraw the basic design of the comming Plan to eliminate the gaps that had been left yawning and their consequential reactions. Then it would neither be impossible nor unwholesome to programme for a faster rate of outlays and growth.

AGRICULTURAL CREDIT AND RURAL CO-OPERATIVES

The recently reawakened awareness of the need to accelerate agricultural development as one of the basic pre-requisites for sustaining growth under planned development, has induced larger allocation of funds for short and medium term agricultural credits. The Union Minister of Community Development was reported to have demanded that funds in this behalf should be specifically alloted and ear-marked for the weaker and more vulnerable sections of the rural community if optimum benefit is expected to be derived from these credit allocations.

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Complaints about the misdirection and wastage of credit facilities which, it has often been alleged, are exploited by the more affluent and politically powerful sections of the rural community largely for promoting their personal financial status and political pulls, rather than for the bona fide purposes of agricultural development and farming progress have often been heard. It has also been alleged, on occasions, that parts of these credit facilities are exploited by the more affluent and politically powerful groups in the rural society, also partly for purposes of speculative hoarding of essential edibles.

Although a recent survey carried out by the Evaluation Division of the Planning Commission is reported to have disputed the truth of such assertions, knowing how rural co-operatives function in general, through which these credits are usually routed, the results of the Planning Commission's survey in this behalf, would not appear to be entirely convincing. According to this survey, 87 per cent of short term credits, which cover the bulk of operations in this field, are reported to be deployed for bona fide agricultural purposes and, of medium term loans, some 71 per cent are said to be absorbed in farming needs. It does not, however, seem to be clearly indicated if these credits can be proved to have been supplementing the farmer's own usual and normal investments in agricultural outlays or have been used as substitutes for the latter. If the latter supposition is even partially correct, then it would seem to change the very basis and complexion of agricultural credits. Rural credits, in that case, would seem to have been deployed for bona fide purposes of agricultural development which should and are expected to be their basic function, but for raising the farmer's staying capacity on the basis of currently static production norms and of being able, thereby, to exploit seasonal shortages in supply for exorbitant profits to themselves by withholding stocks from the markets. The scheme of making these credits available to the farmer not in cash, but mainly in kind, if it could be successfully applied, might have, atleast in large measure, obiviated these possibilities. Unfortunately such a scheme has been found to be unworkable except to the extent of providing some quantities of fertilizers and seeds, which some village co-operatives are known to continue to offer.

It is curious that the workings of rural co-operatives through which the bulk of these credits are routed—their volumes are not quite insignifant; Rs. 290 crores were deployed to this end during 1963-64 which have been raised during the current year (1964-65) to Rs. 330 crores—do not appear to have been as closely investigated as would seem to have been urgently called for. It is generally known that well over 50,000 out of the 220,000 rural co-operatives in the country are moribund and are defunct all but in name. There must be a large number of others who function only on paper for the benefit of certain vested interests which have entrenched themselves in control over these societies. Of the balance which can be said to be really functioning in a manner of speaking, most are too small to be viable. It is not unknown that some of these societies, obtaining credits from Government at little or no interest, reinvest them by loans to farmers at rates of interest which are well-nigh usurious. Interest rates charged by rural agricultural co-operatives at anywhere between 9 to 18 per cent are not altogether unknown and no bona fide small farmer could pay interest at such ruinous rates and still hope to survive. Then, again, most of these co-operatives fulfil no other purpose than of mere credit agencies and only a very selected few all over the country perform additional functions such as ware housing, marketing etc.

It is heartening that Government seem to be awakening to an awareness of the need to tighten their supervision over rural co-operatives and have announced the appointment of two Committees, one under Prof. Dantwalla of Bombay and the other under Sri B. N. Mirdha, Speaker of the Rajasthan Legislative Assembly, to report on the existence of spurious societies and recommend measures for their eradication (this will be the function of Sri Mirdha's Committee) and

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to report on the scope of co-operatives in the processing and marketing of consumer co-operatives. The terms of reference of the two Committees as indicated above would, however, seem to have been side-stepping the basic issue of greater functional efficiency of rural co-operatives as an instrument of agricultural development. This may, one apprehends, have been deliberately done because no close probe into the management of agricultural credits made available by Govt., through the rural co-operatives may, at all, have been desired. It is notorious, the crucial role that village level Congress leaders are known to play in the management of rural co-operatives, and how they are quick to exploit facilities of public funds mainly to widen the base of their own and the paty's political pulls and, not infrequently also, to line their own pockets in the process.

It may, however, be extremely uncomfortable for the ruling Party as a whole to carry out any close probe into the functions and methodology of these credit institutions more or less in the same manner as Shri G. L. Nanda's campaign against corruption was proving too embarassing for the Party presidium. It is a curious development of Congress power in the country that action to eradicate corruption from the administration—which, of course, would be quite abortive of any achievement if measures were not taken to eradicate corruption from public life at the same time—should have been publicly repudiated by the ruling Party at its highest levels and that the Union Home Minister should also have been let down by his own Prime Minister. It is, we believe, entirely without any parallel in the history of Parliamentary democracy anywhere in the world, that action initiated by a senior Cabinet Minister of proved rectitude and worth to deal with a universally acknowledged to be widely pravelent public evil, should be officially declared to be only the personal responsibility of the Minister concerned and not either of the Party in power nor even that of the Government of which the initiator of the measure in question is a very senior and responsible member. This is an open and brazen-faced invitation to more and wider corruption in the community and if anyone can imagine that the country can be pulled out of this putrid mess by mere so-called constitutional methods, he must obviously have been indulging in absurd pipe dreams!

INDIAN REPATRIATES FROM BURMA

The first question that would be inevitably asked in connection with the mass repatriation of Indian nationals from Burma that has been going on for the last several weeks, is what may have been compelling these large masses of Indians who, for the most part, have been carrying on their various avocations in Burma for generations together, to leave their hearths and homes for a wholly unknown future in the country of their origin? For, to most of these Indians, Burma was their real and only home and India a virtually unknown land with neither a home to come back to, nor friends and relations on whom one could hope to depend for material assistance to build a new home and a new future here.

The answer is obvious. They have, with the wholesale nationalization of all industry and trade in Burma, been deprived of their legitumate occupations and sources of living without any hope of any kind of alternative or matching occupation in other than their own fields of enterprise in that country. Most of these unfortunate people have ordinarily been men of substance. But with their occupations wrested away from them, without any hope of recompense, financial and otherwise, there was absolutely no means for these people to continue to stay in the land of their adoption even at bare subsistence levels. For they have also been deprived of all their cash savings. By two separate legislations the Burmese Revolutionary Government made this deprivation complete and final. By demonetizing all K 100 and K 50 notes and permitting reimbursements in exchange upto a limit of only K 500/- in currencies of smaller denominations—balances to be forfeit to Government unless evidence **satisfying to the executive Government** as to the manner how these moneys were

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obtained—and by holding payments of all compensations for Indian assets taken over by the Burmese Government indefinitely in abeyance, all Indians in Burma including those who had been in circumstances of lavish affluence, have been reduced to the same level of abject destitution and penury.

To stay on in Burma in the circumstances and without hope of any means of subsistence would obviously mean that these large numbers of Indians would either have to starve or be a charge on the revenues of the Burma Government. Naturally the Burmese Government were not prepared to acquire this liability and they have been doing everything in their power to push them out of the country with as much expedition as possible. But that they are not prepared to concede even the least facility to these unfortunate people is obvious from the fact that they would not permit these Indians even to deposit for safe custody within the country, any of their valuables with the Indian Embassy in Rangoon and all that would be allowed by way of out-of-pocket travelling expenses when leaving the country is K 75 to all those above the age of 18, K 20 to those between 12 and 18 and only K 10 to those below 12 years of age.

What would seem to be especially tragic in this connection is the apparent helplessness, if not quite unconcern, of the Government of India to protect these large masses of their own nationals from this overt, wholesale and inhuman oppression by the Government and people of Burma. Generations of Indians had taken over large volumes of capital savings from across their own country into Burma and invested them there. The Burmese are a traditionally indolent and ease-loving people without much initiative and creative enterprise and most of the exploitation of Burma's own economic resources and the resulting development has been done by foreign capital, initiative and enterprise. The share of the contribution by generations of Indians to the process has, indeed, been phenomenal. Now they are thrown out wholesale and are deprived from enjoying their legitimate share of participation in the fruits of their own sacrifices and enterprise by a stroke of legislation which cuts away at the very roots of all conception of civilized and humane behaviour. This is just not simple expropriation which all modern States may be compelled to resort to on occasions in exchange for legitimate and appropriately valued compensations, but brazen misappropriation with a vengence and belongs to the same kidney as broad daylight highway robbery. The fact that a legally constituted Government, authoritarian though it may be, has been guilty of the wrong cannot, in any way, take away from the heinousness and brutal inhumanity of the crime.

And, if the case of those who retained their Indian nationanlity is thus pitiable, those among the Indians in that country who, deluded by the thoughtless propaganda of the Indian Government, elected to embrace Burmese nationality, is in a situation of extreme misery. Pushed out by the country of their choice—that was inevitable on account of their wholesale deprivation from all employment opportunities there—they are in the far more unhappy position of being virtually a people without any country of their own and who cannot expect the least consideration from either side.

And India does not, characteristically, seem to have any wholesome and realistic plan whereby these large masses of humanity—for generations used to a fairly decent level of living—could be appropriately rehabilitated and settled. Failing to provide any protection at the Burmese end, all that has been thought to be enough is to offer loans of upto Rs. 2000 per family only to those who are travelling back by steamer for starting some business of their own or other. No assistance is sail to be promised to those who are travelling back by air—whose numbers are far larger, steamer services being few and far between—presumably because air travel being more expensive they are thought to be in sufficiently afluent circumstances to need any such assistance. True, if they were permitted to carry away reasonable compensation for their assets in Burma forefeited by the Government of the country, or even to bring away their legitimate savings in

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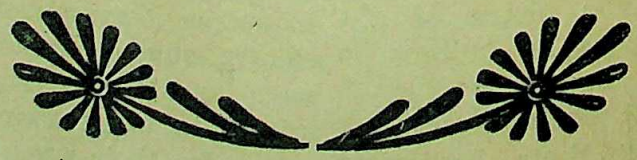
cash and valuables, they might have been affluent enough to do without any assistance. But the Government of India should be well aware of their actual plight which is no whit less tragic than their steamer-travelling compatriots and this distinction in their treatment of the former can only be described as inhumanly invidious.

The failures of the Government of India, it may be observed in passing, to afford legitimate protection to their nationals abroad in the matter of ordinary civilized and humane treatment in the countries of their sojourn, have already been notorious. In Ceylone, in Mauritius, in Fiji and a host of other countries in the former British Empire, and now also in Burma, the Government of India have been helpless onlookers of brutal oppression of their own nationals without being able or even willing to compel normal civilized treatment. In all these countries India maintains diplomatic legations at colossal expense to the public exchequer. What good, one may pertinently question, is such colosal waste of public revenues to maintain these costly show-pieces, if the country and her nationals where these legations are located cannot benefit even to the elementary extent of obtaining ordinary civilized treatment due to every human being? It may be added that when Burma was in sore straits with the Karen disturbances in 1949-50, India advanced Rs. 6 millions besides giving arms asistance to help her in emergency. This is how Burma seeks to pay back her debt and the Government of India do not seem to have anything to say about the matter:

It is time that the Government of India reconciled themselves to the inevitable fact that they will eventually have to make themselves energetically responsible for large numbers of their nationals ejected out of their occupations and employment in many other places abroad and, as in Burma, also deprived of their life's hard-earned savings in the bargain. One is almost afraid that encouraged by the complete ease with which the Burmese Government have been allowed to get away with wholesale misappropriation of all Indian assets in that country, and the apparent helplessness and impotence of the Indian Government to do anything in the matter, other countries also where Indians have played significant roles in developing their resources, may be tempted to emulate the Burmese example. Long-term integrated programmes will have to be evolved, sooner or later, for their appropriate rehabilitation and reabsorption in the community. Knowing that most repatriates from Burma have been men of initiative and enterprise, they might easily be expected to make useful, even significant contributions to the processes of development currently being pursued in the country. But to enable this to be done to most advantage, forethought and planning would have to be an essential pre-requisite. Lack of it—just as in the case of a majority of East Pakistan refugees—would lead to colosal wastes of good, potential human material on the one hand, and extreme misery and distress—all the more deplorable because they are wholly unmerited by the sufferers—and the attendent problem of growing masses of frustrated humanity, without dignity, without even hope of a future, on the other. If this is allowed to drift uncared for, as is apparently being done, the whole thing will be bound to soon get out of bunds eventually and there will have to be such a reckoning in the end, even to contemplate the nature and magnitude of which, any one cursed with an imagination and a sense of history, would shudder in his shoes!



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THE LATE BABU RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

By Late KALINATH RAY
Editorially, in the **Tribune** in November, 1943

Among the little band of distinguished Indians who have served their country and humanity during the last half a century with intense and unfailing devotion as well as with conspicuous ability and distinction, Babu Ramananda Chatterjee, whose death is being mourned today by millions of his grateful and admiring countrymen will always have a pre-eminent and abidting place. And the most remarkable thing about this devoted and life-long service is that it was rendered not in the way in which most other illustrious Indians of Mr. Chatterjee's time and generation served their country and humanity, by taking an active and leading part in public movements or by moving or thundering public orations, but by quiet and unostentatious work in the field of journalism, and particularly of journalism of that most unobstrusive variety, periodical literature. It is true that for some years Mr. Chatterjee had regularly attended sessions of the Congress, and towards the close of his life he had been prominently associated with the Hindu Mahasabha. But he had won his laurels independently of and without any reference to his association with the Congress, and long before he joined the Hindu Mahasabha ; and it is safe to assert that in thinking of him and his great services to his country and humanity not even the most ardent Congress man or Hindu Sabhaite ever thinks of his association with those great organisations. Primarily and principally if not solely he was known and admired as the editor of two monthly magazines, one in Bengali the other in English, both founded by him and raised by him to the pinnacle of glory.

Here, indeed, was his chief distinction as a public man. There have been other cases in which Indians have before now served their country and won enduring fame as journalists, but they were for the most part associated with daily journalism, which necessasily riveted public attention on their work from day to day. The editor of a monthly magazine suffers from the great disability of appearing before the public eye only once in a month. The average reader cares more for topical subjects than for subjects of permanent interest, and most topical subjects naturally become stale by the time that a new number of a magazine makes its appearance. Another and equally serious disadvantage of a monthly magazine is that the space at its disposal for dealing with matters of current interest is necessarily limited as compared with a daily or even a weekly newspaper. If in spite of these obvious and undeniable draw backs the two magazines edited by Babu Ramananda Chatterjee, the **Prabasi,** and **The ModernReview,** won resounding fame and weilded tremendous influence over contemporary life and thought in India, it was because he had qualities which distinguished him from most other editors of monthly magazines in this country. It was these qualities that enabled him to impart to the two magazines, almost from the first, the character of public institutions rather than of individual enterprises in the field of periodical literature. That character they retained to the last day of his life.

What are these qualities ? The first and most noticeable of these qualities, of course, was Mr. Chatterjee's intense and passionate nationalism. I know of no newspaper or periodical in India which in every single issue bore the unfailing impress of this nationalism in a larger measure or a more unmistakable manner than Mr. Chatterjee's two magazines. In his selection of articles and of contributors an editor has naturally to think of many things, and no one can deny that Mr. Chatterjee had a peculiar knack of choosing the best contributors and articles available to him. But the discriminating reader was sure to find that even in this matter Mr. Chatterjee's guiding prin-

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ciple was his passionate love of country and his intense solicitude for its all round well-being. This love of country and this solicitude for its well-being literally dominated and were, indeed, the most conspicuous feature of his editorial comments, even as those comments themselves were the dominating and most conspicuous feature of every issue of each of his two journals. In most other magazines editorial comments are regarded more or less as a conventional thing, and are over-shadowed by contributed articles. Very different was the case with the **Prabasi** and the **Modern Review.** Here the first thing to which the habitual reader of either magazine was sure to turn was the editorial comments, and he was sure to turn to them not merely for pleasure or enjoyment, but for inspiration and guidance. And in most cases he was sure to find what he sought. There was hardly any event of public importance, political, social, educational or economic, which had occured during the preceding month, on which, until age and ill health had enfeebled him and made it impossible for him to attend to his editorial work personally, the editor did not make his comments, and there was hardly any comment which was merely a repetition of what others had said or which did not bear the stamp of his genius. As time passed, his task in this respect naturally became one of increasing difficulty. The thoughts and ideas that had at one time been confined to a handful of writers and speakers of the first rank, among whom Mr. Chatterjee was one, gradually became current coin. Here as elsewhere the paradoxes of one age became in the course of time the truisms and commonplaces of another. It thus came to pass that almost every single event of public importance and every public utterance of a statesman in an official position or an unofficial social or political leader was examined critically in most Indian newspapers from the point of view of nationalism, long before any monthly magazine could possibly appear with the editor's comments on it. But it is to the lasting credit of Mr. Chatterjee that even this did not deprive his comments entirely of their freshness and of their individual autochthonic quality.

The second noticeable quality of the two magazines, or rather of the editorial comments in them, was a singular combination of strength and self-restraint. The large majority of speakers and writer habitually mistake strong words for strong judgment, and cannot write strongly on any matter on which they feel strongly without losing all control over themselves. Temperamentally as well as by his training and character Mr. Chatterjee was, from first to last, at the farthest possible distance from belonging to this category. He never wrote otherwise than strongly on any subject on which he felt strongly, but his strength was the strength of argument and not of invective. Better than most men he knew that there are few things so essentially weak as strong words, that adjectives are too often the greatest enemy of the substantive. Partly no doubt Mr. Chatterjee, like other writers and speakers of potent stamp belonging to his category, was able to avoid the use of strong words by his style and his manner of dealing with public questions and events. Unlike so many others, he did not consider himself a "public prosecutor for the universe," whose business it is to draw up an indictment against all who differ from him, but a judge whose business is to examine patiently all sides of every matter that comes up for adjudication and having done so to make out a case for one side or the other on the basis of evidence and by means of argument, and then deliver his judgment. It was this analytical and argumentative manner that really distinguished Mr. Chatterjee's treatment of public questions from that of so many others, and made the use of invectives both repugnant and unnecessary to him.

The third noticeable quality of Mr. Chatterjee, and it is the last with which I am concerned in this short review, was his indomitable passion for freedom and for the independence of his country. He was among the first band of public men in India who worked for India's complete freedom, and he used his two powerful magazines for the propagation of the idea of independence. With him, moreover, independence was no mere matter of dream, no remote ideal to

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be realised in the long processes of time and endeavour. It was an immediate political objective which it was the right no less than the duty of his people to try and attain with all conceivable speed and by every legitimate means in their power. Here again Mr. Chatterjee's advocacy was argumentative and not dogmatic. He fully believed with Bal Gangadhar Tilak that Swaraj was India's birth-right, but he was not content with the mere expression of his belief. He built up a tremendously weighty case for the attainment of independence by India by means of an invincible array of facts and arguments based partly on logic and partly on history, a case which no one ever attempted to answer and which to this day remains unanswered. Of course, he did not stand alone in this matter. Others did the same work, and to some, by virtue of their personality or the accident of their position, it has been given to do it far more powerfully and effectively. But he was undoubtedly among the pioneers of the movement, and its life long and indefatigable persecutors and champions, and when in the not far-off future India will attain her independence he is sure to be one of those whose names will be written in imperishable letters in the golden pages of its history.

THE DYNAMICS OF RURAL DEVELOP MENT

By CHESTER BOWLES,
U.S. Ambassador to India

I

By "rural areas" I mean not only the villages and their surrounding farm areas throughout Asia, Africa and Latin America but also the rural towns, ranging from two or three thousand population to many thousands, which serve as marketing centers for the peasants and landless labour of the countryside.

By "rural development" I mean not only agricultural expansion but the growth of small industry, schools, training centers, improved communications, rural electrification, public health, population control centers and even the formulation of a rural cultural awakening.

Although the *Kural* pointed out nearly 2000 years ago that, "The agriculturalist is the lynchpin of the whole social chariot," this truism was largely ignored in practice. In Asia and Africa a procession of invaders, emperors, and later colonial powers came and went for centuries with little effect on the rural people most of whom were conscious of their government only when it raised taxes or inducted more young men for military service. In Latin America the rural areas, too, were largely by-passed by history.

Following the struggle of the developing countries for independence after Word War II, and the withdrawal of the colonial powers, the primary concern of most of the new leaders was for industrial growth which they accepted as the glamourous symbol of western economic advancement. In this regard India had her full share of urban-oriented skeptics who saw the peasants, in Karl Marx's terms, lost in the "idiocy of rural life," and industrial expansion as the only true measure of progress.

More recently the key role of the 80 per cent of the people who live in the rural areas of the developing nations has become strikingly apparent. Politicians are beginning to understand that peasants who see no tangible signs of economic progress cannot be expected to identify themselves with their government, and that an orderly political system, therefore, largely depends on what happens in the countryside.

Economists increasingly recognize the need to increase the supply and variety of food available for domestic consumption, and, if possible, for export. In many developing countries agriculture is virtually the only existing industry; it must be expanded to the fullest if there is

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to be any hope for a reasonable rate of capital accumulation. And since half of the gross national product in such nations consists of agricultural products, their output decisively affects the indices of national production on which broader economic judgments are based.

Furthermore, rupee for rupee, capital investment in the rural areas will affect more people and accomplish more growth than anywhere else. A market road or a deeper well provide potentially immediate economic benefits without requiring foreign exchange.

The more farsighted also see rural development as an essential prerequisite for industrial growth. If the 80 per cent of the people in a developing nation who live in rural areas lack the purchasing power to buy manufactured goods in increasing amounts—and right now the rural areas in many such countries are not even part of the money economy—the growth of urban industry is bound to be retarded by lack of customers. Moreover, since food constitutes half the weekly budget of an urban worker, the supply of food and the efficiency of its distribution have a direct and major impact on the well-being and political mood of the urban centers.

Finally, sociologists see rural development in its broadest sense as the only democratic means of slowing the movement of ambitious and promising younger people from rural areas to the cities, which in Gandhi's terms drains "the life blood of the villages." This population flow becomes more and more intense as developing nations gather economic momentum and young men, bogged down by the limitations of village life, see the cities as a promised land abounding with employment opportunities and the excitement of modern living.

The actuat transition to urban life, however, is often an unhappy one. Once the newly arrived peasants have exchanged the comparative security of their villages with their familiar family relationships, rivers and fields, for the harsh life of a crowded city slum, they are likely to experience a sense of personal frustration and insecurity which inevitably expresses itself in political unrest.

The only effective way to slow down this movement to the urban centers is to provide increasing economic opportunities in the rural areas in an environment which gives the individual some meaningful personal role to play; he must matter.

II

If more rapid rural development is essential to the orderly political and economic growth of an emerging nation, it is also the most difficult aspect of development. Rural societies are usually dominated by traditional ways of thinking and doing which are not easily changed; because of this, rural improvement is not susceptible to crash programmes which yield immediate, tangible results.

The very vastness of an Asian, African or Latin American countryside with its thousands of villages provides in itself a formidable obstacle to dramatic progress. Although a hydroelectric plant can cause an industrial complex to flower virtually overnight, it may be years before the first electric pump appears in a nearby village and an even longer interval before the irrigation water is used with full effectiveness.

This brings us again to a point of great importance which I shall take every occasion to stress. The most difficult aspect of rural development, and at the same time the most significant aspect, is that it deals primarily with PEOPLE endless numbers of independent hands and minds which cannot be centrally controlled but which are the only significant source of creativity in a developing rural economy.

Without the awakening enthusiasm and cooperation of the masses, often buried under centuries of hopeless repression, development is impossible. This underscores one of the five essentials which was discussed in my first lecture: the need for a reasonably equitable and speedy distribution of tangible benefits and the cultivation of a widespread sense of personal participation.

Although many economists, with their eyes glued to the movement of the gross national product, overlook this factor, it is of critical importance. Unless the millions of rural people can be engaged in building for the future, no amount of glamorous industry will produce the fundamental economic and social changes which are the proper goal of national development. The primary focus of any rural development programme, therefore, must be to release the energies of rural majority in their villages and towns.

Now let us frankly admit that this challenge

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an awesome one for which we have no fully adequate answers. The complexities of tribal loyalties in Africa, caste distinctions in Asia, and ancient values everywhere have little relationship to the priorities of modern planners. They create obstacles to change which should never be underestimated.

Nevertheless, certain positive steps are obvious. For instance, with sensitive leadership the peasant's efficiency as a producer can be raised through education, extension work and demonstration projects. His requirements as a consumer can be increased through exposure to new products. Finally, his position as a citizen can gradually be enhanced, for it is an article of faith in a democracy that the participation of the citizens is a prerequisite for effective and responsible government and that such participation directs the energies of the state into the most desirable channels.

The objective of all these approaches is to enable the cultivator slowly but steadily to develop his own capacity for growth and increasingly to use those abilities effectively for his own benefit and the benefit of his family and community.

The emphasis, however, must be on the private process of opening people's minds to new possibilities; efforts at arbitrary control will almost certainly fail—as the Chinese have discovered.

III

In this context it may be worthwhile briefly to consider why communist efforts in rural development have failed in China and lagged in Russia.

Marx's primary concern was for the urban "proletariat"; he devoted relatively few paragraphs to rural problems. *The Communist Manifesto* of 1848 limited its policy for the tens of millions of impoverished and exploited peasants of Europe to the following rather casual recommendation: "The establishment of industrial armies, especially for agriculture, combination of agriculture with manufacturing industries, a gradual abolition of the distinction between town and country by a more equable distribution of the population over the country."

In short, Marx saw the peasant simply as another industrial worker in a particularly low state of development. As an economic historian with a tidy concept of both past and future, Marx considered the peasant an intruder and something of an annoyance.

It was part of Lenin's genius that he understood this weakness of Marxist theory and, therefore, sensed the decisive importance of the Russian peasant to the success of the Bolshevik Revolution. Only when he proclaimed on November 7, 1917, that all Russian land belonged to those who tilled it, did Lenin feel confident that the revolution had in fact become "irrevocable." The peasants, he knew, would defend their newly acquired land to the bitter end against any effort to restore the status quo.

From 1918 until 1928 the Russian peasant was relatively free and in most cases possessed his own land. By 1930, however, Stalin abruptly reverted to the old industry-oriented revolutionary dogma. Sensing that thirty million Russian peasant families, most of them with their individual plot of land, offered a formidable political barrier to the creation of a communist state, he embarked on a savage effort to force them into huge collective farms. According to Stalin's own admission to Winston Churchill, some ten million peasants died in the process.

In this massive reorganization of Russia's rural life, Stalin was favoured in several respects by the make-up of Russian agricuture. Food production per capita was high and population per square mile, relatively low. Before World War I, Czarist Russia had exported as much as ten million tons of grain annually. Although this built-in food surplus provided a sizeable cushion against lagging production, the Stalinist collectivization programme brought the Soviet Union to the brink of political and economic disaster.

In China the situation developed along somewhat similar lines but under even less advantageous conditions. As we shall see when we contrast the Chinese and Indian experiences China now faces a grave national crisis.

Although Soviet and Chinese Communist agriculture has failed in different degrees and in different ways, the basic reasons are similar. Both countries ignored the need for a reasonable balance between economic and social growth; instead of providing meaningful incentives, they depended on a maze of controls which drained the vitality of the cultivators and offered them

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no real hope of improving their condition, no matter how hard they might work.

The significance of incentives for peasant families was impressed upon me some months ago by Prince Sihanouk of Cambodia. When I asked him why most Cambodian farmers with their rich soil and bountiful rainfall produced only one crop of rice annually, he answered, "Because we do not produce enough bicycles."

In the absence of an appealing assortment of consumer goods to improve his living standards, why indeed should a Cambodian peasant with ample food for his family work the extra three or four months in the fields necessary to produce a second crop ?

In the United States, the nine per cent of our population engaged in farming produce more than twice as much grain as we can consume. Each year we ship nearly two crores tons of wheat abroad, nearly one-fourth of which comes to India.

There are several reasons for this extraordinary agricultural productivity. For instance, Americans have always been willing to get their hands dirty experimenting with new techniques for improving their output. Furthermore, the government has always played a vital role in assisting the farmer.

But above all, the great majority of American farmers have had the incentive which comes from owning their own land. Low interest loans for implements and fertilizers are readily available. Each farm family has real and tangible reasons for improving its operations and thereby raising its own living standards.

Our first steps to provide a favourable framework for increased agricultural production were taken more than a century ago. In 1862 our Homestead Act offered what was then considered a "family-sized farm" of 160 acres free to any American or foreigner who would till it.

The Morrill Act of the same year gave each of our state governments vast tracts of public land, the income of which was used to establish our so-called "land grant colleges" for research and training in agricultural sciences. In 1887 the Hatch Act provided additional federal funds to the states for research and experimentation in agriculture.

The fruits of this extensive government-supported research were carried to our millions of farmers through a comprehensive farm to farm, rural extension service which operated through the land-grant universities and which continues to function today. Since the Second World War the federal government has also provided generous agricultural price supports and crop insurance to guarantee our rural population a steady income.

As a result the hardy, independent farmer of American folklore not only exists in modern times, he flourishes. This is largely because his government has helped him to develop improved techniques within a framework of personal economic security and at the same time has respected his independence and initiative.

An indication of the nostalgic feeling we Americans have for our rural tradition is the lengths to which most candidates for public office will go to identify themselves with the agricultural community. A political leader fortunate enough actually to have been born on a farm never ceases to remind the voters of this fact.

IV

The American rural experience is challenging and instructive but, in my opinion, the developing nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America have most to learn from a study of Japan.

Japan was the first Asian country to transform a tradition-bound agricultural economy based on subsistence farming and hierarchical social relationships into a dynamic, contributing element of a modern economic system.

This effort goes back many years. When the Meiji emperors regained power in 1868, a major effort was made by the Imperial Government to stimulate agricultural production as part of a national effort to arouse the slumbering Japanese society.

In order to unify the economic life of the country internal tariffs were eliminated. A tax was imposed on the feudal landholders, part of the proceeds of which were used for the establishment of educational, extension and seed improvement services which directly benefited the rural economy. Local banks began to offer credit to landowners at what were then considered low rates of interest. Warehouses were built to store products for which there was no immediate market. Agricultural prices were more or less stablized.

Although those steps helped to increase Japanese agricultural output to an average of 2.5

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per cent a year, the tenant farmers still remained grossly underprivileged with most of the benefits accruing to the large landowners. Independent farmers were increasingly burdened by debt and exploitation and more and more of them drifted into the status of tenants. By the 1930s half of the land of Japan was tenant-cultivated, with land rents averaging more than half of the crop.

In the bad crop year this meant that the tenant farmer was bound to fall into debt, on which he paid usurious interest rates either directly to the landlord or to the local bank which the land lord often controlled. This tied him tighter and tighter to the land which he tilled but did not possess.

The landlord paid only the modest land tax. The tenant paid for the fertilizer, buildings, implements, seed and various dues. Even in a good year this left him a net share of not more than 25 to 30 per cent of the crop. Thus, the politically explosive gap in the Japanese countryside between the few thousand "haves" and the millions of "have nots" grew dangerously.

While the real gains of the early Meiji period were not wholly lost, by the late 1930s they were largely emasculated by the injustices of the near-feudalistic land tenure system. As incentives declined, production slowed down. In poor years the cities suffered food shortages. Even in more favourable years, agriculture had become a depressed area of the economy which no longer contributed to Japan's industrial growth.

Shortly before the war the Japanese Imperial government attempted to stop this drift. Legislation was passed which forced landlords to renew leases with their tenants except in cases proven "bad conduct." An effort was also made to fix the value of land at sixteen times the annual rent and to provide easier credit so that farmers could purchase their land in twenty-year annual installments.

But an effective revolution in Japanese agriculture did not come until after the war. In 1945 the Japanese Government, on recommendation from General MacArthur's Allied Military Government, embarked on the world's most sweeping land reform. Its purpose, in the language of the legislation, was to "insure that those who till the land of Japan shall henceforth have an equal opportunity to enjoy the fruits of their labour."

Seven and one half acres became the upper limit on all land holdings, except in a relatively small number of cases—largely orchards—where the owner could himself care for a larger area. All land in excess of this amount was bought by the government with bonds and within two years distributed to the farmers. As a result 94 per cent of all Japanese farmers now own and cultivate their own land ; the average holding is two acres.

The social, economic and political effects of this rural revolution were dramatic. Suddenly the emancipated Japanese farmer realized that for the first time in his life, or his father's or grandfather's lives, he, a peasant, really counted : At last he had some rights of his own ; most important of all, he had land of his own. As a result for the first time he had self-respect, hope and, consequently, the will to better himself, his family and his community.

With assistance from the government, he promptly set up credit co-operatives to provide readily available credit at low rates. He also established marketing co-operatives which now assure him an average return of nearly sixty per cent of the retail price of his produce in the city markets. The existing extension service was improved and expanded to familiarize him with the newest techniques.

As a result of this many-sided development effort, the per acre yields in both rice and wheat on the average Japanese farm are now among the highest in the world ; a full fifty per cent above the pre-war level. The cultivator's return from his labour has increased proportionately.

The impact of this comprehensive development effort on rural life in Japan has been dramatic. Villages which until twenty years ago had been virtually unchanged for a thousand years are now electrically lighted. Many Japanese farmers' wives now do their laundry in electric machines. Nearly one half of all rural homes sprout television aerials, while thousands of farmers take their wives shopping on motorcycles.

V

Significantly, one of the causes of the rural prosperity in Japan, and a major by-product of it as well, is the large number of prosperous small factories now sprinkled through the countryside. Although sufficiently modern and mechanized to compete effectively in an industrial economy, they

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are specially suited to the available part-time labour and to the special commercial needs of rural areas.

Three out of four Japanese farmers now add to their agricultural earnings through part-time and seasonal jobs in small fish-processing plants, canning factories, agricutural implement manufacturing concerns and scores of other industries and service organizations.

In the immediate postwar period, the extraordinarily efficient cultivation of Japan's small farms which had been sparked by the land reform was carried on largely by each family's own hand labour. Because of the care with which each plant is tended, it is more accurately described as "gardening" than as farming.

Now as more part-time jobs become available, many Japanese farmers are purchasing small-scale farm implements to free more of their time for work in the small factories and service organizations which are springing up everywhere. The decline in agricultural production which might otherwise occur as a result of mechanization has been made up by increased use of fertilizer and innovations in cultivation. Because the new industries are rooted in the countryside, the traumatic social cost of uprooting millions of peasants for work in the cities which so deeply concerned Gandhi has largely been avoided.

Although the Japanese rural revolution is dramatic and instructive, it is a mistake to assume that it will easily be duplicated elsewhere. Japanese farmers already had advanced techniques at their command. Thousands were familiar with the use of fartilisers and irrigation and needed only the all-important incentive provided by the ownership of their own land to increase their investment and production.

Furthermore, they were literate, and this was probably the greatest single legacy of the Meiji emperors. Nine out of ten recipients of land in the great reform of 1946 could read the legislation which granted it. Since everyone was aware of his new legal rights, the reform could be carried out quickly and fully.

Many leaders of Asia, Africa and Latin America who despair over the political obstacles to an effective land reform also stress that the Japanese land reform was vigorously backed by the United States Military Government which at that time held the ultimate political power. They remind us that in our modern era only two democratic countries, Czechoslovakia in 1926 and Mexico in the mid-1930s, were able to distribute farm land widely to all cultivators through the vote of democratic parliaments.

Although this is sobering testimony to the political power of the traditional social structure and the landlord opposition in predominantly agricultural countries, it does not follow that competent democratic governments genuinely dedicated to the welfare of their people cannot win the political support necessary for these essential reforms.

VI

I began this discussion with a principle in which I deeply believe : Successful rural development can be achieved only by lliberating the energies of the people. In the light of the Japanese experience, let us now consider how this principle may be applicable here.

In dealing specifically with India's development I am treading difficult ground. The subject itself is complex and open to many differing interpretations, and as a foreigner I necessarily speak with some hesitation. However, the fact that I have had a unique opportunity to observe India's economy over a period of many years encourages me to offer my views.

Although the problems of India's rural areas are still appalling, a substantial beginning has been made in meeting them. The community development programme was conceived in 1952 as a modest effort to show villagers how to help themselves in a way that would liberate their energies, make them active participants in their own development, and show them that their government was concerned about their future.

This concept of local co-operation and self-help has been given an important boost by the recent establishment of the Panchayati Raj, the purpose of which is, as the Prime Minister has emphasized, to give "the millions of our people the chance to share responsibility, do good work and grow in the process."

As we have seen, nothing can be more important in a developing country than the creation of this sense of responsibility. If the Panchayati Raj is well organized and vigorously supported, I believe that it has a significant contribution to make to rerual development in India.

Another imporant objective of the original community development programme was to promote

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integrated growth by improving educational, health and sanitation facilities, and roads and communications while placing special emphasis on agricultural production.

It was felt that an interdependent programme of this kind would give the villager a feeling of his own worth and that the values fostered would encourage him to work for the improvement of every aspect of his daily life. These new values, with the help of land reform, better seeds and improved techniques, were expected to improve the agricultural output.

Because of budget limitations, because of the vastness of the approach, because of the obstacles which the tradition-ridden guardians of the status quo always strive to place in the path of change, and because of the massive administrative task of organizing such a complex effort in 500,000 villages, progress thus far has failed to meet the impressively optimistic standards of the programme's proponents.

Under the circumstances it is not surprising that a debate should develop between those who might be described as "community firsters" who believe in the balanced development of the whole rural community and the "agriculture firsters" who think primarily in terms of increased agricultural output.

In my opinion those who favour integrated development have the best of this argument. Experience in every developing country has demonstrated that the sustained increase of agricultural output simply cannot occur in a social and political vacuum. It must be at one and the same time a product and a cause of a general improvement in the life of the farmer.

In this context let us consider what is clearly the most formidable question of all—land reform. The Congress Party has been traditionally aware of the importance of individual ownership as the basis for community development. In 1935 a party resolution adopted in Allahabad correctly stated that "there is only one fundamental method of improving village life, namely the introduction of a system of peasant proprietorship under which the tiller of the soil is himself the owner of it and pays revenue directly to the government without the intervention of any zamindar or taluqdar."

In the first years after independence there was considerable progress towards this objective. The zamindars, some of whom controlled thousands of acres, were eliminated, in several states, ceil-

4

ings were placed on land holdings with additional ceilings on land rentals, and tenure of rented land was made somewhat more secure.

However, the most difficult part of the task lies ahead. The zamindars were a small minority and the fact that their privileged status was created under the Brtish made them an easy political target. Even with their removal from the scene and some additional curbs on large holdings, ten per cent of India's cultivators still own more than fifty per cent of the land, while one per cent of them own nearly one-fifth.

Here the debate in regard to India's rural development takes on a new dimension. Some agricultural authorities accept the existing pattern of land ownsership as reasonably satisfactory and argue that the process of land redistribution has gone far enough. By and large, they assert, it is the larger landowner—the man who still controls 50 to 250 acres—who has the education, the skills, and the personal incentives which enable him to understand and accept new techniques and rapidly to expand his production.

According to advocates of this theory, the primary task is to identify a single cultivator in each village with the necessary qualities and then train him in modern farming techniques. He then may be expected rapidly to pass on his superior knowledge to his neighbours and thereby unlock the door to vastly greater agricultural output for the entire nation.

Although this trickle-down concept of rural improvement may seem appealing at first glance, I submit that it ignores the fundamental principles of rural development. The reasons for my doubts may best be explained by a conversation which I had recently with just such a "door opener" in a village in South India.

This cultivator was greatly pleased with the increased yields per acre which he had achieved with the help of new techniques sponsored by the Village Level Worker. As the conversation continued, however, it became evident that his personal success was unlikely to have much effect on his fellow villagers.

When I asked him how many acres he owned and how he farmed them, he told me that he controlled 150 acres and that his land was farmed not by tenants but by "servants." Since only thirty-seven families lived in his village I found myself wondering how many of them worked as

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his "servants," and how many had any land of their own.

I also wondered how much good his increased yields were doing the other villagers, how much more they were able to buy and contribute to the economy, how much incentive they had to work the extra hours which are essential to increases in their own production.

Most important of all, I wondered how much personal dignity among the villagers generally would be developed under his guidance. As I looked at the subservient, insecure attitudes of those standing nearby, I knew there could not be very much.

Although the larger and often more productive farmers in Asia, Africa and Latin America undoubtedly have a role to play as leaders and initiators, there is, I believe, a strict limit to what can be accomplished under their sponsorship. Rural people the world over want land of their own and the fertilizer, better seeds, and credit required to till it more effectively. There are no shortcuts, in my opinion, to the rural democracy which offers the only assurance of orderly political growth in the developing countries.

VII

Yet, as important as I believe it to be, individual land tenure is only one aspect of the problem. Although it provided the essential stimulus for the rural boom in Japan, it was particularly potent there, as we have seen, because the education, modern techniques, fertilizer and credit and marketing facilities were available to allow and encourage the farmer's new initiative literally to bear fruit. In Mexico, where these additional features were absent, a sweeping land reform in the 1930's following years of bloody fighting, resulted in lower outputs and increased peasant frustration.

In the last few years India has made impressive progress in experimentation with fertilizers, seed improvement, livestock improvement and pest control. As I visit India's rural installations and talk to India's agricultural scientists, I am impressed with the strong foundation of agricultural research that already exists in India.

The fruits of this research may be made available to the farmer through the Village Level Workers on a mass scale, through printed material for the farmers who can read, and through film strips, radio, and perhaps even village puppet shows for the many who can't.

Such information can also be distributed through sales programmes and demonstrations by public and private fertilizer and seed firms. In the United States these have been among the most effective vehicles for communicating improved techniques to the farmers.

The Indian cultivator must also have the credit facilities necessary to avail himself of advanced techniques. More efficient marketing mechanisms are needed to ensure him a worthwhile return on his salable produce. This suggests marketing co-operatives as in Japan with more easily accessible marketing centres in the rural areas themselves. Finally, I believe that consideration should be given to realistic price support on essential crops with a two or three year guarantee to enable the cultivators to plan their production with assurance of a fair income.

Although expenditures for food comprise half of the budget of Indian urban workers, little more than one third of the prices charged in the markets for foodgrains goes to the cultivator. The rest, as in most developing nations, is absorbed by a maze of middlemen and speculators. With well organized and financed marketing co-operatives this gap can gradually be reduced; indeed, experience has demonstrated that retail prices o the consumers can be lowered while the income of the rultivators is being increased.

India can also benefit from Japan's success in creating local industries as a source of supplementary rural income, as employment for surplus agricultural labour, and as a market for farm products. Gandhi himself foresaw this need for small-scale industries when he remarked that while khadi was the "image" of Swadeshi—self-sufficiency in the rural areas—it was not the only kind of industry appropriate to rural needs.

Recently I read with interest of the small-scale Panchayat industries, using modern skills and equipment, which are now being enthusiastically revived in Orissa. Although these industries are government-financed, they are run by the local Panchayats. The six official objectives of these particular enterprises are worth quoting, because they also constitute a concise summary of the role of Japanese rural industries:

"(1) to improve local skills and to introduce

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"(2) to diversify the occupational pattern and help in reducing unemployment and under-employment;

"(3) to meet the requirements of the con-sumers in regard to building materials to provide better housing facilities;

"(4) to provide servicing and repair facili-ties for agricultural machinery and implements used in the Panchayat blocks;

"(5) to process agricultural produce to ensure better cash returns to the producers; and

"(6) to provide a growing source of income to the Panchayat Samities without straining the taxable capacity of the people."

The small industries in the Orissa experiment include tile factories, saw mills, a cold storage plant, and others, each directly relevant to the needs of the local population and appropriate to the existing level of skills. Here we see the Gandhian ideal of Swadeshi interpreted in modern terms.

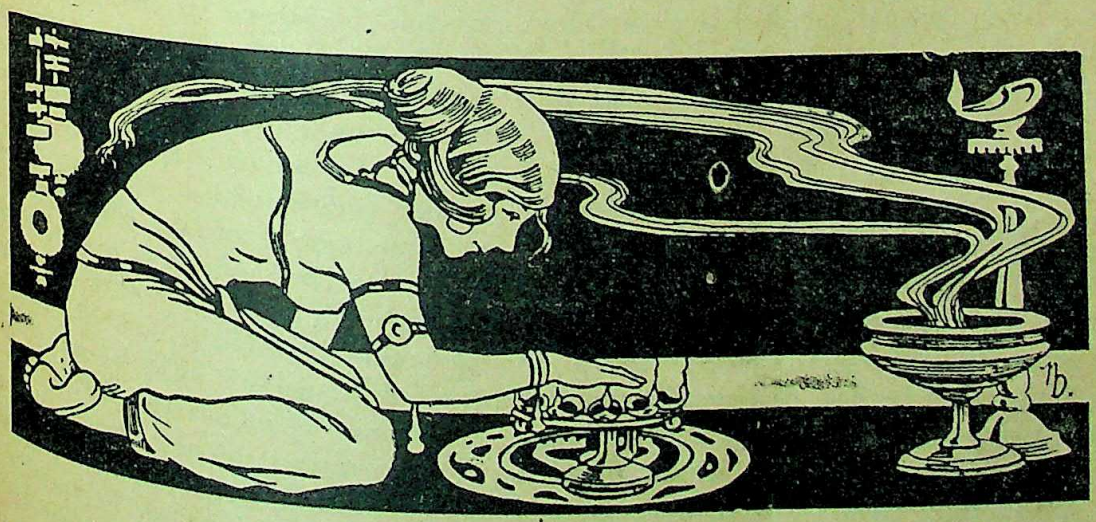
The enthusiasm of the Gram Panchayats in Orissa for these industries as well as the Japanese experience suggests that such Panchayat indus-tries can and will make a major contribution to rural development all over India.

The success of American mass market ex-periments in Latin America also illustrates the possibilities of marketing the products of local and urban manufacture in the rural area. In rural countries Sears Roebuck of Chicago, after studies of local needs, available skills and poten-tial production facilities, opened large local stores and proceeded to stock them with locally produced products. Craftsmen with the necessary facility and energy were given intensive technical train-ing in mass production plus loans to purchase the necessary equipment.

The result was the creation of hundreads of local producers and a rapidly increasing output of appealing, moderately priced consumer goods which in some instances are now peddled through the villages in marketing trucks. I see no reason why a similar producer-to-market-to-consumer system cannot be set up under both co-operative and private management throughout rural India.

At the risk of entering a particularly contro-versial area, I suggest that until local industries are created in adequate number to provide more employment for rural labour, agricultural mecha-nization except in some exceptional situations will prove to be uneconomical. A good team of bullocks require no spare parts or gasoline, rarely get out of order and, as one cultivator reminded me, produce bountiful manure.

Although this particular subject is open for debate, on the central theme of this chapter there should be little disagreement: What happens in the muddy little villages and rural towns so often by-passed by economists and technicians of development, will largely shape the economic and political history of Asia, Africa and Latin America in the coming years.



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SOCIAL VALUES AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

By BIREN KISHORE ROY and SANDWIP KUMAR DAS

"It may not be easy to elucidate the relation of a philosophical or religious idea to economic change"—Prof. Galbraith.

THE purpose of this article is to explore the following hypothesis : that the process of economic growth must be preceded by transformation in society and a dynamic change in people's attitude to social institutions and ideas. Social as well as economic forces must combine together to create an atmosphere which is conducive to economic growth.

Most underdeveloped countries are situated in an advantageous position as regards natural resources. They can lay their hands upon these latent natural resources when they begin their march towards progress. What they lack is capital and scientific techniques and knowledge. But even in this respect the horizon is brightening up. A number of specialized United Nations agencies as well as advanced countries are willing to provide economic assistance in the form of capital and advanced techniques of production. Even with these favourable factors, underdeveloped countries are not able to achieve the expected rate of economic growth.

To explain this curious phenomenon we have to take resort to social values. It is not often understood that social values have a close connection with economic development. We will now try to give a precise formulation of this relationship.

Our contention is that a requisite social order must precede any stage of economic development. But what, in concrete terms, are the ingredients of a new social order? The term admits of a very broad connotation. And this is where the economists have partly failed to provide any tangible horizon of ideas. Schumpeter failed in his growth model of a capitalist economy to provide a clear exposition of what he meant to be the social factors facilitating growth through innovations and new technological changes. We also do not hope to do better. We will now give a picture of a dynamic society which is fitted to develop itself.

In a dynamic society preparing itself for economic development, the enlightened masses believe that economic development is possible. There is a desire among the people to broaden economic activity. Enterprizing men come forward and set up new industrial ventures. They are willing to accept any kind of risk that may be associated with it. Demand for food articles lose their previous importance as the demand patterns of the people gradually change. A smaller portion of income is henceforth spent on esstntial food items. People begin to get accustomed to implements of modern living. Thus, new enterprising men can easily expand their undertakings and move into new spheres.

The existence of a group of entrepreneurs and enterprising men who are willing to take risks plays an important role in the transition from underdevelopment to development. Discovery of new natural resources and technological progress greatly accelerate the rate of economic growth. A high rate of technological advance is dependent to a great extent upon entrepreneurship. Introduction of inventions is a very useful function performed by entrepreneurs.

In the society outlined above, changes in the industrial structure call for changed attitudes towards social institutions and ideas. Transformation in economic sphere is preceded by a similar transformation in society. Society should welcome these events and adapt itself to the needs of a modern industrial economy. Failure to comply with this need may mean unnecessary slackening of growth. Political, social and institutional framework must be ready for changing times and situations so that it can give an effective support to new ventures. Society should take advantage of new ideas of expansion in the modern industrial sector. In a society which is eager to exploit the opportunities for economic development a favourable climate is naturally created.

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Let us now shift our attention from the study of objective factors to reality and see how far it falls short of these factors. W. Arthur Lewis says, "a much better insight could be obtained by studying the facts of history. . . ." Looking back into the immediate past, the obvious facts that stand before our eyes are the philosophy of indifference and the belief in immutable destiny which pevade and influence the people's attitude to material factors in underdeveloped countries. People in these countries have some sort of "long-run fatalism" because of the limited production possibilities. People are occupied with some sort of inertia and disincentive to work because the possibilities open to men to improve their fate and fortune are extremely limited. It is, indeed, striking to note that this situation is going to change slowly, perhaps, too slowly, if it changes at all during the era of economic development.

It is very difficult to encourage additional effort in an underdeveloped country. Backward sloping curves of work and effort stand as a great barrier in the way of progress. A climate of contentment baffles all attempts to increase work-efforts of the people. They are hardly eager to raise their standard of living by working more. A static philosophy prevailing through centuries looks upon every change with suspicion and uneasiness.

Underdeveloped countries have little or no entrepreneurial talent which is so necessary for economic development. Existing social conditions do not favour the formulation of such talent. The entrepreneurial spirit cannot find a free expression in a tradition-ridden and custom-bound society which most underdeveloped countries have. In these countries feudalistic ideas and medieval concepts still hold good. People look upon business and commercial activity with great contempt. As such, an entrepreneur does not get due respect and reward in a traditional society. Managerial, technical and labour skills required for economic development are also phenomenally scarce. Attachment to old ways of life by magnifying risks and labour associated with skill formation discourages it.

Social mobility is an essential precondition for economic growth. But such mobility is absent in most underdeveloped countries. Age-old conventions and customs stand in the way of social mobility. As for example, in India, a person who belongs to an upper caste will think twice before he will start a shoe factory. In such a traditional society, economic growth is possible only at a slow rate after people have been educated in terms of modern ideas of living. Even educational systems in these countries do not give proper attention to the eradication of such harmful customs and practices.

It is necessary to see before introducing advanced techniques and methods of productions borrowed from developed countries whether the people are capable of utilizing them. In the absence of achievent-oriented population, introduction of new techniques becomes all the more difficult. New production techniques always carry with them some burden of risks and uncertainty. Even if the government of an underdeveloped country is willing to render any kind of help, the people will not reap the full benefit of it. A generation that has known limited production possibilities naturally shrinks from using any advanced technique of production.

There are many who suppose that changes in people's attitude will occur during the process of development. But it is difficult to understand how any economic development worth its name is to be achieved unless the prior obstacles to the adoption of better techniques are removed. Social values must change in accordance with the needs of an industrial economy before an ambitious programme of economic development is launched. In a society marked by "fatalist" attitude, only a few people are willing to take risks to better their conditions. External preparedness alone is not sufficient for economic development. Without a greater degree of elasticity in society any plan for economic development would fail to realise its goal. Only optimism which is strong enough to be stretched to the level of absurdity can advocate economic development in a society where old social values still predominate.

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IS OUR PRESIDENT LIKE THE BRITISH MONARCH?

By Prof. JAI NARAIN LAL

Strange though it may look, our Constitution, which contains 395 Articles and eight Schedules, 'has created a curiously ambiguous picture of the Executive branch of government'[1] and has not clearly defined the real position of our President. The executive power of the Union has been vested in the President[2] who is elected by the elected members of the Union Parliament and the elected members of the State Assemblies.[3] The Constitution requires him to exercise the executive power either himself or through the officers subordinate to him.[4] At the same time, there is a Council of Ministers to aid and advise the President in the performance of his functions.[5] It has nowhere been said in the Constitution that the President is the Constitutional head of the state and as such bound to accept the advice tendered by the Council of Ministers. It has been, some point out, deliberately left vague[6] to be determined by political practices as they crystallise under the stress of circumstances of the time.[7] The result of this vagueness is that there is no unanimity of views as regards the real position of our President under the system of our government and, ever since the Constitution was inaugurated in 1950, different views have been expressed about his real position.[8] At one extreme is the view that our President, notwithstanding the letter of the Constitution, is, as Dr. Ambedkar said, 'only a figure head' or 'merely a nominal figure head'[9] and at the other extreme it is held that our President, as R. S. Ruikar said, 'is a super Hitler.'[10] Other views range in between these two extremes.

However, ever since the Constituent Assembly passed the Constitution, the most popular view held about the position of our President is that he is like the British King (or Queen). This view carries the weight of great prestige because it has been supported by such eminent persons as the late Dr. B. R. Ambedkar,[11] the father of our Constitution, the late Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru,[12] the first Prime Minister of India, and M. C. Setalvad,[13] the first Attorney General of India.

If we look a little deeper into the problem, we shall not fail to see that to equate the position of our President with that of the British King is neither to define nor clarify his position; it is rather to confuse it. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar was never precise about what the real position of the Indian President was, though a number of times he said that the President was like the British King.[14] It was natural for him to say so, at least for one reason because the position of the British King himself is not clear in absolute terms,[15] and different writers and constitutional lawyers have expressed different views regarding the exact place of the British King in the British system of government.[16] Hence when we say that our President occupies the same position in our system as the British King in U.K., we tend to admit tacitly that his position is not clear.

As a matter of fact there is no solid ground for holding this view about the position of our President except that, as Dr. Rajendra Prasad said, we have adopted the British model as our model.[17] The hollowness of this view cannot be demonstrated more clearly by anything than the fact that even though we have adopted the British model, we have introduced many things which are not British in their nature as, for example, Fundamental Rights, or the Federal Principle, or the Supreme Court. Then, even the executive government of the British type has taken different forms in different countries[18] and the British political institutions have seldom been imitated truly in any country of the world. Our experience shows that, of all the political institutions of Britain, the Cabinet is the most difficult and Head of the State almost impossible to imitate. Even in monarchies

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like Japan and Denmark, leave alone the Dominions like Australia and Canada and the Republics like France and Ireland, it has not been found possible to have a head of state exactly on the same pattern as in England. It has, rightly, been asserted, therefore, that no doubt we have decided to adopt the cabinet or the parliamentary form of government, in contrast to the presidential type of government of the U.S.A., but does not necessarily follow that the Head of the State in India occupies the same position as the King in England.

The real reason why we have been so much inclined to equate the position of our President with that of the British King seems, to many, to be that 'political thinking in this country has fallen so deeply into ruts cut by exclusive study of the British constitutional history that few are willing to make the extraordinary efforts needed to get out of them.'[19] We have been so much impressed by the constitutional practices of England that we unquestionably regard them as the best. There is, therefore, a tendency among us Indians to quote British practices with reference not only to the Head of the State but also to other institutions like Cabinet, Prime Minister, Parliament etc., and it seems sacrilegious if one goes beyond what is British.

In the very nature of things, we, as also other nations, cannot mould and shape our institutions on the pattern of England. To justify any institution or practice of India, without reference to Indian conditions and reality, is simply untenable. And yet during the last fourteen years, our President not only functioned as a prototype of the British King, but also the belief is common that his functioning like the British King is a matter of convention and, as such, part of our Constitution. Not only that, some would like to go a step further and treat the question as settled for all time to come. It is true that this notion has held sway so long but it would be unrealistic to hold that the matter is closed because all these years since the attainment of independence the impression has persisted that, because of the overwhelming majority of one political party, in the Indian National Congress at the Centre and in the States, the Constitution is not being worked out as it should be. Dr. Rajendra Prasad, to whom the credit goes for having functioned just like the British King, is known to have raised a number of times the question of the real powers and position of the President[20] and, ultimately in 1960, he expressed grave doubts whether we are right in importing the conventions of the British Constitution, particularly in reference to the President.[21] Jawaharlal Nehru, the then Prime Minister, termed this remark of the President as casual,[22] but there are people like Rajgopalachari, the last Governor-General of India, who think that there was something deeper in it.[23] Some have even criticised Dr. Prasad for acting just like a figure-head, thereby laying down wrong precedents which might damage the prospects of democracy in our country.[24]

The fact, however, remains that the President, during the last 14 years has chosen to function under the notion that he was only a figure head. We cannot ignore the fact that the political conditions obtaining after independence, the historically evolved personalities of Jawaharlal and Rajendra Prasad and the all-embracing character of the Indian National Congress which made for the success of that notion, will not be available in the future. When we make any study of this problem, we should first be free from the political bias or consideration of circumstances that have affected, undermined or atrophied the position of our President during the past 14 years.[25] It is, therefore, necessary to examine, in some detail, how far it is correct to hold the view that our President is like the British King. If we examine the various constitutional provisions, we shall see that it is impossible for our President to occupy the same position in India as does the British King in England. We shall, in the main, examine the following provisions to show that they would continuously tend to make our President different from the British King.

1. The British King holds a hereditary office whereas the office of our President is an elected one. This very fact introduces

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the follow-points of difference between the two offices :—

(a) The British King does not depend upon the support of any electorate for coming to his post and, hence, it is possible for him to remain aloof from political controversies. This enables him to remain not only above party politics but also neutral politically. Our President, holding an elected office, on the other hand, cannot be completely free from political arguments,[26] because election, direct or indirect, means choice and choice necessarily involves controversy. The very fact of his election will give rise to all sorts of controversies about his work and conduct, character and personality, and achievements and services in the various fields. Thus, it will not be possible for our President to remain absolutely neutral in politics like the British King.

(b) The British King represents the entire British people and is the symbol of their unity, culture and civilisation. Our President, on the other hand, represents the electorate that has elected him and nobody else ;[27] he cannot represent the entire Indian people in the same way in which the British King does. The entire British nation treats the King as their own ; the entire Indian nation will never treat our President as their own in the same sense.

(c) The allegiance that the British King commands from his people lies deep in sentiment and history.[28] The allegiance that our President would command from the Indians will depend upon his worth and achievements and not on sentiment. It is significant to note in this connection that the respect that President Rajendra Prasad commanded from the Indian people depended, apart from official pomp and show, more on his services to the nation, and his saintly character and sweet temperament than his holding that high office. Similarly, the high respect in which our present President, Dr. Radhakrishnan, is held, is, for the most part, due to his character and eminence as a great philosopher and scholar and less to his high office.

(d) The personal ambitions of a British King are always kept under control by his devotion to his dynasty. He will always be unwilling to take any such step as is likely to jeopardise the fate of his dynasty. This factor does not operate in case of the Indian President.[29]

(e) In England, the King is not a representative of the people and hence an undemocratic institution in the otherwise democratic set-up of the governmental system. People in England would get alarmed if the King were ever to try to interfere with the working of democratic and responsible institutions like the Cabinet and the Parliament. In India, the President, the Cabinet and the Parliament are all democratic institutions in that they are all elected authorities. Hence, in India, people would not be alarmed in the same way if the President tries to check undemocratic and unconstitutional actions on the part of either Parliament or Cabinet. People look to the President, in certain circumstances, to uphold the people's rights and see that the spirit of the Constitution is faithfully observed by the party in power.[30]

Keeping the above points of difference in mind one cannot but agree with P. G. Ramamurti that it is difficult to reduce an elected President to the position of a mere titular or formal constitutional Head of the state.[31]

2. Our Constitution is a written constitution while the British Constitution is an unwritten one. This in itself is a very important factor introducing important points of difference between the position of our President and that of the British King. The following points may be noted :

(a) The status and authority of the King are based on conventions and traditions ; the status and authority of our President are based on the powers that he exercises under the Constitution.[32] The British King has little power but the whole show is maintained on a level so as to make it appear as if he still possesses all those powers which he ever did. In the case of our President, if he has no power, he will have no authority moral or otherwise.

(b) Since the powers of the King are not written, legally there is no limit to the powers of the King. But there is a definite limit to the powers of the Indian President.

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and the limit is prescribed by the Constitution. The Indian President cannot exercise those powers which have not been given to him under the Constitution, or which have been given to some other authority by the Constitution.

3. The British Constitution is based on the theory of parliamentary sovereignty. The Constitution, on the other hand, recognises itself as supreme. This means the British Parliament can change the powers and position of any organ of the government including the King; it can increase or decrease the powers of the King, subject of course to the public opinion prevailing at the time; it can even abolish the kingship if it so likes. Our Parliament cannot do so unless the Constitution itself is amended. In England it is the Parliament in which have been reposed almost all the powers that were exercised by the King in the hey day of monarchy. In our country, unlimited powers are reposed in no organ. The arbitrary powers that were exercised by the British King have been snatched from the King from time to time. Now, any interference by the King with the powers of the Parliament would be treated as an encroachment of autocracy on democracy—the last thing which the British nation would ever tolerate. In India, the powers of the Parliament are as much granted by the Constitution as those of the President. Hence neither can interfere with the other. Politically, therefore, the British Parliament is far superior to the British King, whereas our Parliament is not so superior. The President is, even if directly elected by the same electorate as the Parliament. Hence, he may be expected to be even equal to Parliament.[33]

4. In England the King is above the law; he can do no wrong. In India, nobody is above the law; the President does enjoy certain immunities under the Constitution[34] but that does not mean that he is above the law. He can be impeached for the violation of the Constitution.[35] He is under oath to protect and defend the Constitution.[36] That means he can be impeached if he fails to protect the Constitution.[37] There is no such responsibility devolving on the King of England. This means that if the King is allowed any discretion, it would tend to make him autocratic and irresponsible. On the other hand if our President is allowed some discretion, it cannot make him autocratic because, after all, two-thirds of the members of each House of Parliament can always impeach and remove him.[38]

The existence of impeachment provisions in our Constitution also means that our President will always try to see that the majority required to impeach and remove him is never set against him which, in its turn once again, shows that. whereas the British King can afford to be disinterested in party politics, our President cannot. Therefore, it is more than doubtful whether our President would remain disinterested if the party in power at the centre tries to change the fundamental principles of our Constitution because as defender of the Constitution, he does possess certain powers which the British King does not possess. In the face of this provision for impeachment, it does not seem to be possible to develop a convention in India to the effect that the President will be bound in all cases to accept the advice tendered by the the Cabinet; such a convention can develop only if it is provided either in the Constitution itself or made a convention that the President shall not be liable to be impeached if he acted on the advice of the Cabinet. In the absence of any such provision in the Constitution, or, a convention to this effect, the British convention that the King is obliged to accept the advice of the cabinet in all cases, has absolutely no validity in India. To accept an advice which is against the Constitution is a greater violation of the Constitution than not to act according to the conventions of parliamentary government, which were developed in other countries and which were never constant and always changing.

5. In England, they have a unitary government; we, on the other hand, have a federal polity. There is thus no occasion, in England, for the Central Government and the local auhorities to be politically opposed to each other. A general election in England gives general power to rule over the entire

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field of the country's life, to the party that wins at the polls, that is, the decisions of the Cabinet, backed by the Parliament, are the decisions of the nation with regard to anything and every thing. This is not so in India. Here we may face a situation, in which the government at the Centre and the governments in some States may be totally opposed to each other as the political parties running the respective governments at the Centre and in the States, may be believing in different ideologies. Hence, there may arise occasions of politiial, as different from legal, clashes between the two and the President may be called upon to arbitrate between the two. The demand of justice is that the President should not be bound on such occasions to act on the advice of the Central (Union) government as they themselves would be a party to the dispute; he should rather be free to adjudge the issue on mrits. Hence our President functions in two capacities—as constitutional Head of the Union Government and as Head of the Federal State—whereas the British King functions only as the constitutional Head of the Central Government in England. It has, therefore, been aptly said that 'The British Parliament and Cabinet exhaust the whole of British polity while our Union Government is only a part, albeit a large part, of the governance of our country.'[39] Although no serious situation has arisen on this point because the central leadership of the Congress Party was in a position to decide any dispute that arose between the Union Govt., and the governments of the States, yet the States, it is significant to note, has not been completely free from stress and strains on this point. On the occasion of the Central intervention in Kerala, the then President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, is reported to have expressed the view that on such occasions the President should not be guided completely by the advice of the Union Cabinet.[40] A similar voice was raised in the Parliament also where a Communist Member, H. N. Mukherjee, suggested that on such occasions, the President should not treat the advice of the Union Cabinet as sufficient but should also take advice from the Members of Parliament.[41] In England the King is free from such situations, but in India the President has to face such situations. Such situations have been rare so far but they will increase with the decline of the Congress majority in the Union Parliament and the State legislatures.

6. Position of the President vis-a-vis Ministers.

The position of our President is not the same as that of the British King vis-a-vis their respective Ministers. This would be clear from the following:—

(a) In England the portfolios are alloted by the Prime Minister and the orders of the King are countersigned by a responsible Minister. In India, it is the President who allocates the portfolios among the Ministers and frames rules to prescribe as to how his orders are to be authenticated.[42] The rules framed in this behalf require the President's orders to be authenticated by the permanent Secretaries etc., and not by the Ministers.[43] The difference to be noted is that the British King cannot do without Ministers, whereas it is, technically speaking, possible for the Indian President to act without Ministers, at least for some time. This also means that in England the King can do nothing against the wishes of the responsible Ministers. In India, again, it is possible for the President to issue orders without the advice of the Ministers or even against their advice, under the signature of a permanent Secretary.

(b) The Constitution itself does not say that the advice of the Council of Ministers is binding on the President. All that the Constitution says is that there shall be a Council of Ministers with the Prime Minister at its head to aid and advise the President in the exercise of his functions.[44] Some writers and constitutional experts, notably Dr. Ambedkar, M. C. Setalvad, D. N. Banerjee and D. D. Basu, read so much behind the expression 'aid and advise' that they regard the advice tendered by the Council of Ministers to be binding on the President. They seek to justify this con-

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tention of theirs on the basis of the fact that the expression 'aid and advice'[45] or 'aid',[46] has led to the growth of responsible government of the British pattern in some countries, particularly the Dominions like Canada, Australia, South Africa etc., where the Governor-General has come to occupy the same position as the British King, accepting the advice of the Council of Ministers in all cases. But it is forgotten in this connection that the story of growth of responsible government in those countries is not so simple as it is made out to be. Many other factors than the expression 'aid and advise' have made for the growth of responsible government in those countries. For instance, take the case of Canada. Besides the expression 'aid and advice', it was also provided in that Constitution that the constitution was based on principles similar to those of Great Britain.[47] Then that constitution was guided by the conventions of the British constitution through the instrumentally of the Governor-General. Even then troubles arose in the course of development of that constitution with regard to the position of the Governor-General whose position could be made clear only after years of practical experience. Above all it should be remembered for all times that an elected President cannot be equated with a Governor-General who is appointed by the King of England and has no electoral backing.

Hence, it may be, at most, a pious wish, and not a constitutional mandate that this expression should lead to the growth of such conventions as would render the advice of the Council of Ministers binding on the President. Even the late Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the former President, disputed this point and counselled that sufficient research should be done to determine the exact meaning of this expression.[48] It would, therefore, be wrong to suggest that this expression has acquired a fixed meaning which is applicable to India, binding the President to accept in all cases the advice of the Council of Ministers.[49] In short, the British King is bound to accept the advice of the Cabinet according to the conventions well-established there whereas our President is not. While our President is normally expected to act according to the advice of the Prime Minister and the Cabinet, he is, at the same time, required to exercise his powers in accordance with the Constitution.[50] 'It would seem then, that he would be entitled to reject advice if it involved taking a line of action which he believed to be unconstitutional.'[51] He is, therefore, obliged at the most to accept the advice of the Cabinet only so long as he is not asked to commit a violation of the Constitution.

(c) Then, there are certain matters in which the Constitution itself requires the President to act on the advice or opinion other than that of the Council of Ministers. The President, for instance, is empowered to seek the advice of the Supreme Court on any issue in which any question of law or fact is involved.[52] It should be reasonably expected that the President should act on the advice of the Supreme Court even if it goes contrary to that of the Council of Ministers. Similarly, the President has a duty to consult the Election Commission for deciding whether any member of Parliament has become subject to any of the disqualifications. It is required of him to obtain, in such matters, the opinion of the Election Commission and to 'act according to such opinion.'[53] In England, it is significant to note, the King accepts, in all matters the advice of the Ministers.

(d) Lastly there are certain other matters in respect of which, the advice of the Council of Ministers will not be available to, let alone be binding on, the President. Special mention may, in this connection, be made of the following matters :

(i) The President has been given the right to send messages to either House of Parliament 'with respect to a Bill then pending in Parliament or otherwise.'[54] In contrast to this, the British King hardly requires to send a message to Parliament when his Ministers are present there. The existence of this right in our Constitution only means that our President has been given powers to send such of his views to the Parliament as may not be in agreement with those of the Council of Ministers.

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Obviously the Council of Ministers is hardly competent to give advice in such matters.

(ii) The President has also power to address either House of Parliament or both Houses assembled together.[55] It would be well to remember that this power is in addition to his power to address both Houses of Parliament assembled together at the commencement of the first session after each general election to the House of the People and the first session of each year.[56] The British King does possess this latter power but not the former. The latter power in India as well as in England is exercised on the advice of the Council of Ministers so much so that the addresses of both the President and the King are actually prepared by the Council of Ministers. But what about the former power? No occasion has so far arisen in India for the President to exercise this power. However, it was in the air at one time that the former President, the late Dr. Rajendra Prasad, intended addressing the Parliament on the issue of the Hindu Code Bill against certain of its provisions but the occasion did not arise because its introduction was, as he wished, postponed till after the general elections of 1952. It is the considered opinion of many eminent persons that whenever there arises an occasion, it will, in all probability, be exercised not only against the advice of the Council of Ministers but also to take a stand against some course of action of theirs. The British King can hardly think of addressing the Parliament against the advice of the Cabinet because it would be treated as something entirely unconstitutional.

(iii) The President can send for any information regarding the affairs of the Union government from the Prime Minister, besides and above that which the Prime Minister himself sends to him.[57] If we follow the British convention, it should be on the advice of the Prime Minister that the President should send for any information from the Prime Minister but it looks anomalous. It is difficult to see how the Prime Minister can advise the President as to what information the latter should send for from the former. This clearly points out that the President would necessarily decide for himself on this point.

(iv) The President can ask the Prime Minister, who may not refuse, to place before the whole Council of Ministers for its consideration any matter on which decision has been taken by an individual Minister.[58] This raises very important constitutional questions. First, it fetters the discretion of the Prime Minister in that he might consider it politically inadvisable to bring a particular question before the Council of Ministers at a particular time but under this provision he is duty-bound to do so. By doing so the President may, in certain circumstances, bring the Prime Minister into trouble, and, if the question referred to by the President is one on which there is strong controversy, it may divide the whole Council of Ministers. Secondly, while this provision is intended to ensure collective responsibility, it gives in fact power to the President to interfere with the working of the Cabinet. The British King, let it be remembered, has nothing to do with the internal working of the Cabinet. It is totally foreign to the British way of thinking that the formal head of the State should have authority to interfere with the working of the Cabinet. There has, it appears, been no occasion when this power has been exercised so far. But its very existence shows the difference between the British King and our President.

7. The British King is known to have little discretion. The only discretion, which he, if at all, enjoys, is with regard to the appointment of the Prime Minister and the dissolution of the House of Commons in certain special circumstances. As against this, our President, as many constitutional provisions suggest, enjoys personal discretion on many occasions. 'In this,' says K. M. Munshi, 'it is noteworthy that the Constitution uses a variety of words in relation to the powers and functions, some of which necessarily involve the use of personal discretion. They are 'is satisfied' (Article 123, 347, 352, 356, 360), 'is of opinion' (Article 124(3)), 'consent' (Article 127), 'determine' (Article 128), 'deem necessary' (Article 124 (2)), 'notifies intention' (Article

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'decision' (Article 103), 'pleasure' (Article 72 (2)) etc.[59]

The question of using discretion has not arisen so far because, speaking constitutionally, it has been held by those at the helm of affairs that the President means the Government of India[60] and, speaking politically, there was no occasion for it on account of the predominance of the Congress party in the affairs of the country.

However, the above provisions in the Constitution, says Valmiki Choudhary, are enough to show 'that no provision has been made in the Constitution for the President to exercise his powers only on the advice of his Council of Ministers.'[61] The above analysis of the powers of the President goes to prove, if anything, that there are powers in the exercise of which he must take advice from others; there are powers in the exercise of which the advice of the Council of Ministers will not be available to him at all; and finally, there are powers in the exercise of which he can use his discretion,[62] without violating any provision of the Constitution, of course in such a way as not to have to face impeachment. It is, therefore, that N. C. Chatterjee, a noted constitutional lawyer, is of the view that the President is not, in every case, bound to act according to the advice of the Council of Ministers.[63] The obvious conclusion, as K. M. Munshi, another constitutional lawyer of repute says, is that, although our President is a constitutional Head of the state, he is not bound by the Cabinet's advice like the British King.[64] In fact, says K. M. Munshi, the President has, in the form of emergency powers, in the opinion of the Supreme Court and that of the Attorney-General, been provided with a constitutional machinery enabling him to act independently of the Ministry to prevent the Constitution from being twisted out of shape by political pressure or constitutional mishaps.[65]

After analysing the above constitutional provisions, it becomes sufficiently clear that the position that our President occupies in our system of government is different from the one occupied by the British King, both in form and content. As a matter of fact, any elected President can never be fully equated with a hereditary king like that of England. He will be either more than a king or less than a king, but in no case, just equal to him. Fortunately or unfortunately, our President is both more and less than the British King. He is more than the British King in so far as (i) he heads a federal government in which he may, on certain occasions, be called upon to arbitrate between the Union and the State Governments; (ii) his powers are expressly written in the Constitution; and (iii) he can act without, or even against, the advice of the Council of Ministers, if the needs of the nation demand and/or the political situation in the country so permit.

He is less than the British King in that (i) he can never command that sentimental devotion and allegiance from the Indian people which the British King does from his people; (ii) he can be impeached and removed from office for violation of the Constitution; and (iii) he cannot represent the Indian people in the way in which the British King does.

It would, thus, be a vain attempt to equate the position of our President with that of the British King. Even if we admit, for a moment, that he can be so equated, it would be undesirable as it would be dangerous, may be even fatal. If we treat our President just like the British King, we may face the following dangers:

(i) Our cabinet will become a dictator[66] unparallelled in history. The British Cabinet which possesses only normal powers, has, under the pressure of the political developments, become a dictator. Our Cabinet, which possesses many abnormal powers, will, exercising those powers, beat many a dictator.

(ii) It will place the President in a very awkward position in certain circumstances and render the functioning of that office impossible. For instance, what has the President to do if a defeated Ministry refuses to resign? Whether he dismisses the Ministry or allows it to continue, he would be liable to be impeached in either case, if the conventions were given more weight than the letters of the Constitution,

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for, some may hold that it is unconstitutional for the President to dismiss a Ministry and others may, with equal, if not greater force, hold that it is the violation of the Constitution if the President allows a discredited Ministry to continue in office.

(iii) It will destroy the quasi-federal character of our Constitution, and reduce the principles of a federal government embodied in it,[67] for whatever they are worth, to a mockery because the Union government, exercising all the powers of the President and treating him just as a formal Head of the State, can very easily treat the State Governments as municipalities. Besides, if we treat our President as if he were like the British King, our Constitution and the whole system of government embodied therein will prove inadequate in certain situations inviting dangers not only to democracy but also to the Constitution itself. One such situation has been visualised by K. Santhanam. He says:

'.....there may be no stable Ministry, there may be a change of Ministry every day. No remedy has been provided in the Constitution for such a contingency..... If a general election does not result in the emergence of a stable government, he (President) is helpless.'[68]

As a matter of fact, the unfortunate effects of this notion, under which our President laboured and acted during all these years just as the British King, are alredy before our eyes. He has been treated, during these years, as a Post Office[69] to convey the decisions of the Cabinet of the day; the Cabinet exercising all the powers of the President has come to acquire a position which was never intended. The position of the President during all these years has been in no way different from the position of the French President in the third and the fourth Republic.[70] The powers of the President have been used in a way that has given the impression that the Cabinet was working to advance party interests over and above those of the nation. This may be particularly seen in the case of appointments to the high posts of Governors, Ambassadors etc., which have often gone to such members of the ruling party as were rejected by the people in the elections. This charge, according to K. Santhanam, stands in the case of some High Court Judges also.[71] Again according to K. Santhanam, the Nanavati case has demonstrated only too clearly how the Executive has been tempted to interfere with the judicial process.[72] There have also been complaints that the Emergency powers of the President, particularly those relating to the breakdown of the constitutional machinery of the States, were used for party purposes.[73] On the whole, the Executive Government, pointed out an M.P. in the Lok Sabha, has tended to act in a way which has had a corrupting influence on our institutions.[74] The Constitution itself has been amended again and again without any specific mandate from the people. Our President has been a silent spectator to all this all the time because he was working just as the British King. The result is that an unfortunate feeling has been created that our President has no political value.[75]

However, this notion has not been able to do much harm because the Congress party which ran the Union and State Governments during almost the whole of this period, was a democratic party, and, containing divergent elements as it did, could not be tyrannous to any one section of the people. But if a different party with a different complexion, comes to form the government at the Centre, and, treating the President just like the British King exercises all his powers ,it will, there is reason to fear, create havoc and may bid good-bye to democracy itself. Thus, this notion is fraught with dangerous possibilities. There is a constitutional limit to the dictatorial tendencies of a President but none to those of the Council of Ministers at the Centre if we treat the President as being just like the British King.[76]

We can, therefore, say that it is neither constitutionally possible nor politically desirable to equate our President with the British King. Hence, K. M. Munshi is right in holding that our President's position is different from the British King.[77] To say that our President is just like the British King is simply a myth. Like all

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...bs, it will be exploded. That it has not ...n exploded so far is mainly due to the ...racter of the Congress party and its ...dominance in the Parliament and the ...te legislatures. The President has so ...been elected through the pleasure of the ...ty in majority at the Centre.[78] The ...sident and the Cabinet both belonged to ...same party or depended on the same ...ty for their continuance in office. It ...s naturally, the Congress party which ...d complete control over both and there-...e it mattered little whether a particular ...er was exercised by the President or ...Cabinet. As soon as this predominance ...the Congress party withers, or even ...inishes, this myth would not stand even ...a moment and would be exploded.

The position of the President during all ...se years has been standing under the sha-...of the powerful personality of Jawahar-...Nehru backed by an overwhelming ...rity in the Parliament and immense ...ularity and support in the country. If ...party gains a majority, the President ..., says K. Santhanam, use all the powers ...ed to him by the Constitution.[79] It ...therefore, wrong to judge the position ...the President on the basis of the prac-...s of the last 14 years.[80] It is too much ...expect that in future, in case the Presi-...t belongs to a party different from that ...ch has formed the government at the ...tre, he will be content to be guided ...ely by the Central Cabinet in all ...ters.[81]

Sometimes, it is suggested that our ...en with a President enjoying a position ...ilar to that of the British King is already ...blished and there is nothing to worry ...ut it. Nothing can be farther from the ...th. We may advance the following ...siderations to show that the country has ...t finally accepted this notion:

(i) There have been demands that ...President should act independently of ...Cabinet, consulting somebody other ...n the Cabinet on certain occasions.[82]

(ii) C. Rajagopalachari has on one ...ccasion suggested that the Cabinet should ...on the advice of the President, and not ...President on that of the Cabinet.[83]

(iii) During the Chinese invasion, there was a demand from many responsible quarters that the President should dismiss the Cabinet which had failed to protect the frontiers of the country.

(iv) Finally, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the first President, was not happy with the position assigned to him.[84] He raised questions regarding the powers of the President as apart from those of the Prime Minister from time to time,[85] and ultimately gave vent to his feelings publicly and urged rather pointedly that it should be seriously studied how far the President should be equated with the British King.[86]

Many other proofs can be given to show that the Indian people, as a whole, are not for treating the President just as a prototype of the British King.

Lest the notion should do more harm in changed situations and prove fatal to our system of government and the Constitution, we should do well to recognise in all sincerity that our President is distinctly different from the British King and that there are certain occasions when he, unlike the British King, is expected to protect the Constitution, defend the fundamental principles of our system of government and save the nation from party dictatorship, even if it involved taking a line of action unsupported by the Cabinet. For this, he has been allowed sufficient discretion under the Constitution.[87] The argument that the use of any discretion on the part of the President would make him a dictator, does not stand to reason because there is sufficient guarantee against it, particularly in the provision of impeachment.[88]

However, if, on the basis of the experience of other countries, it is felt that the weapon of impeachment will not be very effective in checking a President from being an autocrat or using his discretion indiscriminately, the remedy does not lie in making him politically impotent and incapable of checking a Cabinet which, with the help of its majority in the Parliament, is bent upon changing the Constitution beyond recognition, by adopting policies which are against the best interests of the country and behaving undemocratically otherwise; it rather

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lies in rendering the President incapable of becoming a dictotor. For that we can—

(i) either provide, on the pattern of the Irish Constitution,[89] that whenever the President chooses to exercise his discretion, he shall do so only in with consultation with some authority, other than the Cabinet, to be provided for in the Constitution itself. (This authority may consist of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, the Chairman of the Council of States, the Speaker of the House of the People, all the former Presidents who are alive and the retired Chief Justices of the country, etc.)

(ii) Or, do away with those powers of the President, which can be used in a dictatorial manner, as, for example, the power to declare an Emergency or issue Ordinances.

For either of the two, the Constitution may be needed to be amended, which should not be shirked. There is also a feeling in certain quarters that the Constitution should be amended while the Congress Party is in a commanding position both at the Centre and in the States. It will be easier for the Congress Party to make the necessary amendments in the Constitution now, than for any party including the Congress in the future. To leave the things as they are, is not only to refuse to face realities but also to invite dangers to our system of government.

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WESTERN AND EASTERN SPIRITUAL VALUES OF LIFE

By Dr. ANIMA SEN GUPTA, M.A. Ph.D.

The Concept of the Spirit and Spiritual in the West

There is obvious difference beteewn the Eastern and Western approach to the philosophical problem of the Spirit and the Spiritual. The Western mind has an objectivistic outlook which refuses to recognize any distinction between the soul, self or mind. It is because in the objective world, Consciousness finds its expression through images, ideas and precepts etc. (which are the ingredients of Mind) that the Self or the Conscious Principle has been equated with Mind which can be studied objectively through its external manifestations. Spirit, for the West, is, therefore, somehing which can be known rationally and scientifically and the existence of which is verifiable in a logical sense.

The being of a Pure Soul, separate from all kinds of psychical functions, cannot be justified through western logic, and its existence, therefore, has not been admitted in Western philosophy. The Self which has been established by the cogito argument of Descartes or has been regarded by Locke as the permanent substratum of all mental ideas or has been denied by Hume in favour of an impermanent stream of changing mental states and processes is nothing but the Mind, the different functions of which fall within the domain of our psychological study. The word 'psychology' too was originally used in the sense of the Science of Psyche or Soul obviously due to the fact that according to Western definition the Soul can become the subject-matter of a rational and scientific study. The definition of Psychology as the Science of Consciousness is a recent one and even then by Consciousness, the Westerners do not mean Pure and Transcendental Consciousness which is beyond the range of any scientific study. Here, consciousness refers to different forms of experience of normal human beings and as such it is the subject-matter of Psychology which is an empirical science. Bergson, for example, has said: "when we speak of mind, we mean above everything else consciousness." Again, in the opinion of A. C. Ewing, "Mind is used to cover the whole of man's inner nature and not merely his intellectual side.....The notion of a Pure ego or any substance over and above its qualities, could not be defined in terms of anything else, so how can I know at all what it is like, how can I attach any meaning to statements about it?" This statement of Mr. A. C. Ewing proves conclusively the attitude of the Westerners towards the problem of a pure transcendental soul which can never be known or verified through Logic and Discursive thinking. Against this background, the term 'spiritual' in the West refers to efforts of emotion, will and reason, directed towards the external world. In other words, in the West, the mental is equivalent to spiritual. Due to this identification of the spirit with the mind, the status of the spiritual depends exclusively upon the status given to the mind. If mind is nothing else but brain as has been held by the Realists and the Behaviourists of the Western world, then although from the pragmatic point of view, we may attach more value to the spiritual, yet from the metaphysical point of view, we will be bound to place both on the same level. Then there can exist no difference either between spirit, mind and matter or between spiritual, mental and material. Although such identification is the trend towards which the West is gradually advancing, still for the purpose of this paper the word mind should be restricted to normal experience alone and a reconciliation between the East and the West will be sought on that basis.

Now, due to this equation of mind and self and recognition of mental effort, feeling, emotions, understanding and knowledge as the fulness of life, perfection of

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emotion, will-force and reason have become the highest ideal of the West. It is for this reason that they are so eager to enrich life with wordly possessions, to spread it as far as possible and to pierce its depths by finding out simply its physical and psychological secrets. They do not realize the significance of that infinite and immeasurable volume of the eternal life: only a small portion of which is colourfully manifested. The Pure Self which is the "Life of Life, Hearer of ear, Speaker of all speech, Seer of eye, Mentor of the mind" is only a philosophical fiction for the West:

S'rotrasya s'rotram manaso mano yad,
vaca ha vacam,
Sa u Pranasya Pranah, Caksusah Caksuh:

The West, therefore, does not believe that the Infinite transcendental life alone justifies the existence of this finite empirical life and that the finite can have no value apart from the Infinite of which it is only a dazzling spark—a manifestation of the glory of the Life Divine. The West believes firmly that human beings, by themselves, are capable of growing intellectually and morally to such an extent that the whole plan and purpose of the universe can be fully unveiled. With the completeness of the world-perspective, an era will come into being when self-high interests will be totally given up and world-harmony can be established on a very sound and unshakable foundation. Perfection of humanity and perfection of the world constitute the final goals of man. It is indeed a very firmly rooted belief of the West that limitations of knowledge of human beings can be completely overcome by the progress of Science and that things can be arranged in a perfectly rational order, thereby satisfying fully the spiritual demands of man. To an Easterner such a belief is the offspring of a false vanity of the conditioned being whose very existence is supported wholly by the unconditioned and the Infinite.

The Concept of the Spirit and the Spiritual in the East

The cardinal belief of all Indian philosophy and religion, on the other hand, is that the Supreme Truth is a Being or Existence which is beyond the intellect, ego, mind and all physical appearances we contact in this world. Intellect, ego, mind, etc., are changing principles and being changeable, they need an unchangeable consciousness to know them and also to be their support. So, beyond mind, life and body, there is to be found a transcendental and original spirit or self which comprises all that is finite and infinite and surpasses all that is relative and conditioned. Nature and Life are only limited manifestations of this Conscious Eternal. The Upanisads have again and again declared that this supreme spirit alone is real and that all things and beings of the world have emerged from this Self which in the form of this world:

"Karmadhyaksah sarvabhutadhivasah saksi ceta kevalo nirgunas' ca"
"Vis'vasya ekam parivestitaram jnatva devam mucyate sarvapas'aih"

Since the self is the one supreme reality and all are true only by dependence upon it, all life and thought are, in the end, a means towards the realisation of the self which is the soul of all souls and the being of all beings.

According to Indian conception spiritual does not mean mental or psychical; on the contrary, it refers to supramental consciousness which is the central core of a human being. This trans-psychical pure, immutable and self-revealing consciousness is not, however, a mere philosophical dogma propagated through the Indian scriptures. This has been established firmly on the evidence gathered from the intuitive realisation of the yogins and also on the basis of yukti or rational argumentations. The consciousness that constitutes the innermost self of man is the only thing spiritual because it is the spark or reflection of a Great Spirit which forms the transcendental background of this worldly life and spiritual movement, therefore, means movement of Life and Nature towards that Great Atman or towards transcendence and freedom.

Each one of us is provided with a life-basis, here in this world and the main end

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of each one of us should be a movement not only towards a scientific knowledge that aims at revealing simply the secrets of this life but also towards the liberating knowledge of the Highest Spirit which alone is capable of bringing about a spiritual transcendence and release. Moksa is, thus, the only spiritual thing which possesses supreme value and significance and as such it constitutes the highest Purushartha according to Indian view. Knowledge of all other things of the world is necessary only as a means to self-realisation. This is because it is only by a thorough analysis and evaluation of all things of the world that one is able to discover how much truth is involved in this world and by knowing fully the limited value of the world, one is able to turn his eyes towards the Supreme value. The word spiritual has been used in Indian Philosophy to imply the standpoint of the transcendental reality where all relativity and limitations get merged in one Eternal Life of Unconditioned Freedom. The path of the Sreyas is the path of self-knowledge and self-realisation. The ethical virtues like self-restraint, tranquility, truthfulness, etc., are of the highest instrumental value because these moral excellences alone can purify one's mind thereby preparing it for self-realization. The highest spiritual value, however, is beyond the good and evil of worldly-life and experience. The ideal is always the spiritual regeneration of man and as such it is supra-moral and transcendental (Mundaka 3.1.).

Distinction between Moral and Spiritual: Indian View

In India, therefore, there is a difference between Moral and Spiritual values. Since Moral refers to the standpoint of relative existence and spiritual to the standpoint of transcendental existence, what is of value in the moral sphere appears as colourless in the domain of the spirit. Although the vision of the spirit may not involve the practice of ethical duties, still one who develops this vision sticks scrupulously to the path of the supreme value.

In fact, moral excellences are generated in the embodied soul or in its **antahkarana**: so these are the auspicious qualities of empirical life on the awakening of which the impurities of intellect, emotion and will are totally eliminated. As a result of moral purification, the **citta** or **antahkarana** becomes a fit instrument for catching the glimpse of the Highest Reality which is actually realised through meditation. In the Yogasutra, it has been stated that citta alone gets coloured with good and evil dispositions. The natural tendency of the river-like citta is to flow both for good and evil. So, the moral qualities serve as a sign to indicate the purity of citta or antahkarana. These are not the qualities that belong to the spirit in its pure form. Some hold that these are the dispositions of buddhi or citta whereas according to others, these are generated in the soul in association with antahkarana. In other words, antahkarana is either both the generating cause and the substratum of the moral qualities or it is only the generating cause while the embodied soul is the substratum. In both the ways, the moral qualities are the qualities of this relative world where all living beings live in the midst of diversified relations. So long as an individual regards himself as an individual living in association with many other ndividuals in many forms of relations, the question of cultivating the ten dharmalaksanas of Manusmriti becomes his primary obligation.

In India the socio-moral good is closely linked with the good of the spirit and for this reason a four-fold scheme of human-life has been prescribed in the sutra literatures and also in the smritis with detailed instructions for his duties in every stage of life. Relative morality in the forms of domestic, social and political morality is to be cultivated seriously and sincerely, because moral qualities in diversified forms constitute the sole basis of the spiritual culture of human beings. The ultimate truth can never be grasped merely by an intellectual endeavour. It is to be realised by the whole of a purified personality—a personality that has passed through different stages of life and has been purified both externally and internally in

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and through the observance of all scriptural discipline of mind and body. Truth is not to be seized either as a mere philosophical speculation or as a mere theological dogma; it is something that is to be lived fully and is also to be made the central ruling principle of thought, life and action. Thus, in India, there has never been any gulf between pholosophy and life. One who seeks to taste truth, must first of all make his mind pure and clean and this he will be able to do only if he will follow scrupulously and rigorously the prescribed rules and principles of moral life. In India moral life has always been viewed as antagonistic to natural life or Pravritti marga and so moral life is nothing but a life of struggle with the baser aspect of a man's life. The pure natural life is a life in which sattvaguna remains in a subdued condition with the result that natural life or the life of lower self includes all the six passions (lust, anger, greed, pride, infatuation and envy) which stand as obstacles in the path of spiritual progress. Moral life is the life in which all these baser passions are subjugated fully by the ever-increasing influence of the sattvaguna. Since sattvaguna is directly connected with the spirit, the moral life too is harmoniously integrated with the spiritual life. Moral progress, therefore, means gradual realisation of the Good and the Divine in us and at last we get beyond the ethical sphere and realise the absolute good and attain liberation. This moral struggle is, therefore, both a struggle and achievement. It fights and conquers a purely natural life and finds its fulfilment in the life of the spirit. The best instrument to be used for the purpose of conquering the evil passions of a moral life is the cultivation of the spirit of **aparigraha** which constitutes the basic foundation of Indian civilisation and culture. In the negative aspect **aparigraha** implies giving up the spirit of selffish monopoly after realising the evil that results from such greed. In the positive sense on the other hand, it means giving every man what is his due and also administering justice to him in a spirit of Love and Service. In other words, **aparigraha** is synonymous with Tyagya which implies total renunciation of the ego-centric spirit. It is the firm belief of an Indian mind that nobody can do good either to his own self or to society as a whole unless he cultivates the moral power of renouncing his own worldly happiness in favour of a greater happiness and higher truth.

Views of the West

In the West, no distinction has been drawn between mind and spirit or between two kinds of knowledge—transcendental and empirical—revealing truth and reality from two different standpoints. Therefore for them morality or spirituality means fulness, richness and nobleness of human mind. Christ was a man of this world and He was the repository of all moral values. To awaken all the moral values in life is, therefore, the highest spiritual and moral end of man. "Christ is born and Christ spirit must be formed in men." Personal passions and affections should not be given up and the distinct sense of individuality should not be destroyed. The goal of man is to unfold in freshness and fulness his own fine and noble personality in and through his various worldly-relations. Dr. E. Caird, for example, has said that a philosophy or theology which teaches men to abandon all earthly concerns to uproot all passions and desires for the purpose of entering into an intimate relation with God simply means "an attempt to go empty-handed into an empty house." The thinkers of the Western world find it difficult to understand how man can have a nature which is not limited to the mind that is being continuously manifested through various functions of life. This is because the psychological study of the West has, so far, been able to discover in its own way the secrets of waking, dream and dreamless states of the mind. The fourth and the turiya state in which pure consciousness is directly grasped is still beyond the sphere of Western psychology. The spiritual values of the West are, therefore, empirically fashioned and as such these have been identified with the moral values which are to be cultivated in the midst of worldly conditions and world relations.

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Difficulties in the Way of Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Spiritual Values

From what has been stated above, it is clear that the fundamental metaphysical difference relating to the true nature of the Spirit or the individual soul, is such that both India and the West have failed to appreciate mutually the merits and excellences of these two philosophical traditions.

To an Indian, the so-called spiritual values of the West are simply the values of the moral life which is a life of struggle between the opposite tendencies of citta or mind. Ethics belongs to this worldly life and its value lies in the fact that it is the only avenue to the realm of the supra-moral values of the life of Spirit.

The West, on the other hand, is not willing to believe that everything belonging to our empirical consciousness is of a limited value, that our affections, bonds of friendship, great moral courage, sense of self-respect and dignity etc., have only limited ends and that for higher spiritual values, these should be left behind. Spiritual transcendence is something that is unintelligible to the West and for that reason, they very often declare that Indian philosophy preaches asceticism leading to a total renunciation of this world.

Reconciliation

If we ponder deeply over the philosophical positions of both India and the West, we will certainly discover a meeting ground where the two philosophical traditions can be brought together to form a sanctified confluence of the East and the West.

In the first place, we should remember that in India, due to the distinction between the empirical life and the life of the pure spirit, a chasm seems to have emerged between moral values and values of the transcendental life: but this is more artificial than real. Spiritual values are nothing but the final flowering of the moral values without which the highest spiritual development cannot be dreamt of. Just as will, intellect and emotion are inseparable for the highest psychological development of a man, in the same manner moral and spiritual values are inseparably integrated. So, in India also, a man's life in this world as well as his various social relations are fully recognized and it is also asserted repeatedly that a man should first of all discharge properly all his duties which his various relations with the social life imply and should attain the ethical ideal in this world before he can become fit for the Life of the Spirit. In the Sutra literatures as well as in the Smritis, we can find a strong and positive outlook on life which is chiefly concerned with social good, social stability and general well-being of the people. The maintenance of social order has become a very important topic in the Rajadharma section of the Mahabharata where Bhisma had advised Yudhisthira to be morally and physically strong enough to punish all transgressions of social and political laws. Like the humanistic approach of the West, India, too, is interested in the promotion of moral virtues with a view to bringing about a betterment of social relations in this huge family of mankind. It is the practice of the moral duties in the worldly-life which alone can promote equitable adjustment of relative demands of smaller societies in a higher ethical life of humanity. The world is not to be despised but it is to be looked upon as the necessary stage for preparation for the highest attainment. Here, the Westerners who believe in the spiritualisation of human flesh as well as the worldly life can join hands with the people of India who, too, believe in the transformation of the natural life to the pure life of Sattvika-bhavana when moral excellences bloom forth in the bright radiance and pure glory. Though Sattvaguna does not constitute the nature of Spirit, yet it has direct contact with Pure Consciousness. In the yoga philosophy, Sattvaguna has been treated as the upadhi of God. From this point of view, even though India does not believe that the moral and spiritual are identical, still, being a believer in the close intimacy between Sattvaguna and Pure Consciousness, the Indian view does come very near to the Western conception of spiritualisation of the baser emotions of the human mind.

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Moreover, the West too believes in the crucifixion of the flesh; and if this expression has any moral significance, it means nothing but giving up of the selfish pursuit of gross and individual pleasures. This is the moral and the spiritual goal of the West because in the opinion of the West there is nothing else than perfection of humanity to which the highest spiritual value is to be accorded. This perfection, the West tries to attain in and through the family-life, the political life and also the life of society as a whole. In order to do so, the Westerner too has got to expand own self so as to cover his family-life and also the life of the nation. Unless one identifies his own self with the self of another person he can never sacrifice his own good for the good of that person. Identification lies at the very root of all altruistic feelings and actions. The altruistic spirit is prominently present in Western Philosophy. The only thing is this, that the Westerners do not believe in the Indian ideal of **Vasudhaiva kutumbakam**, because in their view, there is no transcendental soul which can be regarded as the soul of all finite souls. But we can believe in the identification of an individual mind with the mind of a nation or of the whole society, there is no reason why we should feel lost when we are advised to identify our individual souls with the soul of the whole universe. A Western mind shudders at this very idea thinking that it is equivalent to depriving his own self of all the good of this earthly life and reducing his blessed existence to such a state which is as good as non-existence. This idea is wholly wrong. Indian philosophy, too, does not advocate such as the ultimate goal. It simply teaches us to go on expanding our soul in a manner that it becomes large enough to cover the whole kingdom of living beings and non-living things. Limited possessions as well as material conquest of the world can give us only limited joy and limited happiness. If we can win over the whole of Life and Nature and can become their spiritual master, then our bliss and happiness will know no bounds. If the West makes a sincere endeavour to expand its mind with a view to covering at least the whole world of mankind, she can come very close to the teachings of the Indian scriptures. The West will not have merely to lose. She will lose the lower and gain the higher. If the West is not willing to give up her sense of ego then let her develop the sense of ownership of the whole world so as to be able to have the feeling of becoming the all, the great and the happiest. The West has already learnt the lesson of "dying to live" and this means nothing but the process in which an individual soul goes on becoming larger and larger and in the end it includes within itself the selves of all other beings. He dies in his narrow limited self to live the life of a larger self. This is exactly what Indian spiritualism means when it desires the abolition of the narrow sense of ego and development of the spiritual capacity of treating all on an equal footing. **Samadristi** implies nothing but the expansion of self to become the Self of all. The only thing is that the expanded self in Indian view covers both spirit and matter, ego and non-ego, both of which are the manifestations of the Original Self. This sort of conception too is not foreign to the Western idealist who declares that the so-called antithesis between ego and non-ego are ultimately reconciled in God as there is reason in all of them. If the West can be made to realise that the Indian spirit of **vairagya** does not imply "other-worldliness" and that Indian spiritualism, too, is not anti-moral; if the West can accept that the Indian attitude to the worldly-life is strongly positive and that the spiritual values depicted here are the final fulfilment of the moral values, then the West will surely feel a close affinity with Indian spiritualism.

In the midst of the present-day world crisis, it is, therefore, the imperative duty of every philosopher to bring to the notice of the world such common elements of all systems of philosophy of the East and the West so as to explore regions where all can meet and feel sincerely and fully that mankind has a common heritage of culture and civilization.*

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* This article is a part of author's book "Essays on Samkhya and other systems of Indian philosophy," now in the press, which is likely to come out in September this year.

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ANATOMY OF PRICES : AN ANALYSIS OF CAUSE AND EFFECT

By KARUNA K. NANDI

Wholesale prices in India are stated to have risen, according an available official assessment, by 20.3 per cent between March, 1963 and June, 1964. During the preceding eleven years, the aggregate rise of prices, according to the same official source, were assessed to have been of the order of 27.4 per cent over the eleven year period, or approximately at the average rate of 2.5 per cent per annum. Accepting the official assessment of the incidence of aggregate increase in the national income during the decade 1950-51 and 1960-61 at its face value at 42 per cent over the decade or at the average rate of 4.2 per cent per annum at 1955-56 prices, and having especial regard to the heavy and continuing emphasis on producer-bases in the process of industrialization and, particularly, to the comparative stagnation in agricultural production, this latter incidence of rise in prices during the first decade of development planning, would not be likely to be regarded as being either unduly high or to have created any very special stresses and tensions in market and price trends beyond what would be normally expected in an inflation-oriented developing economy.

Incidence of Retail Prices

It is not easy, in the absence of available official studies, to assess the extent to which rises in the wholesale price structure may have been impinging upon the retail price bases. On the face of it, during the eleven years preceding March, 1963, the incidence of retail prices on the whole, and barring periodic minor variations within circumscribed regional limits, have remained ed more or less within comparable proportions of the incidence of rise in wholesale prices. But with the sudden and steep jump in wholesale prices of the order of very nearly 800 per cent of the aggregate average of the preceding eleven years between March, 1963 and June, 1964, retail prices, visibly, appear to have been jumping up to levels far higher than their comparable proportions in the incidence of rise in wholesale prices. This acceleration would appear to have been especially significant in the consumable sector of market supplies, more particularly so in the more vulnerable essential edibles. The extent to which speculative operations hay have been responsible for the emergence of a situation of such unprcendented magnitude and criticality, in the absence of any reliable official studies on the subject, must remain largely conjectural. It is, however, far too obvious that speculative pressures have been quite heavy, as would be evident from the steep rise, despite its so-called selective control by the Reserve Bank of India over bank credits during the last twelve months, that in a market already highly stimulated so far as prices are concerned by scarce supplies, these credits have been and are being largely utilized for purposes of speculative hoardings. This would be obvious from the heavy squeeze on market arrivals, especially of basic edibles, which have lately dwindled down, all over the country, to no more than merely a trickle. The impact, necessarly, would be bound to prove heavier upon the retail sector, in the circumstances, than on the wholesale market. It is necessary to clearly and realistically assess and evaluate the factors that can be located to

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contributed to the emergence of a tion like this in the economy which, in immediate and visible effects, seems ly to dislocate materially, if not quite pletely immobilize, the dynamics of elopment in the economy.

First Decade Of Development

Aggregate production during the first ade of development between 1950-51 and 61, as reflected in the rise of the onal income, as already observed, has n assessed to have been of the order of average 4.2 per cent annum. The appro- ate average annual rise in the incidence wholesale prices during the correspond- period, we have already seen, has been he order of 2.5 per cent per annum. investments in the public and private rs excluding the additions to commodity ks during the period between 1952-53 1960-61 were found to have aggregated 3,890 crores. Government's consump- expenditure during the corresponding od on general administration, defence, elopment and social services, were ssed to have aggregated Rs. 3,930 crores which expenditure on defence was said have absorbed Rs. 865 crores. Exports g the corresponding period aggregated 2,505 crores. Thus, the order of aggre- demand during this first decade of sed development would be found to been of the order of Rs. 10,325 crores. increase in the incidence of demand that of each preceding year would be d to have been of the following order :

Thus, over the eight years between 1952-53 and 1960-61, the aggregate rise in demand would appear to have been of the order of Rs. 1,560 crores, which is approximately 15 per cent of the gross aggregate demand of the entire period. In other words the rate of average annual increase in demand throughout this period would be found to have been of the order of approximately 1.87 per cent or, say, 1.9 per cent per annum. Against this the average rise in the wholesale price incidence at approximately 2.5 per cent per annum would appear to have been both legitimate and to have remained within the bounds of normal expectations in a developing economy.

Incidence of Demand Between 1960-61 and 1963-64

During the three years between 1961-62 and 1963-64, net investments in the public and private sectors, excluding commodity stocks have been of the order of Rs. 4,970 crores ; Government's consumption expenditure on general administration, defence, development and social services aggregated Rs. 5,530 crores of which expenditure on defence absorbed Rs. 1,600 crores ; exports over these three years aggregated Rs. 2,130 crores. In addition increases in bank advances on commodity stocks during these three years aggregated Rs. 565 crores, the total outlays on this account, together with the amounts outstanding at the end of 1960-61 at Rs. 1,430 crores would amount to very nearly Rs. 2,000 crores. The increase in demand over this three-year period would,

	Increase in net investments over previous year	Increase in Govt. consumption over previous year	Increase in exports over previous year	Total increase in demand
		(In Rs. Crores)		
52-53	610	660	600	....
53-55	+250	+200	+40	+490
55-57	+200	+110	—5	+305
57-61	+300	+470	—5	+765
	+750	+780	+30	+1,560

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thus, be of the following order :

Year	Increase in net investments over prev. year	Increase in Govt's consumption expentifure over prev. year	Increase in export over prev. year	Increase in commodity stocks (bank advances) over prev. year	Total increase in demand over prev. year
		(In Rs. Crores)			
1961-62	+150	+80	+40	+130	+400
1962-63	+150	+270	+10	+195	+625
1963-64	+150	+430	+100	+240	+920
	+450	+780	+150	+565	+1,945

On the face of it, therefore, the incidence of rise in demand compared to the aggregate demand of this three-year period would appear to have been of the order of over 15 per cent. In other words, the incidence of annual rise during this period has been of the order of 5 per cent per annum. The gross rise in the national income between the two years from 1960-61 to 1962-63 has been assessed, in course of the midterm Third Plan reappraisal, to have been of the order of just about 4.7 per cent at 1960-61 prices. Evaluation of the increase in the national income during 1963-64 has not yet been finally completed, although, tentatively, its incidence is expected to be somewhere near 5 per cent. Thus, the average annual rate of increase in the national income during the period between 1961-62 and 1963-64 would work out at approximately 3.2 per cent per annum. With the incidence of rise in effective demand assessed at 5 per cent per annum, this would be found to have far outpaced production incidences during the corresponding period.

This, however, is only an incomplete picture of the situation in its entirety and in all its varied aspects. No reliable data are available of commodity stocks in the private sector especially where such stocks are financed by sources outside the organized and recognizable credit sector. But even within the organized credit sector, increases in credits extended to private and co-operative agencies against hypothecation of commodity stocks, which stood at approximately Rs. 772 crores including Rs. 12 crores advanced directly to co-operatives by the Reserve Bank of India in 1955-56, rose by the end of 1960-61 to Rs. 1,430 crores and to very nearly Rs. 2,000 crores by the end of 1963-64. This can be taken broadly to indicate the trends of stockholding generally in the country and should yield some approximation of the aggregate pressures on demand. It is not possible to assess the magnitude of total stockholding in the country, a great deal of which must obviously be for purposes of speculative hoarding, outside the purview of the organized credit market and which would, consequently, inevitably exert more than its corresponding share of pressure on the price structure. Additional factors in this aggregate pressure upon demand would obviously be the larger money incomes in the community resulting from the increasing outlays indicated above, the extent of which, however, it is not possible to assess with any degree of accuracy. It should, however, be safe to assert that the total increase in demand in 1963-64 compared to its level in 1960-61, would be considerably above the Rs. 1,945 crores listed above.

The Incidence of Supply

On the supply side, only two principal sources would seem to merit consideration, domestic output and imports. So far as imports are concerned, having regard to the complete shut out of all consumer goods and

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continuing and severe restrictions on imports of even spares and essential industrial raw materials, supplies could not have increased materially from this source during the period under consideration. In the absence of official data in this regard to hand as I write, it would not, it is hoped, be conservative to assume that aggregate imports could not have increased by more than a Rs. 100 crores altogether during the period between 1961-62 and 1963-64. Domestic output, as already observed, was assessed to have increased only by about 1 per cent between 1961-62 and 1962-63. There was some increase in output, especially in the industrial sector during 1963-64, but its exact incidence is not yet known. Assuming that it might have been, at the outside, of the order of 5 per cent, the aggregate increase over the three year period would be only 9.7 per cent in all. This would work out at approximately Rs. 1,400 crores at 1960-61 prices. Thus the total increase could not, presumably, have exceeded Rs. 1,500 crores on the supply side, whereas direct increase in demand derived from the outlays already listed above aggregated Rs. 1,945 crores. To this has to be added additions to demand emanating from unknown quantities of stocks held by and released from sources outside the purview of the organized credit market as well as additions to demand flowing from the increases in money incomes in the community. As already observed, it is not possible to assess with any degree of certainty the total increase in the incidence of demand derived from these sources and any assessment in this behalf would be bound to remain largely conjectural. Assuming, however, that the addition to demand derived from these sources would not be likely to be more than one-half of the demand derived from other more identifiable sources listed above, the order of aggregate addition to demand would work out to approximately 3,000 crores. The obvious imbalance between demand and supply discernible would inevitably endeavour to adjust itself by a corresponding rise in prices which would, leastwise, work out at approximately 18 per cent. It has been seen that the actual incidence of rise in wholesale prices between 1960-61 and 1963-64 has been approximately of the order of very nearly 25 per cent (20.3 per cent between March, 1963 and June, 1964). From this it may be assumed that the additions to the pressure on demand derived from the unidentifiable credit sector together with that derived from additions to the money income in the community, would approximately be quite as much as that derived from the other more identifiable sources which then, would wholly account for the actual incidence of upward adjustment of wholesale prices that have been in evidence in the meanwhile.

Character of Price Rise

It is not easy to discern a uniform norm in the incidence of price rises. Prices go up in eccentric fashion over different sectors of the economy, the underlying character of which would seem to be conditioned by a variety of factors and which would not seem to yield any very recognizable pattern of uniformity or even trends. In this country, during the periods corresponding to development planning, the heaviest impact of rises in prices would seem to have fallen on agricultural products principally and obviously for the reason that production in this sector has risen the least rapidly. The crucial status of agricultural production in the total national economy would be obvious when regard is had to the fact that agricultural activity accounts for one-half of the total national income of the community. Stagnation in the dynamics of production at this point would be bound to have the most disturbing consequences. When demand is generally in excess of physically available supplies and stocks held at strategic levels, as those by Government, run down, speculative forces inevitably move in to provide accelerated momentum to rises in the price level. While this is generally true of the present situation, the fact should also not be lost sight of that the incidence of price rises generally follow the lines of least resistance. A pattern inevitably emerges in which the more vulnerable sectors of the economy are more immediately and heavily

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affected far more in proportion to those in the other sectors. Thus while agricultural products suffer far more than industrial manufactures, within the agricicultural sector food grains suffer the steepest rise because they comprise, even under normal price levels, more than 70 per cent of the consumption expenditure of more than 60 per cent of the population and, naturally therefore, they yield the more easily to heavy price pressures. It would, however, be an oversimplification of the present price situation if the matter were to be dismissed merely after a reference to food prices. While the prices of edibles have suffered the most heavily—there is evidence to prove that where wholesale prices have risen by 25 per cent, the actual price at the consumption or retail level has generally been double as much—consumables of all descriptions generally have suffered more than other commodities. Here also, in the matter of mill-made cotton textiles, the rise in the prices of the coarser varieties have been far heavier than in respect of finer varieties of cloth. These facts would seem to indicate an intelligent and alert mind directing operations to exploit the increasing imbalance between demand and supplies to create the heaviest possible pressures on the price structure at selected points of the commodity market which would not, normally, be susceptible to any ordinary juxtaposition between mere demand and supply.

Accelerating Supply

The principal feature of the present price situation in straightforward terms, therefore, is that developing demand has been accelerating at a rate much faster than supply and a permanent and enduring solution of the problem can only be found by stimulating the dynamics of increasing supply to conform to the incidence of demand. It is difficult, if not quite impossible, not merely immediately but even in the immediately foreseeable future, to adequately correct this increasingly widening imbalance from the supply side, to obtain any dependable measure of stability in the incidence of prices. Some measures of expeditiously stimulating supply may be undertaken by increasing imports to a certain extent as is already being done by way of increasing imports of foodgrains. But the scope, having regard, firstly to our rather precarious balance of payments position and, secondly to the priority needs of continuing heavy capital goods imports over the remaining two years of the current Plan and during the impending Fourth Plan, for any material upward adjustment of imports to cover the gaps between demand and supply would, on the face of it, be bound to prove extremely narrow and well circumscribed within severely restricted limits. It is, however, possible, perhaps only as a short-period emergency measure, to judiciously enunciate and effectively apply certain administrative measures to put a curb on price rises in selected sectors of the economy. How far Government's resources in administrative efficiency and rectitude, not to speak of the imaginative spelling out of policies, are adequately geared to meet the inevitably onerous requirements of such possible administrative measures to enable them to wholesomely and effectively deal with a situation which they have been acknowledged to have already assumed critical levels is, however, a question to which it is not quite easy to find an answer. One of such selected sectors for administrative management must obviously be those of, first, essential edibles, foodgrains in particular, and the Government are already known to have been thinking in terms of a limited area of State Trading in food grains, Modified Rationing including, perhaps, full Rationing in large and selected urban and industrial complexes, Statutory Fixation of Price Ceilings of food grains and some other essential edibles at different levels, those of producers, wholesalers and retailers and like other items. It has also been announced that Government also intend to take over or, atleast, enter the rice milling industry (possibly in pursuance of the notorious Bhubaneshwar resolution) in the near future. These are measures, about the ultimate efficacy of which the Government

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ging by frequent changes of attitude by rain Union and State Ministers during rent weeks, as well as the complete ence over the entire programme of the ion Finance Minister, themselves do not em to be quite certain. It should be rly understood, however, that whatever e administrative measures that Govern- nt may devise and seek to apply to tend with the situation on the food nt, unless they are able to do so with ermined confidence and a measure of hlessness in complete disregard of sible consequences to their own chances the next polls, they would be foredoomed failure and that, in consequence, a far rse situation may emerge in the end than h what they are already being obliged contend. As it is, the half-hearted sures of statutory fixation of price ings in certain States without the essary machinery for its proper enforce- nt as has been imposed in certain es, do not seem to have had even the t influence on price and market trends, ept that, in addition to the continuing pness of the price level, market arrivals e all but virtually dried up. Partial and dified Rationing, where introduced, is g maintained by supplies from sources selected urban and industrial complexes ch are already known to have been so dly depleting such stocks as were being d by Government at strategic points, and ess the rate of procurement can be imme- ely and substantially stepped up, the t two or three months would be bound be fraught with considerable anxiety. It not quite impossible that situated as we e at present, it may not be possible to gether avert the emergence of a tragic ntry-wide food famine such as occured undivided Bengal in 1943 but of possibly greater magnitude.

Agricultural Production

Reference has already been made ier in the present discussion to the parative stagnation in agricultural pro- ction. Here, the priorities in planning would appear to have been playing a crucial part. The First Plan was mainly agriculture-oriented and the spill over of the resultant potentials in this behalf into the next Plan, in which there was considerable shift in emphasis and priorities from agriculture to heavy producer industry, yielded very substantial results. This was reflected in the progress in the production of food cereals in the country which rose, as a result of these incentives and the facilities provided by the First Plan projects, from about 52 million tons in 1950-51 to 76 million tons in 1960-61, the end-year of the Second Plan, which worked out to very nearly 46 per cent, a very commendable performance, indeed. It was unfortunately, not possible to maintain this very commendable rate of progress since, partly because far greater emphasis was laid upon even more accelerating industrialization in the Third Plan than even in the Second to the far greater neglect of needed essential agricultural priorities, and partly also because of the very substantial failure of the many irrigation schemes of the First Plan to have yielded the expected results as well as of the obvious inadequacy of the fertilizer programmes, crop-yields remained, as so picturessuely described by a former Union Food and Agriculture Minister, very much at the mercy of the seasons. It is also notable, that by far the greater part of the resources and effort of the Community Development and National Extension projects were, at the same time, concentrated upon more spectacular social extension programmes, more or less to the complete neglact of the demands of agricultural extension. The results are now being obviously reflected in the incidence of agricultural yields, both as regards gross quantums as well as per acre yields, during the current Plan. The total production of food cereals in the country at the end of the third year of the current Plan (1963-64) has been reported to have been of the order of only 79 million tons, which is barely 4 per cent above the yield—76 million tons—obtained during the end-year of the Second Plan (1960-61). Considering that the net addition to the country's population has been of the very

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rapid order of 2.5 per cent per annum, in other words there has been a gross 8.8 per cent addition to the net population during the last three years, this very poor rate of progress in agricultural production provides an explanation in addition to the causes already discussed in the foregoing paragraphs why the price pressure on food has been comparatively the heaviest. The implications of the situation should become even clearer when it is remembered that even at the present level, agricultural production alone accounts for more than one-half of the gross annual national product of the country.

Quick-Yielding Agricultural Projects

We have been hearing from time to time over the last one year—recently once again emphatically reiterated by Shri Ashok Mehta, Vice Chairman of the Planning Commission—that quick-yielding agricultural projects would soon be initiated to infuse an element of comparative rapidity in the rate of progress in agricultural production. What these quick-yielding projects can be does not yet seem to have been clearly indicated, or, perhaps, even to have been decided upon at the levels of policy making and implementation. What would seem to be a most unfortunate feature of planning for agricultural progress, either at the highest level of the Planning Commission or at the Union and State administrative levels, that most policies so far initiated in this particular field, has been eventually proved to have been wholly wasteful and infructuous. It was almost inevitable that it should be so because agricultural potentials in the country remain, so far, virtually a comparatively unexplored and uncharted field. No integrated survey of our national agricultural potentials appears to have been undertaken during the last seventeen years since Independence and such a survey does not also seem to have found any place among the responsibilities of the various working groups functioning under the Planning Commission in its Agricultural wing. In fact no one seems to have heard of any comprehensive and integrated survey of the nation's total agricultural resources and potentials to have been undertaken ever since the Royal Commission on Agriculture under the Chairmanship of Lord Linlithgow reported on the subject 36 years ago (1928). One of the reasons for this obvious and very important lack may be that Agriculture, mainly, is a State subject under the Constitution and that the area of the Union Government's concurrent powers in this sphere does not seem to extend beyond the responsibilities of having to supplement State resources in the event of scarcity as on the present occasion.

Departments under Agriculture Ministries in the States and at the Centre appear to have been rapidly proliferating in all possible directions mainly at secretariat levels, but the awareness of the basic need to carry out an integrated and uptodate field research in our existing agricultural resources and future yield-potentials covering the entire nation as the essential basic foundation for adequate policy making for rapid agricultural development and progress, does not, indeed, appear to have at all been felt at any level of the administration. Having regard to the apparent lack of co-operation in many fields of co-ordinate policy and action between different States—there is, indeed, ample evidence of the keenest competition for the largest share of the Centre's favours between them—such an investigation can alone be fruitfully carried out by a well-equipped—both in respect of expertise and authority—Central Agency. If the Union Food and Agriculture Ministry finds itself unable to undertake the responsibilities of carrying out such an investigation, the Agriculture Wing of the Planning Commission with all its resources in expertise should be the obvious choice for the purpose. But that unless this is done without any avoidable delay, all the glib talk about initiating quick-yielding agricultural projects with a view to introducing an element of dynamic acceleration in agricultural production would be bound to prove entirely hollow and meaningless.

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Slowing Down Demand

But, to revert to an evaluation of the e-all problem of stepping up the cidence of supply to more closely conform the rate of accelerating demand as onstrated in the foregoing paragraphs, is quite obvious that the prospects of pping up the incidence of supply in any nificant measure in the immediate future e extremely limited and one would, accordly, be led to suppose that the only possible ans of ensuring a closer correspondence ween demand and supply in the circumnces discussed above, would have to be by process of attenuating demand. It has been wn that there is considerable scope for cking the problem from the end of outs. Let us examine the particular points which and the directions from and the nt to which it may be possible to prune lays in any significant measure.

Investment Outlays

In the area of investment outlays, the al incidence would appear to have essively increased between 1952-53 1963-64 by some 300 per cent. It will bserved, however, that the gross inse in annual net investments over imiately preceding previous years during first three years of the curernt Plan 61-62 to 1963-64) has only been of the er of an aggregate Rs. 450 crores which, the face of it, would not appear to be large and the scope, therefore, of a at deal of downward adjustment in this ere would seem to be severely limited. from the results of a study by a Work Group of the Planning Commission lished some time ago, it appears that al investment appropriations throughout current Plan period are expected to come a little over 93 per cent of total origi allocations in the Plan. The target of ease in the national product over the years of the Plan period was placed at per cent or at an annual net rate of well 6 per cent. From the data disclosed course of the mid-term reappraisal of the it appears that the actual increase achieved during the first two years of the Plan aggregated only 4.7 per cent in all at 1960-61 prices. There is stated to have been a considerable improvement in the incidence of this increase during 1963-64, but in the absence of any available official evaluation of its actual size, it is not possible to arrive at any reliable forecaste of the trend of this improvement. Independent economists calculated that the prospects of increase in the national income during the remaining three years of the current Plan period did not indicate that achievements in this behalf would be likely to exceed the annual rate of some 3.5 per cent. If this estimate can be accepted as realistic, the gross increase in the national income over the entire Plan period would be somewhat of the order of 15.2 per cent in all at 1960-61 pieces which is really considerably less than one-half of the original target envisaged in the Plan. But even supposing that the rate of annual increase in the national income during the three-year period between 1963-64 and 1965-66 were even as high as 5 per cent—the prospects of which would seem to be extrely remote—the total increase in the national income over the Plan period would only be of the order of 19.7 per cent which will be approximately 55 per cent of original targets. In other words, with investments actually covering more than 93 per cent of original allocations in the Plan, the actual result in increased national income yield would, possibly, be only somewhere between 42 to 55 per cent of estimated expectations in this behalf. The inflationary pressure that such an obvious and fairly substantial imbalance between investment and implementation would be bound to generate should be more than apparent even to the least discerning observor.

Closer Adjustment Needed

While, therefore, conceding that the scope for attenuating the rate of investment, in conformity with the basic dynamics of development is not very wide, the need to sustain the actual dynamics of the development process to a level of yield commensurate with the estimated contribution

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of investments in this behalf to the incidence of supply, should also be heavily underscored at the same time. It is imperative that there must be closer adjustment between investments and the resultant yield in terms of the increase in the national product or the investment itself must be held to have been responsible—in the measure in which shortfalls eventuate—for the development of wholly infructuous demand, causing corresponding price pressures to be generated and communicated especially to the more vulnerable sectors where marginal shortages in supply are the most obvious. The accent must be on **development** and not merely on **investments** alone. In this aspects of the matter increasing imbalances would appear to have been eventuating even as early as the latter years of the Second Plan and which would seem to have been materially widening during the current Plan. One does not like to burden the reader with a great deal of statistical data, but an examination of the unappropriated balances of foreign exchange allocations in the Plan uptodate will bear out the truth of our contention in this regard. To sum up, it could not be repudiated with any amount of logical and sustainable reasoning, that the incidence of price pressure flowing directly from infructuous investments in the Plans to the extent they have failed to generate correspondingly commensurate yields in production incidences, has not been inconsiderable and there is obvious scope here for correspondingly pruning investment schedules. It must, however, be admitted at the same time that this cannot be accepted as a desirable expedient on basic grounds and if the actual dynamics of **development** could be sustained at the level of origal targets in the Plan, there could not have been any question of pruning outlays in this behalf.

Co-ordination and Priorities

A major factor for very serious examination in this context would seem to be the order of priorities in the Plan and the obvious lack of co-ordination between different and contending phases of development. One very important aspect of these dislocations in priorities and co-ordination of projects has been increasingly obvious, for instance, in the phasing of power and transport development alongside of heavy basic industries like steel, coal and minerals. One of the principal deterrants against industrial production has admittedly been the commensurate inadequacy of power supply availability. Until some time ago, it was notorious that managements of different industrial units in the Jamshedpur complex were obliged by mutual agreement to phase out a weekly shut-down by turn for each of several production units with a view to coping with a constant 20 kV. shortage in power supply. Both in the Greater Calcutta and the Greater Bombay industrial complexes, again, some 20 per cent of the overall laid-down capacity in the medium and small industries sector—most of whom were engaged upon the production of vital strategic commodities—have been reduced to enforced idleness over long periods at a time for lack of power supply. Transport bottlenecks have been severe and paralyzing at many vital points of the economy over several years and, although the situation appears to have considerably eased over the last two to three years, it is still unable to wholly cope with the significantly accelerating development in the coal industry in the private sector during the current Plan. These obvious mal-adjustments in priorities and lack of adequate co-ordination between interdependent phases of industrial development also contribute correspondingly to infructuous investments. Also, the manner in which planning would appear to have been conceived, the need, at least in part, to sustain outlays in slow-yielding and highly capital-intensive producer bases with their inevitably low employment potentials by simultaneous phasing out of quick-yielding labour-intensive essential consumer industries in a balancing measure, would seem to have been wholly ignored. The inevitable consequence upon economic trends has not been, as appears to have been fondly hoped for by the Plan framers, to stimulate private saving and capital formation in corresponding measure—one does not, of course, wholly repudiate that there

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been some increase in the incidence of vate savings in selected areas of the nomy over the last ten years although measure has been only fractionally pro- tionate to the rate of increase in money ply—but primarily to accentuate progres- ly increasing price pressures, necessarily e heavily upon more scarce consum- s than at other points of the economy. greatest maladjustment is, of course, e obvious in the comparatively low rity accorded to agricultural develop- nt in the Second and significantly more in the Third Plan and which has been of the prime factors in generating the ent rapidly accelerating inflationary l. Enough has already been said ear- in course of the present discussion on subject, but it should be underlined here all the emphasis one may com- that it has been one of the basic con- tional defects of planning in the man- in which it is being undertaken in this ry and which, incidentally repudiates of the fundamental lessons of universal nic history—that rapid industrial lopment can only **follow**, not **precede**, development of a surplus agriculture. equally significant that in a country India, where even after more than one a half decade of development plann- e of employment and sustenance, ly, of well over 70 per cent of the tion and contributes more than one- of the gross national income, the pace dustrial development can only be tioned by the measure of acceleration can be achieved in agricultural pro-

e Cautious Investment Policy Needed

should be obvious, therefore, that far er caution, than would appear to have exercised so far, should be adopted in g out Plan investments, both in res- of their size as well as in their priorities. may mean the slowing down of nvest- schedules, especially over the next few possibly even extending to the next plan periods, the choice will have to be accepted as an imperative requirement of existing economic realities. That Plan investments, especially during the last three years, have contributed their share to the emergence of the current inflationary spiral, cannot be repudiated with any regard for basic truths. A balance has to be struck between demand and supply to enable prices to be pegged down to more sustainable levels, and if need be to achieve this imperative, investments will have to be cut down to sizes where they will case to have any materially inflationary impact on aggregate demand. The choice may not be a very palatable one for Plan framers for it will inevitably be read as an evidence of failure in planning, and one must congratulate the Union Finance Minister for his obvious acceptance of the realities of the present situation when he recommends that the size of projected investments, contrary to the estimates prepared by the Perspective Division of the Planning Commission, in the Fourth Plan, should not exceed Rs. 17,000 crores. The Vice Chairman of the Planning Commission, however, seems still to pursue the delusion that the introduction of a few quick-yieldng agricultural projects in the Plan would enable the Fourth Plan investments to be sustained at the much higher level already envisaged. Mr. Ashok Mehta, despite his great reputation for level-headed thinking, would appear to be suffering from the complacent escapism fashionable in some high level quarters !

Government Consumption Expenditure

But if the scope for attenuating the size of Plan investment outlays is limited, there is, obviously, a far wider scope for severe pruning of Government's consumption expenditure. Since 1952-53, Government's expenditure on development and administration, excluding expenditure on defence, has sizeably increased from Rs. 475 crores to Rs. 1,410 crores, that is by more than 300 per cent. Expenditure on defence had risen from Rs. 185 crores in 1952-53 to Rs. 810 crores in 1963-64, but it rose by no more than at an average rate of 5.8 per per cent per annum over the eight years be-

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tween 1852-53 and 1961-62. It was only with the explosion of China's invasion upon India's Northern frontiers that defence expenditure had to be accelerated by 13 per cent in 1961-62, 50 per cent in 1962-63 and by more than 70 per cent in 1963-64. That there is ample scope for pruning expenditure on civil administration has been already admitted by implication when, recently, the Union Government announced their intention to cut down expenditure during the current financial year by Rs. 70 crores. This is commendable, but not nearly enough. The scope for reduction of expenture on this head should be nearer 25 per cent of its present size which alone might help to substantially reduce the pressure on aggregate demand and correspondingly ease the pressure on the price structure.

Taxation

But while discussing the possibly available scope for significant reduction of the quantum of Government's burgeoning consumption expenditure on development and civil administration, with a view, particularly, to scaling down aggregate demand, it is also necessary to consider the extent to which the incidence of rising taxation may or may not have already contributed a deflationary element in the demand factor. Traditionality, increasing taxation is calculated to mop up surplus purchasing power in the economy and thus correspondingly to help to contain the incidence of demand within desired boundaries. From this point of view the steep spurt in the incidence of public taxation over the years of development planning, and especially during the first three years of the current plan period should, ordinarily, be regarded as an appropriate, possibly even an adequate set-off against rising outlays on administration. Between 1950-51 and 1960-61 the per capita incidence of taxation in the country is said to have progressively increased from about Rs. 8 per annum to well over Rs. 38 per annum at 1952-53 prices. And during the three years between 1961-62 and 1963-64 the amount of gross taxation has significantly increased further by about Rs. 900 crores. This, on the face of it, would be expected to have more or less completely balanced additional outlays in Government expenditure during the corresponding period and should, therefore, ordinarily eliminate, except, perhaps, to an insignificant extent, additional pressures communicated therefrom on the structure of demand.

Unfortunately, the especial mechanism of public taxation that would appear to being increasingly resorted to by the Union Finance Ministry, especially since Mr. Chintamon Deshmukh, who may be said to have been the last among the students of scientific public finance in the Central Finance Ministry, left the Union Cabinet, has been increasingly following lines of least resistance in revenue-harvesting, with the result that in constructing additional taxation proposals from year to year, increasing reliance has been placed upon indirect taxation measures—a great deal of them comprising imposts of varying magnitude upon essential consumables and an even greater proportion upon essential producer bases—which have progressively raised the proportion of indirect tax revenues to total tax incidences from only about 7 per cent in 1950-51 to very nearly 74.6 per cent in 1863-64. One of the principal reasons for this extraordinary shift in taxation trends may appear to have been conditioned by the supposed need to sustain incentives for developmental investments in the private sector and the anxiety to spare, as much as possible, the available areas of direct taxation—which have never been very wide or extensive in this country—from increasing burdens on this ground, lest that may prove a deterrant against incentives in this behalf. But that difficulties of realization in the fields of direct taxation—these have notoriously been known to have been of fairly sizeable magnitude and tax evasions have been known to have been very large even within the comparatively narrow incidences of taxation—may also have had to do with this trend of increasing exploitation of the easily-yielding indirect revenue potentials, would also seem to be quite obvious.

Thus sound taxation principles would seem to have been sacrificed on the alter of

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ciency and the era of the reckless and creasing recourse to indirect taxation vering wide areas of essential consum- ies and vital producer bases—in a recent official estimate these have been calculat- to have been yielding more than one- of the gross tax revenues of the ntry—have inevitably led to cost-infla- n of a very serious measure over all fields vital production. To cite only one of ny significant instances, India who was ioned, until as late as 1955, as among the eapest producers of steel in the world, ranks as among the costliest. Most this rise in cost is accounted for directly rises in taxation imposts and freights at rious levels and stages of production ering both raw materials, servicing ities and finished and semi-finished nufactures. Here is an obvious example the magnitude of inflationary pressures taxation has been directly exerting of its reflection in corresponding sure in general price trends in the ntry. This has not merely been respon- for generating insupportably heavy dens upon the common man, but has also progressively retarding the pace of elopment in significantly corresponding sure. A vicious cost-price-wages spiral become the inescapable resultant, affect- all the four corners of the national nomy. The burgeoning impact on the e of food grains and other essential ies and consumables is, in the ultimate ysis, only a reflection of the over-all nomic situation in the country which has increasingly contributing its quota, in to further rapidly widening already ing fairly wide disparaities in the unity. The deterioration in the price ture, as so aptly remarked by Mr. R. D. Tata recently, has undeniably flowed the policy of forcing the pace of eco- ic development beyond the limits of nation's physical and financial resour- That an additional complicating factor the process has been the unbalanced and tic use of resources and effort on the opment of only certain selected sectors ardling the claims to and need for ensurately simultaneous deployment of attention to other vital sectors to ensure a process of wholesome, comprehensive and dynamic balance, is equally undeniable.

Administrative Failures

That the administrative resources of the State has also been wholly inadequate for sustaining the responsibilities of development in the magnitude and at the pace envisaged in the Plans has, consequently made it inevitable that significant shortfalls and failures at many vital points would overshadow the basic processes of development. This has inevitably led to cost-inflation in the production process and to commensurate inflationary pressures. Alongside of this as already demonstrated, the rapidly accelerating cost of administration over the last several years corresponding with the period of development planning, has also been contributing its own share of additional pressure on the incidence of demand. Here, again, a vicious circle would appear to have been created; needs of development inflating administration costs, inadequacy of administrative resources retarding the developmental process, and, in turn, infructuous outlays in the cost of administration, because of their failure to ensure correspondingly adequate development in real terms, adding its pressures to the dynamics of demand and corresponding inflationary impacts. Incidentally, the complicated and often overlapping administrative complex said to have been occasioned by the complexities of the machinery of development, has also been one of the principal channels, through which corruption and nepotism has invaded the administration.

Conclusion

Although a great deal still remains to be discussed bearing upon the different aspects of the basic anatomy of prices, enough has already been said to enable a logical and scientific evalution of the causes and directions from which price-inflation of the measure and nature in which the community is faced with it to-day, have been impinging upon the economy. The

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possible measures that can be expected to effectively deal with the situation are inherent in the causes themselves that can be identified to have generated the present situation. No single measure, therefore, aimed at selected sectors of the economy can be expected to have more than a merly ephemeral effect in this regard.

Thus, although the administrative measures now being constantly conceived, examined and|or rejected—a process which has been going on over the last several weeks both at Union and State levels, to the extent that finally measures are framed and applied to deal with certain aspects of the present food problem in the country, can only have a temporary utility. The main issue is one of price-cost-supply ratios to the magnitude of aggregate demand as represented by the size of available purchasing power released to the community. And as it has been already demonstrated, it is fundamental to the concepts of development that they are capable of being applied to the economy without causing untoward pressures which the process itself is unable to nurture or sustain. Three distinct and separate conclusions would seem to inevitably follow as inescapable lsssons of the situation: First, that development must follow properly balanced and finely co-ordinated priorities covering different branches of production in the economy to ensure balanced development of basic requisites of growth alongside of basic consumer facilities; Secondly, development must accord corresponding and balancing priorities to ensure the development of agricultural surpluses to be ensured at the same pace at which industrialization is intended to be pursued; finally, development must conform, as Mr. J. R. D. Tata has so succintly observed, to the physical and financial resources of the nation. Development essayed on borrowed resources at exorbitantly high cost in terms of repayment terms and in respect of imports of capital goods, spares, and known-how and which, additionally, have not been able to yield resultant dividends sufficient even to cover immediate repayment liabilities, supplemented by resources created by artificial means against future development with a view to quicken the pace of development has led the country to a situation from which it would be an extremely complicated and difficult business to extricate the community. The expedients so far announced by the Vice Chairman of the Planning Commission, that of rephasing Agricultural Development alongside of the projects for industrialization in the Fourth and Fifth Plans through five quick-yielding two-year projects to coincide with the next two Plan periods, is visionary and unrealistic and, in any case, how this is intended to be worked out in actual terms is yet to be announced. It would be sheer escapism to repudiate the need, having regard to the present stage of near-breakdown in the economy, the extremely inadequate magnitude and pace of development in relation to investments which would appear, under the impact of accelerating price pressures, to have been again gradually slowing down despite injections of additional administrative stimulation into the system, for revising the entire process of planning **de novo** not merely to rephase it in certain selected areas and details and to redefine its targets and objectives not only to conform to actual (not merely borrowed and created) financial and physical resources of the nation, but also to ensure a more orderly and balanced process of growth comprehending the entire economy in all its phases and branches. This will, admittedly, not be an easy matter to ensure and may take quite a lot of time to get into actual stride to the extent where it can begin to affect the price trends by spontaneous induction. The interim period until the process gets into full stride and a measure of normality has been reintroduced into the price structure to conform to the real resources of the economy, would naturally be a painful one, the most painful being the confession of failure on the part of the Government and their high level expertise that this would inevitably imply. But facts, however painful, must have to be faced sooner or later and it were better that they were done sooner rather than later.

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IN MEMORY OF DR. GEORGE ROERICH

Communicated By Dr. KALIDAS NAG

...T and world science has suffered a great ... On the 21st May 1960, suddenly, in the ...st of intense scientific and public activities, at ... threshold of the conclusion of several scien... works, Yuri Nicolaievich Roerich left us— ...ian savant, Orientalist, with a world-wide ..., a man of a great heart, profoundest wisdom, ...ous knowledge and extraordinary fate.

Yuri Nicolaievich was born on the 16th ...st 1902, near Okhulovka, in the Novgorod ...rict in the family of the remarkable Russian ... savant and thinker, art academician N. K. ...ich.

Interest and love of the East, which Yuri ...ievich carried through all his life, awoke in ... at an early age. While a school boy in ...sbourg—the centre of Russian Orientalism— began to study Egyptology with the academi... B.A. Turaev. He received abroad, a ...nt, many sided education under the guidance ...ld of the foremost savants of the West and ...

At first in London, in the School of Oriental ..., attached to the University, Yuri Nicolai... began particularly, to study Sanskrit under ...ssor D. Ross, then in the U.S.A. at Harvard ...rsity he worked with the Sanskrit scholar, ...ssor C. R. Lanman, and he made a profound ... of languages, archaeology, art and philo... of many Eastern countries.

In the early twenties in Paris, in the School ...Eastern Languages attached to the Sorbonne, ... Nicolaievich with Professors Bacot and ... thoroughly studied Tibetology and the ...an Language.

Through all these years, Yuri Nicolaievich ...ed a great deal in India and in other ...ries. In 1923 Yuri Nicolaievich, young, but ... a dedicated scientist—Orientalist, having ...fundamental knowledge, settled in India. ... on the spot mainly in Darjeeling, he further ...ed his knowledge and continued the scien... research in collaboration with eminent ...ous savants.

In 1926-1929, Yuri Nicolaievich took part in the famous expedition to Central Asia led by his father. This expedition by its scientific significance, by its duration, by the distances it covered represents a remarkable feat of the Roerich family, specially if one thinks of the impossible difficulties which its participants met. Later Yuri Nicolaievich compiled the material of the expedition in the book "Trails to Inmost Asia," published in U.S.A. and France.

On his return from the expedition, Yuri Nicolaievich took charge of the Himalayan Scientific Research Institute, founded in 1929 by N. K. Roerich in the Kulu Valley of the Punjab, Himalayas. In the Institute were studied history, languages, philosophy, Himalayan folk art and folk art of the neighbouring regions, fauna and flora of the region, Tibetan medicine, (interesting collections were gathered) etc. The soul and unfailing participant of all research of the Institute was Yuri Nicolaievich.

In his work, Yuri Nicolaievich was supported by his brilliant knowledge of many Western and Eastern languages. Besides Russian he had perfect command of English, French, German, Greek, Latin, Tibetain, Mongolian, Sanskrit, Pali Hindustani and Persian, numerous local dialects of Central Asia, knew well, Spanish, Italian, Chinese and was acquainted with many other living and dead languages.

His truly encyclopaedic knowledge Yuri Nicolaievich utilised for the solution of various problems of Orientalism.

He wrote many learned works. Some of them represent a prominent addition to the world science of Orientalism. As an example can be named the "Blue Annals" translated and edited by him with his commentaries, a major work on the history of Tibet. The publication of this work containinig the complete data on the history of Tibet, which no one before him could master, required enormous knowledge and colossal labour.

The most important scientific achievement of Yuri Nicolaievich is the compilation of the

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monumental Tibetan—Sanskrit—English—Russian Dictionary, which at the present moment is being got ready for publication.

In manuscript, has remained another important research on which Yuri Nicolaievich laboured many years. It is an almost completed "History of the Peoples of Central Asia," which broadly illumines the past of all the peoples of this region.

Abroad Yuri Nicolaievich published many other considerable works which witness the unusual erudition and immeasurable scope and depth of his knowledge. The sphere of his scientific interests was truly immense. Suffice it to say, that beside the above mentioned works, each of which places Yuri Nicolaievich among the leading modern Orientalists, he published books dedicated to the grammar of the Tibetan language, the dialects of Amdo and Lahoul, a text book on spoken Tibetan language, works on Tibetan art, on the so-called animal style of Tibet, biography of the Buddhist ascetic, Chag-Lotsava, a historic description of Tibet (in the Tibetan language) and many other books published in several countries in different languages.

Yuri Nicolaievich also wrote many articles about the Tibetan and Mongolian languages, the history of Central Asia and India, philosophy of the East (especially Buddhism), on the Indo-Russian ties (for example the article "Indology in Russia") and others.

Yuri Nicolaievich led an active public life. Together with his father he devoted not a little strength to the creation and implementation of the International Pact for safeguarding cultural treasures in the time of war, known as the "Roerich Pact," ratified by the United Nations Organisation and the Governments of the majority of nations of the world among them, the Government of the Soviet Union.

Yuri Nicolaievich was a member of numerous learned societies in India, Soviet Union, England, France, U.S.A. and other countries. Among them can be mentioned the Asiatic Society of Bengal in Calcutta, Geographical Society of the U.S.S.R. in Leningrad, the Royal Asiatic Society in London, the American Archaeological and Ethnographical Societies, the Geographical Society of Paris etc., etc.

Yuri Nicolaievich was a friend of many prominent people of our times. He knew Rabindranath Tagore, Jawaharlal Nehru, S. Radhakrishnan, Jagadish Chandra Bose, C. V. Raman, Romain Rolland, Paul Pelliot and other important savants, writers, Government and public leaders.

It is really hard to believe that one man is able to encompass so much, but Yuri Nicolaievich was just such a man.

Living for almost 40 years away from his motherland, Yuri Nicolaievich remained a fervent Russian partriot. All his scientific activities all his life, he dedicated to his motherland and always hoped to be useful to her. And we can be proud of the fact that our countrymen abroad, with great merit carried on the good traditions of Russian Orientalism, carried with honour the name of Russia in India, and laid invaluable foundations in the cause of uniting our great countries.

Yuri Nicolaievich was a representative of the remarkable Roerich family, each member of which left a prominent mark in science or culture, and did a lot to support and strengthen the friendship between India and the Soviet Union and in the battle for peace on earth. As man and scientist, Yuri Nicolaievich was formed under the influence of his family, where everything was done together where each complemented and mutually enriched the other. And speaking of Yuri Nicoloievich, we must remember his mother—Elena Ivanovna, his father—Nicolai Konstantinovich, who like Rabindranath Tagore, is called in India "Great Master" (Gurudev) and his brother and friend Svetoslav Nicolaievich.

In 1957 Yuri Nicolaievich's earnest desire was realised. During the visit to India by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, U.S.S.R., Nikita Sergeievich Khrushchev, Yuri Nicolaievich met N. S. Khrushchev who invited Yuri Nicolaievich to come to the Soviet Union. Yuri Nicolaievich brought with him a considerable part of the artistic heritage of his father. N. K. Roerich's creations were handed over as a gift to the Soviet Union and became part of the treasures of the State Russian Museum in Leningrad.

On his return to his motherland Yuri Nicolaievich, immediately took part in very extensive scientific and organising activities. He headed the Sector of history, religion and philosophy of India in the Institute of Oriental Studies and the department of Tibetan Studies in the Institute of Ethnic Studies of the Academy of Sciences.

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S.S.R. He also became one of the initiators of renewal of publications of the monuments of Sanskrit literature, in the famous series "Bibliotheca Buddhika."

Already after his return, Yuri Nicolaievich published and prepared for printing a series of books and articles.

Yuri Nicolaievich devoted a lot of energy to work with the young people, considering it his main responsibility to pass on his wide knowledge to his students.

Yuri Nicolaievich was a man of rich and generous nature, wise, simple and approachable, surprisingly modest and even shy, always considerate and willing to share his unusual knowledge and enormous experience. This was felt by all who were fortunate enough to meet him.

The bright memory of Yuri Nicolaievich will never grow dim in our hearts.

SOME GAPS IN ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM

(A Sociological analysis of administrative deficiency in India)

By C. DINESH

Right from the very beginning of planned development in India, most of the gaps and shortcomings in our development programmes are generally attributed to administrative deficiencies and defective coordination. Many Commissions and Committees were appointed by the Government to study this problem and to recommend measures for the improvement of the administrative system in the country. Consequent upon their recommendations, structural reorganization was attempted from time to time, in many branches of our administrative system. But to our utter disappointment, the situation in this sphere worsened instead of showing any improvement.

Many of the veterans in the field of planning and administration expressed a dim view as regards improvement of administrative system in the near future.

"Experience in the past ten years has tended to strengthen the view that in structure, methods of functioning and capacity to meet the requirements of rapid development the administration has not been able to catch up and the distance may be increasing rather than decreasing."[1]

A still more critical view has been expressed by Shri H. M. Patel, a former finance secretary, Government of India. "An honest, frank and objective appraisal of public administration during the year since independence leads one to only one conclusion as to the future: the outlook is bleak, and the outlook will remain bleak until such time as moral standards begin again to be respected, and there is a radical change in our attitude towards administration."[2]

Not only there is ineffeciency and corruption, but delays have become endemic and favouritism a rule rather than exception.

The purpose of this paper is not to enumerate the opinions and judgements of several people in responsible positions with regard to our administrative system, but to indicate that a serious error has been committed by many in power or otherwise, by judging and evaluating the administrative effeciency or in-efficiency on a wrong premise. Whenever the question of administrative reform was in the offing, it was directed more towards structural and procedural reorganization rather than giving enough consideration, to the basic sociological factors of personality formation—the social values etc., within which the personality systems function.

As regards the role of administration in any society is concerned there is no denying the fact that a clean, efficient and impartial administration is the first condition for

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successful democratic planning—that the plans and policies are of little value however sound and well conceived, unless there is an administrative machinery capable of giving effect to them efficiently.

The author of this paper intends to show that the main reasons for the administrative deficiency in our country lie in the fact that, there is a great deal of diversity between our values in the social system and those of the administrative system. Greater the gap between these two value systems, the more complicated and difficult it would be to maintain an equilibrium in the society.

To make this point more clear—a comparison between our social values and those of the administrative system would be very much helpful.

Indian society is still known to be a traditional caste society where differentiation in social status on the basis of caste still persists. The social ranking in our society also very much depends on the caste system, in the case of dining, marriages etc., people of different castes do not stand on the same level.

Caste consciousness persists in the political and educational spheres also. Mainly in the elections and appointments respectively. In this way, many of these traditional values have become part of our thinking and way of life and we do not consider there is anything wrong with them. The personality of an individual, his way of thinking etc., is shaped by these social values from his very childhood and they cannot be changed very easily later on.

Whereas, the values of the administrative system are guided by the formal law and codified rules and regulations. Every man is treated equally before the law irrespective of his caste. Equality of opportunity to all is provided by the Constitution, and further, discrimination on the basis of caste is a cognizable offence according to the law of the country

But as long as the social values mentioned in the foregoing lines, influence our way of life and thinking, and as a matter of fact they do, the values of the administrative system will not guide the behaviour of people in the field of administration.

Moreover, as there would be a direct conflict between the values of these two systems, there is every likehood that people in the administrative system may act entirely in self interest rather than in the interest of the community.

It is needless to state that the defects in our administrative system are not due to one or the other political party in the country, but are a direct reflection of the defects in our social system as a whole. The administrative machinery, we should always remember, is and should be a part of the general complex of a social system, and not something different and strange. It can not be different and strange because the personality systems which constitute the administrative set up, are born and brought up in the general social environment, and the personalities of the individuals are generally set, when they take up a position, which we may call a **specific** role in the administrative set up.

Either a secretary or an ordinary clerk in his office, occupies many different roles, as that of a father, son, husband, a chairman of a club etc., which we may call a **role structure.** And when he occupies (performs) any one role, in this general role complex, he certainly cannot act with utter disregard to the other roles he occupies in his life.

This would, perhaps, make the problem clear, that there cannot be a great deal of diversity between the values of the administrative system and those of a social system. If such a situation arises there would be, what we may call a role **conflict,** leading to a disequilibrium in the social system in general.

Before proceeding further to analyse the relationship between administrative efficiency and the general equilibrium of the society, it may be relevent to point out one peculiar condition of our administrative structure itself. As in the case of almost all the colonial countries, the administration in India, also was developed by the British, to a great extent on the British model, and it remains so, even today. This system may

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efficient in England but may create a lot confusion in India because, in England, administration has lived and grown, g with the social order, and the conflict- g features, if any, were adjusted from e to time, to maintain the social equili- m; but in India, the entire structure of Indian administration was imposed on ty from without and no serious attempts e made to resolve the role conflicts ing out of this peculiar situation. To strate the point, a commissioner of rijan welfare, if he is a Brahmin, preaches works in his office for the removal of uchability etc., but when he returns e, he always considers that dining with Harijan is a relegions sacrilege, as far as home is concerned.

Therefore, a sort of hypocrisy, disloyalty me's own ideals, has developed into our al structure without our being aware of and I believe that this was the type of ple, the British, wanted us to be.

I shall now try to explain the theory of al equilibrium and its relation to effici- y in administration.

Human society is a complex whole, posed of many subsystems, which for purposes of analyses may be treated as pendent systems possessing their own ndaries; for instance in the general plex of social system, the polity or nomy functions within its own bound- s almost as an independent subsystem, any interpretation regarding the func- ng of let us say, the economic subsys- cannot be visualized fruitfully without ful observation of other variables ch influence human action.

Every society in order to ensure stabi- has to maintain a specific relationship an equilibrium among the different vari- es which influence the action system. In er words "According to general theory, ess in any social system is subject to r independent functional imperatives or blems" which must be met adequately equilibrium or continuing existence of system is to be maintained."[3]

A Social system is always characterized an institutionalized value system. The social system's first functional imperative is to maintain, the integrity of that value system and its "institutionalization."[4] This process of maintenance means stabilization against pressures to change the value system which may be called "pattern maintenance and tension management". Family, caste or kinship system etc., perform this function in the society.

Every social system functions in a situation defined as external to it. The process of interchange between system and situation is the foci of the second and the third major functional imperative of the system.[5]

The first interchange concerns the goal gratification or attainment, for an individual actor or for a social system. This refers to a relationship between a system of reference and one or more situational objects which (given the value system and its institutionalization.) **maximizes the stability of the system.**

To make it clear, we may state that to maintain the integrity and stability of the value system, various needs of individuals (which we may call as goals) will have to be satisfied in order of due precedence. And this goal attainment function will have to be performed within the frame of the institutionalized value system.

We can have only such goals which the value system permits us to have, and generally we cannot have such goals which are contrary to the value system because the value system is one that is being internalized by the individual through the process of socialization right from the childhood. The deviation leading to change would result only in cases of imperfect socialization or very powerful external influences (which would happen) only in cases of surrender or defeat in a war or influence of a major religion.

The polity as a subsystem will have to perform this function, if it desires stability in the society, because the function of goal attainment involves considerable competition and friction. It is therefore necessary to regulate the goal attainment function, by evolving certain rules and regulations and administering them properly.

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In a (modern) highly differentiated society, this function cannot be left to the mercy of social institutions alone. Hence the polity as a subsystem performs this function.

The second interchange deals with the problem of controlling the environment for purposes of attaining goal states. This is a more complex process wherein, control of resources, production and distribution of goods, is involved. Economy as a subsystem with its various branches performs this function (adaptation) by avoiding all conflicting situations.

The fourth functional imperative for a social system is to "maintain solidarity" in the relations between the units in the interest of effective functioning; this is the imperative of **system integration** which cuts across the other three functional imperatives.

The four fundamental system problems under which a system of action, in a particular social system, operates are, thus, (latent) pattern maintenance (including tension management), goal attainment, adaptation and integration. Every action system, whether it be a university, a business firm, or any other organization, if treated as an action system, will have to solve these four functional problems in order to keep the system going.

We can also determine the nature of a particular society or an action system, depending upon the emphasis laid on one or the other set of functional imperatives; for instance, an authoritarian (Russian), society can be indentified with a particular type of value system where pattern maintenance (with tension management), and integrative aspects are given prominence. Similarly a more liberal society (American) can be said to have adaptive and goal attainment primacy.

Weber emphasized how ascetic Protestantism encouraged a trusteeship attitude towards wealth, and a high level of saving for capital uses.[6]

In fact, Weber attributes the rise of western capitalism in the 18th and 19th centuries, to the values propounded by the spirit of protestant ethics, which was dominant during that period.

The foregoing exposition gives us a clear idea as to the way in which any action system functions within a social system.

Let us now turn our attention once again to the administrative problems facing our society.

Many Committees on this problem recommended various types of vigillance bodies to detect corruption etc. We should remember that these vigillance bodies are meant for catching the thieves and not to produce citizens who do not think of stealing. This may help us to patch up the wounds but not to heal them permanently.

The administrative deficiency which we find in our country, is not such a simple problem, to be dealt with by vigillance bodies and so forth. The problem calls for a deeper measure than this if we really want to build up an able and efficient administration. Because "under certain conditions, the national interest and the welfare of the ordinary citizen may be adversely affected, if there are serious or prolonged administrative failures within a state."[5]

The efficiency of the administration depends very much on the degree of impartiality and objectivity, with which those constituting the administration function.

Administrative efficiency is not a one-way traffic, the rule of law must be respected not only by the people but also by those in authority. That is why I pointed out repeatedly that a serious attempt should be made to reform our basic value system itself. Administration is only a part of our life and not something which is an outside element.

Perhaps, the decentralization in our administrative set up, which is being implemented through the scheme of Panchayati Raj, may provide a key to our administrative efficiency, if it is properly implemented. This may revolutionize the whole system of administration not because it is superior to the present system but because it reflects our traditional value pattern and thus provides opportunities for reorganization within the system rather than discard-

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the entire old pattern in the wake of ... influence.

Of course, I do not mean to suggest that introduction of Panchayati Raj will us something suddenly out of the blue. real fruits of Panchayati Raj, coupled a proper education system at the bottom careful guidance from the top would ubtedly be enjoyed after one or two rations, though not the present one, se the confusion created during the two or three centuries cannot be un- by a stroke of the pen.

1. Tarlok Singh, *Administrative Assumptions The Five Year Plans.* IJPA July|Sept. 1963. 336-1.

2. H. M. Patel—*The Outlook For The Future* IJPA July|Sept. 1963. Pp. 514-1.

3. Talcott Parsons and Neil J. Smelser, *Economy and Society*, Pp. 16-5.

4. Institutionalization refers to a socio-historical process which imbibes the value system in the minds of the people, which is different from an institution. Institutions are evolved on the basis of these institutionalized value patterns.

5. *Op. cit*, Pp. 16-2.

6. Cf. Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and Spirit of Capitalism*, p. 170.

7. For detailed analysis ref. "*Social System*" and "*Structure and Process in Modern Society*" by Talcott Parsons.

8. Tarlok Sing, *Op. cit*, Pp. 338-2.

ASSAM AND BENGAL

By Dr. KALIDAS NAG

Prof. Dr. SURYA KUMAR BHUYAN (1894-1964)

Recording our condolences and regards Assam's leading scholar-historian, we his family members and colleagues. ssor Bhuyan completed his school edu- in Nowgong and Gauhati (1901-11), joined the Presidency College (1911- Calcutta University Law College (1913- Taking Honours in English (1913), (1916) and then joining the London ersity, he took his Ph.D. (1938) and D. (1951) where he is remembered by Prof. well and others. His researches opened a chapter on Indian relations with Burma Indo-China which we claim as Greater today. Privileged to follow his re- ches, I record his significant contribu- gathered from the valuable "Biblio- phy" compiled by Dr. Banikanta Kakati got his Doctorate after submitting his to Prof. Suniti Kumer Chatterjee. ugh teaching English all his life he ed a new avenue with his essay on **Ahomar Din** or Ahom administration (1918) and Early British Relations with Assam (1928) which have been "classics" drawing the attention of world scholars to Assam as attested by eminent Assamologists like Sir Edward Gait, Lt. Col. P. R. T. Gurdon and Lt. Col. Sir Wolsely Haig, D. Dodwell and others. The Cambridge History of India records sympathetically Dr. Bhuyan's researches in many places and we in **Bengal** thank him for his **Essay** and **Poems** in **Bengali** as also for the wonderful "Typical Selections from Assamese Literature" printed by the pioneer **Zeal** for Indian vernaculars at the instance of Sir Asutosh Mookherjee and generosity of Sri Bholanath Barua, the merchant-phillanthropist of Assam. This volume will be remembered in this year of Sir Asutosh's Centenary.

I attended the Historical Congress of Lahore (1928) where Prof. Bhuyan read his valuable paper on "Assamese Historical Literature" appreciated by our learned President M. M. Haraprasad Sastri whom I accompanied upto Lahore suffering from

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leg-troubles. This paper was incorporated in his studies in the Literature of Assam. Then in 1936 when he joined the London School of Oriental Studies, appeared his Assamese Literature—Ancient and Modern, Shillong, 1936. His Ph. D. thesis was called Anglo-Assamese Relations (1771-1826). He was the founder and builder of the famous Kamrupa Anusandhan Samiti (1925-27) and Bulletin of the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies in Assam (1932) introduced by Sir Laurie Hammond, Governor of Assam (1934) and Sir Michael Keane, Gauhati 1934. In 1936, he edited the Bulletin of the D.H.A.S., **souvenir** of the opening of Narayani Handique Historical Institute. In 1957, the Centenary of our Calcutta University, when I published my Discovery of Asia, Dr. Bhuyan published a history of the invasion of Mir Jumla (1662-63) to the end of Assam-Mogul conflicts in 1982.

In 1958-61 he nobly served the Gauhati University as its Vice-Chancellor after serving as Provincial Director of Public Instruction (1948-58). Thus he served Assam for ages and all admirers of Assami art, culture and antiquities will thank the memories of Prof. S. K. Bhuyan. In 1920, when Dr. Tagore was preparing for the foundation of Viswa Bharati in Santiniketan he wrote Rabindranath Tagore a "Short Biography" and **antique** incorporated in **Jonaki**, 3rd. Edition, the first serious study on the Poet Laurate in Assam, for which I invited him to address the Bengali Association in New Delhi when we were serving the **Rajya Sabha** (1952-54).

A critical biography of the great Assamese Sanskritist, Anundoram Borooah was published in Gauhati (1920-1956).

His **Pancha-kali**, his **Bengali** poems of Calcutta College days, is still popular and we remember him for them. In Assamese he gave many books like Bilatat Baich Mah, (22 months in England, 1936-38) give useful details of his **life** and **contacts**. Hitherto unpublished yet long expected are Assam Buranjis, a Chronicle of Assam to be edited like the eleven chronicles already published. We also get the Letters exchanged between the Ahom Court and the Courts of Delhi, Bengal, Cooch Behar, Cachar, Jayantia, Tripura, Sylhet and other States.

As early as 1907-1917 he wrote Assamese poems **Nirmali** and **Assam-jiyari** (Assamese woman) led by Princess Jaymati (1920-1954); and Assamese Magazines like **Arunodaya**, Gauhati, and others. Many Assamese books were then printed in Calcutta press like Sanjivani, which exposed the evils of cooly labour in Assam Tea Gardens visited by Brahmo Labour leaders, whose reports should be reprinted by Independent Assam. Opium and other dangerous drugs were smuggled to China through Assam as reported by Rev. C. F. Andrews, Editor K. K. Mitra of **Sanjivani** and other Calcutta papers like **Prabasi, Modern Review** etc., of R. Chatterjee whose Centenary will, we hope, bring Bengal and Assam closer together. The Khasi girls got their College education in Calcutta Colleges which provide also for their training diplomas. German articles on Assam by Von Emil Jung, Kurt Klemm, Prof. W. Printz of Halle and Lotie Aurbach of Leipzig, published by Dr. Bhuyan. So I found many references in **French** also.

Biographical Note By Dr. Banikanta Kakati

Dr. Suryya Kumar Bhuyan was born in January 1894, at Fauzdari Patti in Nowgong, Assam. His father was the late Srijut Rabilal Bhuyan, 1870-1939; and his mother, the late Srijukta Bhubaneswari Bhuyan. On the 14th February 1917, Dr. Bhuyan married Miss Laksheswari Bhuyan, daughter of the late Srijut Binodchandra Bhuyan of village Garehaga in North Lakhimpur, Assam. They have six children: sons, Sriman Parvatikumar, Sriman Bhavanikumar, and Sriman Bijayakumar, daughters, Srimati Suala, Srimati Sitala, and Srimati Kamali. Miss Suala has been married to Sriman Indranath Hazarika of Sibsagar, in 1940; Miss Sitala to Sriman Bharatchandra Das of Rampur in Kamrup district, in 1946; and Sriman Bhavanikumar to Miss Devabala Barbara of Shillong and Golaghat, in 1948, Sriman Parvatikumar to Miss Nilima Barua of Golaghat, in 1957, Miss Kamali to Dr. Bhupendra Narayan Chowdhury (since died in 1960) in 1958.

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Sriman Bijayakumar to Miss Oley Bora Gauhati in 1963.

Dr. Bhuyan was educated at the Now- Government High School, 1901-04; ong Government High School, 1904-09; ion College, Gauhati, 1909-11; Presi- y College, Calcutta, 1911-15; University College, Calcutta, 1913-16; and the ol of Oriental Studies in London, 1936-

He passed the Entrance Examination of utta University in 1909; the Intermedi- Examination in Arts in 1911; the B.A. mination with Honours in English in ; the M.A. Examination in English rature in 1916; the Bachelor of Law mination in 1924; and the Ph.D. Exami- ation in the field of History, Faculty of London University, in 1938; and the mination for the D.Lit. degree of London versity in July, 1951.

Dr. Bhuyan was appointed Professor of glish at the Cotton College, Gauhati, on th July 1918; was placed on deputation Shillong in May-June 1930 for compiling port on the old records of the Assam ernment; was on Study Leave in Eng- d from 1936 to 1938, during which he rked at the old Assam records at the India e Library; Special University Officer to Government of Assam in 1940-41, and in 1947; Officiating Inspector of ools, Assam Valley Circle in 1941-42; ating Principal of the Cotton College ly-August 1946; whole-time Director of Department of Historical and Antiqua- Studies in Assam from January 1947; cipal of the Cotton College in Decem- 1947 which office he did not actually as he was then Director of the D.H.A.S.; ector of Public Instruction, Assam, 1948- retired from Government service on 31st March 1949; re-employed as Provin- Director of the D.H.A.S. from the 1st il 1949; re-employed as whole-time ector of the D.H.A.S. from the 1st May 1954; elected Vice-Chancellor of Gauhati University, 1958-61.

Dr. Bhuyan served as Honorary Secretary of the Kamarupa Anusandhan Samiti or the Assam Research Society, in 1921-22, and again in 1926-29; Honorary Assistant Director of the newly established Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, 1928-33; Corresponding Member of the Indian Historical Records Commission, 1928-47; Honorary Provincial Director of the D.H.A.S. since 1933: editor of the Cotton College Magazine in 1928-29, and again in 1933-34; Additional Lecturer in Assamese at the School of Oriental Studies, London University, 1936-38; Member of the Executive Council of Gauhati University in 1948, and again since June 1949; Member of the Selection Committee, Gauhati University, since June 1948; President of the Committee for the translation of the Indian Constitution into Assamese, December 1949; President of the Governing Body of the Nowgong College since February 1950; Vice-President of the Shillong Historical Society, November 1950; President of the Modern History Section, Indian History Congress, Gwalior, December 1952; Member of the Indian Parliament, Council of States, 1952-54; Member of the Regional Committee for the Compilation of the History of the Freedom Movement in India, 1953; President of Asam Sahitya Sabha, 1953-54; Member of the Gauhati University Committee for the revision of Chandrakanta Abhidhan, 1955; Chairman of the Regional Survey Committee under the auspices of the Indian Historical Records Commission, 1955; Member of the Committee appointed by the University Grants Commission and the Government of India Ministry of Education to consider the question of setting up a University for the North-Eastern Region of India, since December 1963; President of the Assam Academy for Cultural Relations, 1964.

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A PLEA FOR A FRIENDLY AND PEACEFUL FOREIGN POLICY

By SURESH RAM

SOMETIME after the Chinese aggression, a sympathetic Englishman called at the India Office in London and said to a senior Indian Official :

"In the Sino-Indian dispute, there is a lot of misunderstanding here about India. May I help you in any manner ?"

"No, thank you ! We are distributing literature received from India and we don't bother any more."

"Obviously, that's not enough. You have to give such stuff as may convince the people of the West."

"Well, that is not your look-out."

Changing the topic, the English friend inquired :

"Could I get some information about the activities of the peace movement of the Gandhian campaign in India ?"

"Peace ? Gandhi ? What are you talking of ? —of a bygone age. Modern India stands for arms and strong defence."

"True, but as a pacifist I am interested in Gandhi's or non-violent India."

"Sorry, I can't help you. We don't care to have any information about that."

After Kenya has celebrated her independence in December last, an African youth was having tea with an Indian friend in a cafe at Nairobi. They began to talk about the celebrations.

"They were very grand, "said the Indian.

"But your country seemed to treat it as a joke," remarked the African.

With surprise, the Indian asked. "How ? What makes you offer this criticism ?"

"Well, India was represented by a mere Deputy Minister."

"No, Mrs. Gandhi was also here."

"Yes, but she had no official capacity."

"Surely, as Prime Minister's daughter, she holds a very high place in Indian public life."

"How would you feel, "retorted the African," if Kenya sent the daughter of Mzee (as Mr. Jamo Kenyatta is affectionately known all over Kenya and Africa) at some important Indian function ?"

"But the thing is . . . ."

Before the Indian could finish his sentence, the African added,

"You are a very good people. But you suffer from a lot of arrogance and you think yourself holier than others."

A Burmese old man entered the shop of a Marwari at Rangoon. They were old friends and quite frank with each other. The Marwari businessman regretted that the new Government of Gen. Ne Win was so indifferent to Indian interests.

"No, that is not true," replied the Burmese. After a pause he added, "Baba ! The fault lies with you people. You will not trust anybody. Also you refuse to indentify yourself with the Burmese interests."

"What do you mean ?" inquired the Marwari."

"You know it much better than me. You will confine your business to your own people. You will not take the Burmese into partnership. You will keep yourself to your own community."

"What can we do ? It is for the Government of India to advise us."

"Good gracious, your Government takes its neighbours for granted. For months and months we don't have any Indian Ambassador in Burma. Perhaps we don't deserve one."

"That is not the case, Pt. Nehru has a very soft corner for Burma."

"His is an exceptional case, no doubt. We also admire Nehru. But certainly he had no time to go into details. Consequently, India's image suffers."

These three incidents relating to 1962 and 1963 speak for themselves. They reveal how our foreign policy is misunderstood abroad, how our officials behave and how our people are looked at. Little wonder that we do not enjoy very happy relationship with our neighbouring countries and none is so poor in Africa or the West as to do us reverence. A victim of self-delusion, we refuse to see ourselves as others see us and seem to

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...ing a curious conceit and complacency which ...d to widen the gulf between our professions ...d practice. Add to this the fact that we go ...h a begging bowl from one capital to another ...r money, meterial, know-how and arms. It is a ...y sad picture indeed. The time has now come ...n our External Affairs should be gone into in ...ils and set in proper order. It is in the very ...ess of things that Sri Lal Bahadur Shastri, ...Prime Minister, has relieved himself of this ...folio and entrusted it to Sri Swaran Singh, ...o with his keen insight and balanced approach ...d cool thinking, is amply fitted for this task.

History will always remember Pandit ...harlal Nehru, for giving India and the world ...celebrated doctrine of *"Panch-Sheel."* It is ...the External Affairs Ministry now to rise to ...height of the occasion and make it a living ...h. Much depends on our officers in the ...istry and our Embassies abroad. Unhappily, ...t of them exercise no initiative and just like ...ead a rich life in the rich capitals of the ...t. Any talk of Gandhi, peace or non-violence ...anathema to them. In fact as an English ...d told me, "The Indian abroad is the ...atest enemy of Gandhian thinking or action."

But it will be unfair to blame the official ...e for it. He looks towards Delhi and dittoes ...fine. Also he does not exert himself much, ...he is rather unhappy. As an official once told ...e "Our tragedy is that promotions in Delhi ...based not on work and merit but on source ...recommendation! "Very painful indeed!" ...ther Senior official remarked, "It is only the ...dura (wastage) of the I.C.S. that goes into the External Affairs Ministry." Nothing can be more dreadful.

Thus it is the responsibility of the new Minister for External Affairs to transform this picture. The officials have not only to be given reorientation but also to be taken into confidence. This brings us to the question of over all policy in external affairs. So far we have either bowed low before some countries, treated some as "below" us, regarded some as "enemy," and shown indifference to others. In fine, we have not established relationships of real equality and friendship with any, the exceptions proving the general rule.

This attitude must go. Be any country big or small, rich or poor, white or black or brown or yellow, we have to nurse friendly contacts with and generate brotherly confidence in them. Once we decide to act in this direction, the whole atmosphere would change and we will be having happy and smooth relationships with all countries, far and near.

Above all, our foreign policy must be inspired with a mission. We must not only talk of peace but also prepare for peace, encourage peace, encourage peace efforts the world over, and begin to generate peaceful strength. This mad rush for armaments from abroad or from factories within the country, would take us nowhere. Let us be bold enough to declare our devotion to peace and our readiness to build up the Power of Peace. With the two wings of Peace and Friendship, the bird of our External Affairs Policy will be able to roar higher and higher and command the respect and attention of all nations of the world.

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BOOK REVIEWS

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RESURGENT INDIA : By Sisirkumar Mitra, Allied Publishers Private Ltd., India, 1963.

Modern cultural historians tend to over-specialize or over-generalize : we have surveys of civilization based on a single concept, say the Greek concept of man and nature, or we have panoramas where no unique achievements, national or personal, are given particularity. Above all, we need a perspective which includes both the intensive focus and the wider horizon of events. The clarity provided by accurate research in a specified field of biography or in the freedom movement in one sector of the human race should meet and be sustained by the whole view of humanity.

"Resurgent India" is a significant contribution to the interpretive history of Indian civilization—particularly of the modern era—because it connects the story of India with its many parts, and also with contemporaneous humanity. Art, politics, international conflicts and concord, philosophical trends and epochs of decline and growth are here held together in a fabric which seeks to reveal the whole design. Obviously, the author's main concern is to offer a spiritual evaluation; he uses some of India's unique religious and intuitional approaches, more specifically the approach provided by one of the great spiritual and intellectual masters of modern India. But this book is also a powerful attempt to substantiate India's manifold and unitive history with materials drawn from scholarly archives. The chapter on "World-Wide Upsurge" is a brilliant example : here we find a blend of keen national sense, largely due to the author's personal contacts with some of the greatest architects of new India, and also an international understanding that can draw from many events that belong to man's wider nationhood.

The reviewer will notice reiterations, some very glaring omissions, but the passionate sincerity, the intensity of the author's convictions, his sensitive response to art and thought and poetry, his glowing faith in India's destiny and its powerful impress on the world mind, will compel the reader's attention. A noble document, this book combines the testimony of faith with a concern for the true communication of India's authentic and emergent ideals.

Amiya Chakravarty

DOCUMENT ON CHINA'S RELATION WITH SOUTH AND SOUTH-EAST ASIA : 1949-1962, Edited By G. V. Ambekar and V. D. Divekar. Publishers. Allied Publishers Private Ltd., Bombay, New Delhi, Calcutta, Madras, London, New York, 1964. Rs. 30.00 only.

The volume under notice is a collection of documents, as the title gives out, numbering 179 collected from various original sources and meant to present a true and correct perspective about the People's Republic of China's relations with the South and South-East Asian countries and covers the period from 1949 to the end of 1962. The contents of this book have been divided into ten different sections—each section representing one outstanding issue in modern China's foreign policy. The sections have been classified as follows : (1) General Principles of foreign policy, (2) On Afro-Asian Solidarity, (3) Measures for containing Communism, (4) Problem of boundaries, (5) Over-seas Chinese, (6) Economic and Trade relations, (7) Formosa, (8) Korea, (9) Tibet and (10) Laos.

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In international affairs, the emergence of Communist China during the last fifteen years as a major political power has posed serious and challenging problems to the Asian countries particularly and the book must be acknowledged as indispensable to students of Asian polities in general and People's Republic of China's foreign relations in particular. Students of international relations should know the aims, objectives and policies which provide the breeding ground for China's policies, besides knowing the curren events. In this regard this book will help the students interested in today's China and her international relations. It will surely be interesting to observe how the Communist leaders of China use the same phrases as non-communist democratic countries but giving a totally different and in most cases reverse connotations.

Some of the documents deal with the over-all Chinese problems, the question of dual nationality and the long and elaborate correspondence with Indonesia on this particular subject. It will be found very interesting to see the interminable correspondence on multifarious issues which leave the reader in doubt regarding the final solution of the problem.

In this collection boundary treaties of China with Burma, Nepal and Pakistan have been included and on the India-China boundary dispute the collectors had to select from the voluminous correspondence between the two countries. To make the picture complete the editors of this collection found it necessary to select and incorporate the documents which refer to events which take place either before or after the period 1949-1962. This is quite justifiable and will help the reader considerably to understand the situation.

This is undeniably the very first attempt to bring in one book the documents on China's relations with the Asian countries, specially of those in close propinquity with China. The documents are selected with great care keeping in view the basis of their inportance both in point of fact and also because of their illustrative value, and we have no hesitation in saying that it will serve as a very good reference book not only to students but also to statesmen. The Editors deserve all praise for the great labour they had to undergo to bring out such a book, specially at this time, when India-China relations are most unhappy, posing a great danger to the freedom loving countries at large.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE—By George E. G. Catlin. Allied Publishers Private Ltd., Bombay, Calcutta, etc. Price Rs. 5.50.

The book comprises the lecture delivered by Prof. E. G. Catlin before the Royal Society of Arts, Royal India, Pakistan and Ceylon Society and the Royal Commonwealth Society in London on 9th May, 1961.

Prof. Catlin, within the limited compas of 46 Pages, has analysed the political and literary aspects of the writings of Tagore and he has done it with the perception and sensibility of a savant. Prof. Catlin, it should be mentioned here, has been a distinguished friend of India and it was he who drafted the International Declaration, (of 1943), in support of Indian Independence.

The author rightly says that—"Rabindranath Tagore was not a politician and did not claim to be an economist. He was far rather the spiritual leader. The Poet was also a Seer. To ignore this side of him is like seeing the body and the flowing robas, but failing to observe the head." Tagore "protested with all his heart against human civilization being shaped and considered, archetypally, upon the pattern of what fitted most efficiently into the requirements of Heavy Industry . . . ." which India has adopted today in imitation of the West. Lastly the author observs "Despite whatever may be said by critics, both of style and of literary fashions, 'the Great Sentinel,' the poet of India, the humanist and world citizen, peer in his own fashion of Dante, Erasmus and Goethe"—will remain immortal in his own right. This book shows how deep and sincere is the respect—the author entertains for Tagore. The author feels that "it is an honour to pay homage to him (Tagore)"—and he has achieved this in a very remarkable manner. This is a neat little publication, and is sure to be interesting reading to all classes of readers of literature, politics and social philosophy.

C. H. K.

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Indian Periodicals

The Twilight of the Planners

Writing for the *Indian Libertarian* under the above caption William Henry Chamberlin analyses the shortcomings and failures of State planning for economic development which should be of more than ordinary interest in the context of the current Indian Scene :

The idea that authoritative state planning of economic life is the road to swift, efficient national development is the grand illusion of the twentieth century. Would-be planners are a stubborn breed and do not give up easily. But, on the record of practical results, the prestige of planning has never been so low. The pragmatic value of such essential instruments of a free economy as the unhampered operation of the free market and the maintenance of an international system of free exchange convertibility has never been so high. Planning, of course, substitutes the arbitrary judgment of bureaucrats for the infinitely surer guideline of market demand as to what manufactured articles and commodities, and how much, should be produced.

The recovery of Europe from postwar devastation to its present state of booming prosperity would never have taken place if early reliance on rationing, bilateral trade, government allocation of resources had not been scrapped and replaced by the normal methods of a free economy. And in this connection much credit is due to such statesmen as Ludwig Erhard in Germany, Reinhard Kamitz in Austria, the late Luigi Einaudi in Italy, and to truly liberal (not left "liberal") economists, such as Jacques Rueff, Wilhelm Roepke, the late Walter Eucken, and last but far from least, the late Per Jacobsson who by their writings and official and unofficial reports strongly influenced the return to traditional economic wisdom.

Jacobsson was a mighty battler against the dangers of inflation and the fallacies of "dirigism," the European word for state directed economy. His reports for the Bank for International Settlements in Basel were beacon lights of common-sense realism. And in the post which he occupied until his death as Secretary-General of the International Monetary Fund he was able to strike many blows for three basic economic freedoms, free movement of men, money, and goods across frontiers.

Jacobsson's contacts as representative of the IMF included the leading statesmen of Europe ; and the transformation of the French franc from one of the softest currencies in Europe to one of the hardest may be, at least in part, the result of one of his talks with General de Gaulle. He recalled the fact that not the least of Napoleon's achievements was the creation of a stable French currency, an achievement which long outlasted his empire. De Gaulle showed lively interest at the mention of the name of Napoleon and shortly after this talk measures were put into effect which stopped the continual erosion in the value of the franc.

Another military head of state, General Franco of Spain, proved amenable to the arguments of Erhard and Rueff, whom he had invited to Spain to offer advice as to how best to revive the Spanish economy, which had been limping along under a good deal of government interventionism. Controls were abolished or relaxed, the currency was stabilized, tourists flocked into the country in increasing numbers, and exports boomed.

All over the world there are dozens of concrete illustrations of the immediate visible benefits that accrue when planning and control are tossed overboard and the economy is permitted to function freely. One of the latest is in the Philippines where there were strikingly favorable results when President Macapagal decided to take a chance on freedom, struck off controls, and left the national currency, the peso, free to sink or swim. Its head was kept above water and Philippine exports and the entire economy visibly gained as freer relations prevailed in national and international trade.

Problems in India

Another underdeveloped Asian country, India, has followed the different road of planning, and the results, despite vast injections of American economic aid, have not been encouraging, to put it mildly. A very distinguished Indian economist, Professor B. R. Shenoy, had who has served his country on several international agencies, in recent lectures and articles in the United picture

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of the failure of planning in India to promote the general welfare.

An extreme concentration on heavy industry, to the neglect of India's basic occupation, agriculture, has saddled the country with white elephants—or, as Professor Shenoy calls them, with reference to a famous Indian memorial palace, Taj Mahals—expensive to build and keep up and producing goods which could be purchased far more cheaply abroad. The social objectives of India's three five-year plans, improvement of living conditions for the masses of the people, and reduction of unemployment, have not been realized. Per capita consumption of food is below the ration allotted to prisoners in jail and the per capita consumption of cloth, another indicator of general well-being, has declined. Expansion in employment has not kept pace with the birth rate.

And, although Prime Minister Nehru and his colleagues are committed to a somewhat vaguely defined Indian socialism, the effect of the planned, controlled economy has been to enrich the bureaucracy and the businessmen who get in on the ground floor of the big racket of paying necessary bribes for import licences which may be sold on the illegal market. To quote Professor Shenoy in The New Individualist Review :

Freedom-loving people, in the name of preserving and spreading freedom, are unwittingly financing and otherwise sustaining socialist policies which thus far—sensational projects and scheme apart—have yielded little else than social injustice, unemployment, poverty, and conflict. Though the Indian planners and their overseas supporters are full of promises and hope, these policies can hold out prospects of nothing better for the future. Statist policies in India might have been abandoned long ago, but for the intervention of foreign aid, which kept the coffers of the prodigal replenished as they became depleted, the moral support lent to statist policies by visiting "experts" from overseas, and the colossal gains in money and power which these policies yield to the politician and civil servant.

The Indian planners are repeating a blunder which Soviet planners committed in the first years of the Bolshevik Revolution. At that time, when Russian was terribly devastated by the consequences of World War I, violent revolution, and civil war, Trotsky and other communist leaders, with the co-operation of some theoretical economists, worked out a blueprint for recovery based on the restoration first of all of transportation and heavy industry, with satisfaction of consumer desires given a later priority.

This scheme broke down under the pressure of hard realities. With hunger stalking the cities and famine in large rural areas, Lenin reversed course by declaring the New Economic Policy, which amounted, in substance, to freeing the peasants from the compulsory requisitions of war communism and allowing agriculture and small industry to revive before tackling the reconstruction of such industries as iron and steel and machine building. This is only one of many examples of the topsy-turvy effect to trying to regulate economic activity by bureaucratic planning.

India has at least not gone the full way to totalitarianism, with its destruction of all freedom of speech and press and expression. Professor Shenoy makes no secret of his views, but retains his post as director of the School of Social Sciences at Gujarat University in Ahmedabad. A freedom Party, headed by the veteran nationalist political figure, C. Rajagopalachari, is able to function and its organ, *Swarajya* ("Freedom") keeps up a drumfire of criticism, of which the following excerpt from an article by Rajagopalachari is a good example :

Nationalization does not reduce costs. Experience has amply demonstrated this. We can imagine that by saving profits we can reduce costs. But the actual cost including wastage increases when there is no room for the profit motive. This has been seen in numberless cases by the Public Accounts Committee of Parliament. The market economy involves profits as well as losses. The hope of profits attracts enterprise and capital. Loss punishes inefficiency, error, and lapse of attention, and it is the individual who suffers, not the taxpayers. Efficiency is screened by the profit and loss system and those winning through are more efficient managers of resources than persons advanced to managerial positions by politicians. Going back to the cliche quoted in the beginning, if we remove the hope of profit we shall not alleviate distress or misfortunes, but only increase them.

Mistake of the Red Chinese

The disastrous effects of despotic state planning, unalleviated by any semblance of free political institutions, are most visible in Red China. While gullible visitors may bring back rose-coloured impressions from carefully guided and controlled trips and while the Chinese Reds, like Mussolini, seem to have made the trains run on time and cleaned up to some extent the sketchy sanitation of the cities, there is one popular verdict on Chinese communism which no thoughtful student can disregard. This is the

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flight to Chinese, many of them poor and unskilled labourers, to the haven of enterprise, Hong Kong—a movement on a never duplicated in China in pre-communist times.

It is difficult to exaggerate the misfortunes economic planning, carried out by ignorant inexperienced bureaucrafts, has brought to long-suffering Chinese people. There have mass uprootings of human beings, originally purpose of bringing peasants to work on trial and transportation projects. Then, it was necessary to cut back industrial production sharply after the withdrawal of Soviet mic aid, the same people were thrown back villages, where there was neither work land for them.

In the "Great Leap Forward," the result of was that the Chinese economy only escaped neck by large-scale purchases of grain capitalist Canadian and Australian farmers Here famine conditions, there were countless rities of direction from above. There was tic effort to force people to make steel in own backyards with the aid of home forges. surprisingly, the output all proved worth-Deep plowing, unsuitable and destructive China's rice field, was ordered from above forced against the practical experience of peasants. A water conservation program, undertaken without proper geological study, led to lining of canals in unsuitable places, which large areas of arable land alkaline.

Africa, Take Note

Whereas the failures of private enterprise loss only to private individuals, the failures compulsory state planning lower the standard living for the whole population. This was clear Emmanuel John Hevi, a student from Ghana. spent over a year in Red China and came with a very different impression from that the Chinese, hoping to send him back to as an indoctrinated communist, had aimed him. His book is full of concrete examples of overwork and undernourishment of the people, of incredibly shoddy goods turned state factories, of extraction from the of 70 per cent of their produce in Mr. Hevi sums up his case as follows:

Exploitation of man by man may have been in Red China; but in its place they exploitation of man by the state. That is socialism . . . I think three major factors led to China's present plight: first, a agricultural policy; secondly, the over-taxing of the peasants; and thirdly a frantic haste to industrialize, partly for internal economic reasons, but partly, also, to impress the world, and the consequent excessive emphasis on heavy industry, to the neglect and detriment of other sectors of national development.

Similar colossal blunders of state planning have taken place in the Soviet Union and its european satellite states. One of the biggest in recent years in Russia was Khrushchev's decision to put in grain crops on naturally arid lands in Central Asia, better suited to grazing. Now, it seems, this is being reconsidered, after the Soviet Union found itself obliged to order large supplies of grain from the unplanted economies of Canada, Australia, and the United States.

The record of the part of Germany under Soviet control, the so-called German Democratic Republic, is also studded with miscalculation, involving big wastage of labour and capital investment. Considerable effort was devoted to enlarging the harbour of Rostock, on the Baltic Sea. But Rostock is a port without an economic hinterland.

No Method of Calculation

One of the many defects of a planned economy is that it affords no means of determining what the cost of any product or service should be. And one of the surest signs that this is the twilight of the planners is the groping around, even in communist-ruled countries, for some effective substitute for the pricing which the free market, when allowed to function, performs smoothly and efficiently. A Soviet economist named Liberman has offered several suggestions pointing in this direction; but Khrushchev, vascillating between centralization and decentralization of his cumbersome apparatus of state economic administration, cannot make up his mind whether these can be applied without departing from Marxist doctrine. When I visited Yugoslavia some years ago a communist editor, explaining the attempt to give more autonomy in production and marketing decisions to individual enterprises, remarked: "We are trying to create capitalism—without capitalists."

Planning is advocated on the ground that some problems are too big and difficult to be solved without an element of state direction and compulsion. In this connection two experiences are worth recalling John Steinbeck, in *The Grapes of Wrath*, gives a moving picture of how some poverty-stricken and drought-ridden farmers in Oklahoma pulled up stakes and travelled of greener pastures. On a visit to Southern California I asked what had become of these

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"Okies." "Oh, most of them have become substantial citizens, holding good jobs," was the reply. Would it have been better for the "Okies" if some planning agency had possessed the power to tell them where to go, what kind of work to take up ?

More recently, in the immediate aftermath of the war, the German Federal Republic faced an "Okie" problem many times multiplied. Between ten and fifteen million Germans and people of German origin, natives of the German provinces which were turned over to Poland, of the Soviet Zone, of Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Romania, driven by force from their homes or fleeing before the advancing Soviet armies or not wishing to live under communist rule, came pouring in a destitute tide of migration into the shrunken frontiers of Free Germany. The social and economic crisis might well have been regarded as demanding state intervention. But Economics Minister Erhard had made his bet on freedom. The expellees were given food and shelter, but were left free to choose their own places of settlement and forms of work. And today there not an unemployed refugee left in Germany and the danger cloud of an embittered pauperized minority has passed entirely from the horizon.

Put to the test of practical results, economic freedom wins over state planning hands down everywhere, under all circumstances. And planning, even in totalitarian states, has entered the twilight zone off request and demonstrated failure.

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Foreign Periodicals

Nehru

Man and Symbol : A Fragmentary Appre- writing in the *Saturday Review* under above caption, Editor Norman Cousins gives a view of Nehru which would, we are be regarded as both unusual and refresh-

He was not one man but a procession of men. you witnessed a national hero, states- philosopher, historian, author, educator.

He was also a triumphant assortment of lives. He was a supreme rationalist who ruled over a nation with the most pervasive complex religious makeup in the world.

He was an intellectual product of Western tradition who was accepted as symbolic leader many hundreds of millions of Asians and who feared the West.

He was an accomplished logician who lived intimate terms with the imponderables and ables.

He was an avowed optimist who found it hard to keep from brooding.

He had sensitivities so finely attuned that he could be jarred by the slightest vibrations, but able to make history-jolting decisions.

He believed the highest function of the state to help develop the individuality of the individual, but no nation in the world contained many natural obstacles to the emergence of individuality as the nation he governed for teen years.

With such a man, you cannot essay a full tation or appreciation. The best you can do pursue certain qualities and attributes.

First, the courage of the man.

August 1947. With national independence partition of the subcontinent between India Pakistan, four hundred and fifty million became caught up in a vast convulsion. and Moslems, with a long history of between them, became part of a chain of violence and horror. No one knows many died. But 12,000,000 people became Rumors of atrocities and actual atro- interacted to produce a spiraling madness. For a while, the situation was relatively in New Delhi, with its large Moslem population. Then, suddenly, the storm broke. Late one night a Hindu mob, inflamed by stories of Moslem terror to the northwest, swept into Connaught Circle, the main shopping area in New Delhi. The rioters smashed their way into Moslem stores, destroying and looting and ready to kill.

Even before the police arrived in force, Jawaharlal Nehru was on the scene. He plunged into the crowd in the darkness, trying to bring people to their senses. He spied a Moslem who had just been seized by Hindus. He interposed himself between the man and his attackers.

Suddenly a cry went up : "Jawaharlal is here ! Jawaharlal is here ! Don't hurt Jawaharlal !"

The cry spread through the crowd. It had a magical effect. People stood still and dropped their arms to their sides. Looted merchandise was dropped. The mob psychology disintegrated. By the time the police arrived people were dispersing. The riot was over.

The next day, friends rushed to Nehru, admonishing him for exposing himself to a mob at the height of its frenzy.

"You could have been killed," one of them said. "Then what ?"

"That's for you to determine," he replied quietly. "Many others could have been killed last night. Then what ?"

The human quality of the man.

January 1951. Sunday. The desk clerk at the Imperial Hotel in New Delhi handed us a message. It was from Miss Sindhi at the Prime Minister's House. The P.M. was having some people over that afternoon and hoped we could come. Nothing special. Just relaxed talk.

Primed for a long bull session on philosophy and politics, we arrived at the P.M.'s house at about three o'clock. Mr. Nehru was at the door, greeting his guests. He seemed to be in excellent spirits. We were ushered to a large enclosed veranda. We looked around the room and recognized Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, the eminent philosopher and vice-president of India ; also, Shiva Rau, prominent author and long-time friend of the Prime Minister. Among the other guests to whom we were introduced were two cabinet ministers and a justice.

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Mr. Nehru came into the room, his young grandson riding his shoulders, kicking grandpa's ribs and demanding more speed.

"The gallop comes later," Mr. Nehru said, hoisting the boy over his head and placing him on the floor. He told the youngster he had a surprise for him. "In fact, I've got a surprise for everyone. This afternoon we shall all have a good time. I've arranged for entertainment."

The entertainer was a magician who went through a bewildering assortment of tricks. He caused long knives to turn into short knives, wine to turn into milk, and he made a chicken emerge from a paper cup. Then he demonstrated his accuracy with a bow and arrow, hitting a vertical thread at about twenty feet. Finally, he invited a member of the company to step forward. Mr. Nehru, enjoying himself hugely, prodded the Finance Minister into joining the act.

As soon as the Finance Minister discovered he was to be a living prop in a latter-day version of a William Tell episode, he seemed to waver somewhat. Mr. Nehru gently chided him into going on with the act. The Finance Minister was seated in a chair directly above which, six inches from his head, a circular wreath was suspended by several thin threads.

The magician announced that with one arrow he would sever all the threads, causing the wreath to fall around the Finance Minister's distinguished shoulders. Almost as an afterthought, he added that he would perform this feat while blindfolded.

Mr. Nehru spoke up.

"They tell me that good finance ministers are hard to find these days," he said. "I don't know whether we ought to allow him to go through with this."

The magician clapped for silence, put on his blindfold, picked up his bow, tested its tautness, and inserted the arrow. Then he paused and, still blindfolded, paced off the steps to his target, groping and stumbling on the way. Finally, he retraced his steps, assumed his battle station, and raised the bow and arrow.

"No, no," Mr. Nehru cried. "You're aiming at the wrong man! You're aiming at the justice. We can't afford to lose *him*. The man you want is about sixty degrees to the left."

Suddenly, the magician let fly. The arrow pierced the strings and the garland fell neatly over the shoulders of the Finance Minister, who, suddenly released from his encounter with nonfiscal suspense, joined in the general laughter.

After a while, the group exchanged stories. The Prime Minister presided over the ice cream and punch bowl, the youngster at his side tugging at grandpa's pants and asking when he could have a fast horseback ride.

The closest anyone got to serious talk was when Mr. Nehru told of a visit he had had the previous day from an old school chum who was now a wealthy industrialist.

According to the Prime Minister, the industrialist came up to him and complained that things had gone much too far. Taxes were crippling him and something had to be done about it. He said he had to pay a stiff tax on his private house in New Delhi. He also had to pay a tax on his hunting estate. As if this were not enough, he had to pay a tax on a house he kept in Bangalore. But worst of all was the tax he had to pay on his beach home in Juhu.

"Now I ask you, Jawaharlal, how do you expect me to keep up these houses with taxes like this?"

"Have you ever considered giving up a house or two?" Nehru asked.

"Now, what kind of advice is this to give a life-long friend?" the man asked.

The group laughed.

"What makes the story so ironic," Mr. Nehru said, "is that here I am, fighting back legislation to confiscate luxurious property, and this chap wants me to give him a tax refund. I suppose each man has to have his own dream world."

In this manner the afternoon passed. After the farewells, Dr. Radhakrishnan offered to drive us back to the hotel.

Inside the car, Dr. Radhakrishnan said we had just seen a side of Nehru that few people knew.

"There is something eternally young, even boyish, about the P.M.," he said, "People tend to think of him as a man lost in brooding, not even knowing how to laugh. Not so; he loves to laugh, as we have seen. It is very good for the nation that he can laugh. It helps to freshen his spirits. The important thing about Nehru is that he continues to think young. A man like this can never grow old. He will never look old, no matter how old he is. But he must take better care of himself. He works too hard."

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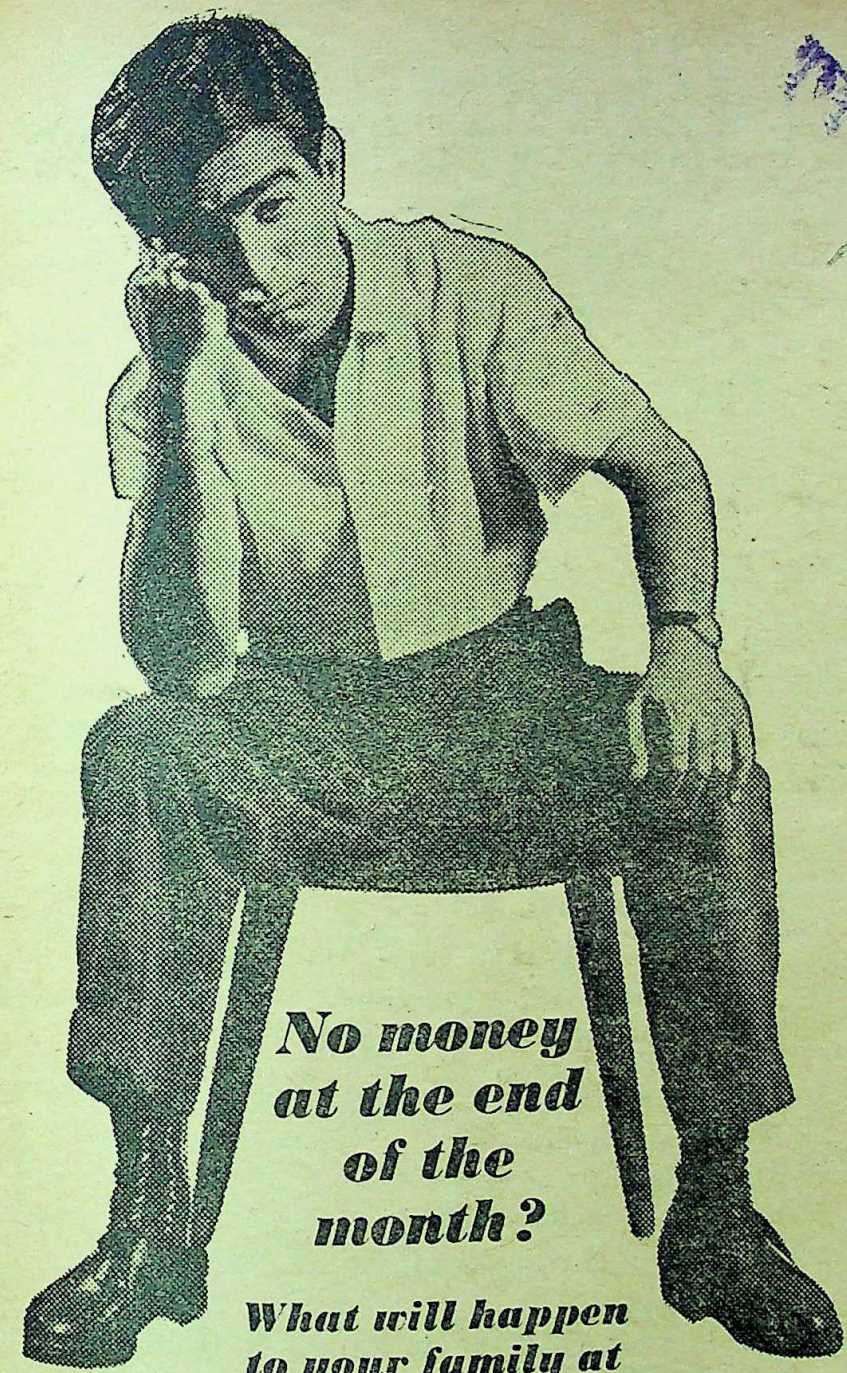

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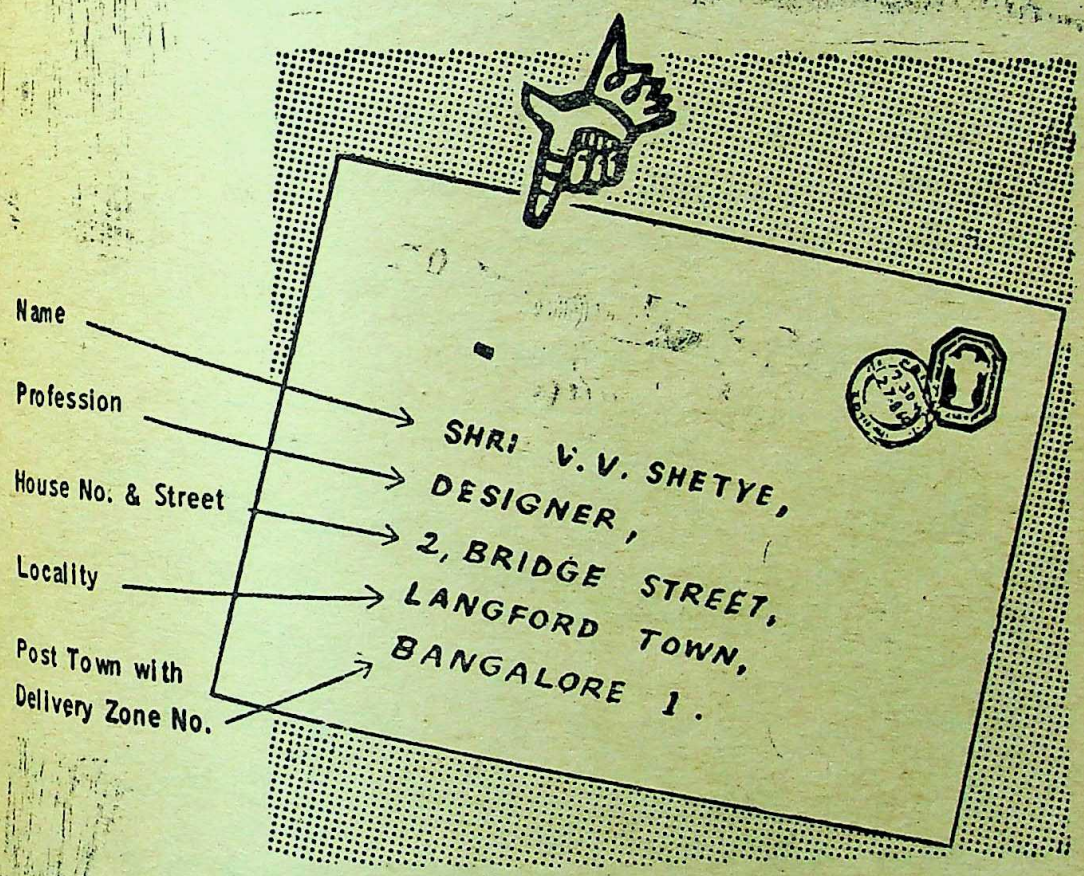

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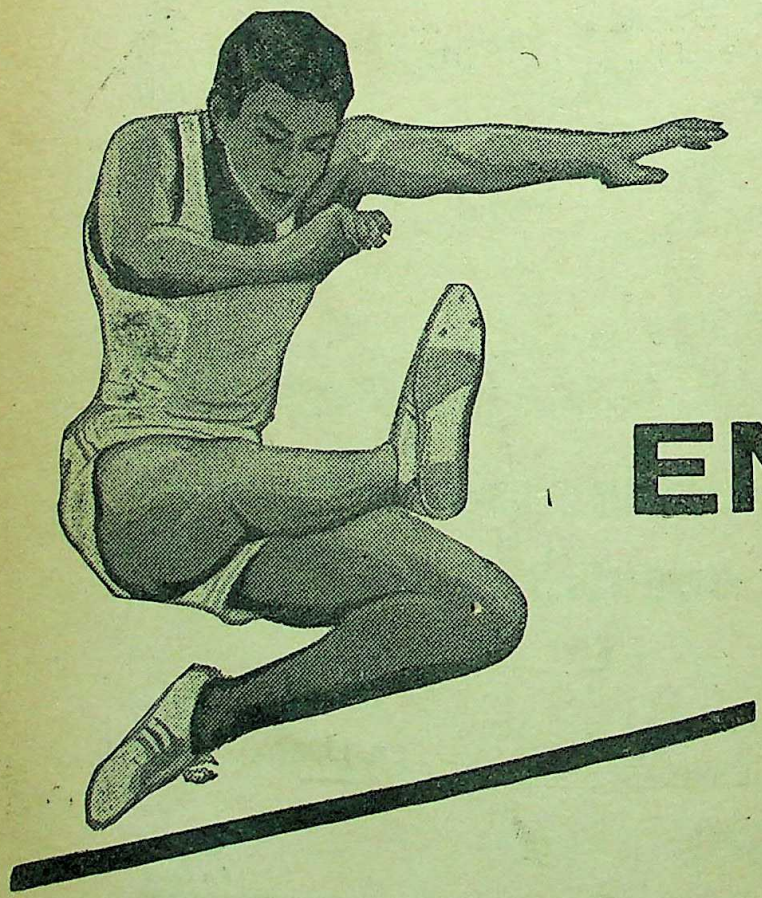

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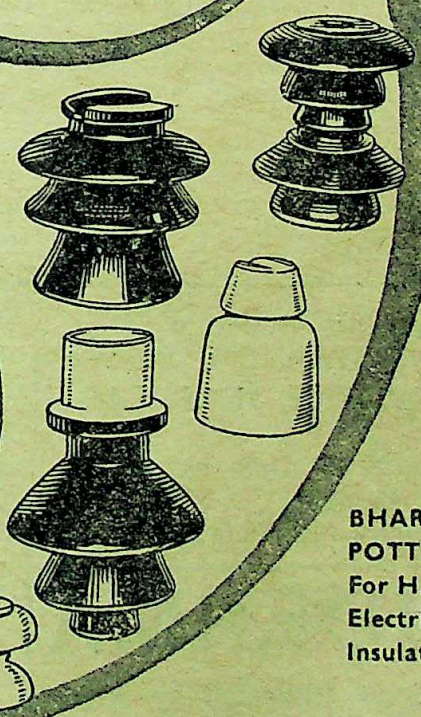

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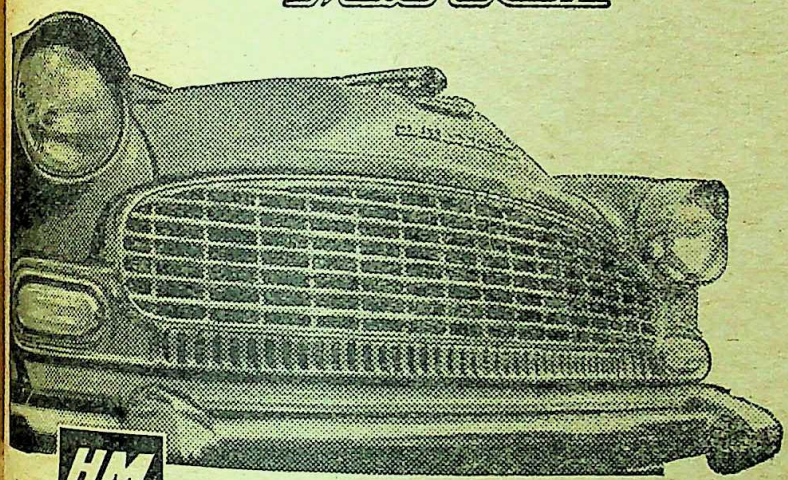

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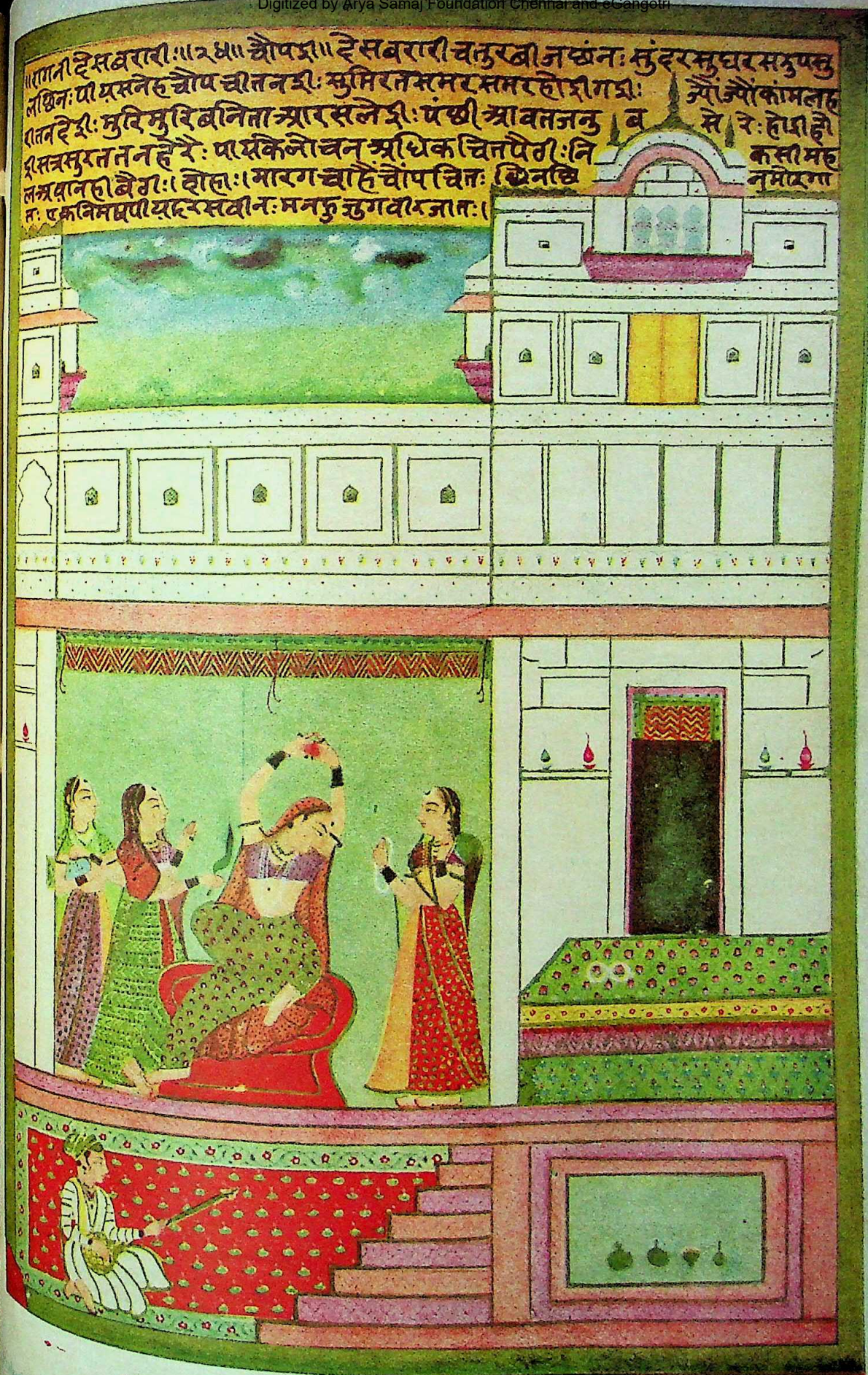

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OCTOBER 1964

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NOTES

The World

The critical tensions still remain in the major trouble-spots in the international sphere. Besides the six places where a shooting war or rebellion, with international complications, is either in progress or in a state of temporary lull, there are a large number of areas where active feuds are in progress.

In Cyprus President Makarios has recently made a conciliatory gesture by lifting his blockade of the starving Turkish patriot village of Kokkina, and letting in supplies of food and water to reach it. The inhabitants of Kokkina refused to accept President Makarios' own gift of nine tons of foodstuffs but supplies from other sources are pouring in.

President Makarios has evidently decided that it would not be feasible or possible to carry out his programme of shooting and starving the Turkish minorities in Cyprus to the point of subjugation or extinction. The strong reaction from Turkey has evidently made him see reason, despite promises of help from the Soviets, Greece and the U.A.R. Greece has expressed its disapproval of the drastic and inhuman measures followed by President Makarios. Makarios himself is now thinking of abandoning the idea of Enosis as that would deprive him of all hopes of Soviet aid, Greece being a member of the NATO. There is a dormant stage of the crisis prevailing now. But still the U.N.O. peacemaker, Ecuador's ex-President Gallo Plaza Lasso's mediation makes further progress, particularly in regard to the rotation of the Turkish forces stationed in Cyprus, the disputes cannot be said to have reached the point of total eradication and the chances of a major flare-up with international complications worsening cannot as yet be totally ruled out.

In the Congo the tribal rebellion seems to be petering out and air-reconnaissance is said to have shown rebel forces pulling out of several towns and heading north to their last major stronghold at Stanleyville. The rebels have inflicted enormous damage and destruction wherever they have been and they have slaughtered most of the people who could read or write. As a result even though Premier Tshombe might have been successful in crushing the rebellion with the aid of white mercenaries, he would have an appalling task left to him where rebuilding and resettlement of one-third of Congo is concerned.

In Yemen, there has been another attempt to settle the tangled affairs of that small state through peaceful negotiation. Negotiations between Prince Feisal of Saudi Arabia and U.A.R.'s President Gamal Abdel Nasser is said to have reached an agreement. The terms of the agreement, as given in a joint communique, say that Prince Feisal of Saudi Arabia and President Nasser of the U.A.R. had agreed to fully co-operate . . . . in order to reach a peaceful solution of the problems in the Yemen." It says that President Nasser had promised to withdraw some of the Egyptian troops that are supporting the Yemeni Republican Government

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in return for the stoppage of Prince Feisal's support to the displaced King, Imam Mohammed el Badr. There have been agreements like the present one before, and not one of them has been implemented in full; hence the sorry state of affairs there. It is to be seen what transpires on this occasion.

In Malayasia, the mopping up operations against the para-troopers and commandos still continue. There is again some talk about the resumption of negotiations for a peaceful settlement. Tungku Abdul Rahman, the Premier of Malayasia, has said that he is agreeable, provided Indonesia withdraws all her forces, guerillas and irregulars of other types included, from Malayasian territories, as a preliminary. In the Security Council of the U.N. Malayasia's complaint against the continuous warlike actions of Indonesia on Malayasian soil was being considered from all angles. The attempts at a peaceful Afro-Asian solution were led by the Ivory Coast representative Arsene Assouan Usher. Failing those a Norwegian sponsored resolution, deploring the actions of the Indonesians, who had admitted their aggression on the Council floor. Nine nations, including the two Afro-Asians in the Council, voted for the resolution which was finally blocked by the Russians casting their first veto in more than a year.

In South Vietnam, another **coup** was staged on the 13th of September. This, the third since November '63, when President Ngo Dinh Diem was overthrown by General Duong Van Minh, was led by a disgruntled army General Lam Van Phat, a Roman Catholic, who had been appointed Interior Minister previously and had been dismissed just prior to the **coup** by the present Premier Nguyen Khanh. The rebel troops and tanks swept into Saigon on the morning of September 13, headed by another disgruntled army Commander Col. Huynh Van Ton and the **coup** was on. But next day, to the surprise of all onlookers, the **coup** fizzled out and Khanh was back in power!

There has been a report, vague and murky like the stormy waters of the Gulf of Tonkin at night, of another brush with North Vietnamese craft, from the U.S. naval forces consisting of two destroyers, "on a routine patrol in international waters." The incident is said to have taken place on the night of September 18. The North Vietnamese, however, promptly denied that any of their boats had been involved. Since photo-reconnaissance next morning did not reveal any evidence of any North Vietnamese craft being hit and since there was no clear-cut "legitimate" proof of an aggressive act on the part of the North Vietnamese, the U.S. authorities "chose not to react."!

Lastly there is Laos. This small South-East Asian Kingdom is being torn with internal conflicts between, Neutralist, Communist and anti-Communist (Royalist) factions. Almost from the time it became an independent sovereign state by a treaty with France on July 19, 1949, there was jousting for power between different factions led by royal princes. The regime was recognized by the Communist forces in Indo-China in the cease-fire agreements with France, signed in Geneva in 1954 and by most members of the United Nations inclusive of the U.S. Laos joined the U.N. in December 1955.

Conflicts between the three factions, mentioned above have created a chaotic political situation during the ten years from 1954. Although Laos was intended to be a neutral State, rivalry between the Communist Pathet Lao movement in the northern one-third of the country and the right-wing and neutralist factions, prevented the integration of the Pathet Lao forces into the royalist army and the Government. Armed conflict flared up late in 1960 with Soviet aid in arms and North-Vietnamese aid with "technicians".

The three rival princes formed a coalition Government on June 22, 1962. The 14-nation conference that had sat in Geneva from May 15, 1961, signed agreements on July 23, 1962, guaranteeing neutrality and independence of Laos. But despite repeated cease-fire orders issued between May 1961, and 1963 sporadic fighting has continued.

Another attempt is being made to arrive at a solution of the tangled issues involved and to establish a stable Government in Laos, through direct talks between the heads of the three factions. They are taking place at Paris and the Chiefs who are meeting there are Prince Souvanna Phouma, the neutralist "Premier" of Laos, Prince Souphanouvong, leader of the Pathet Lao, and the rightist leader and Minister of Public works Ngon Sananikone. The talks have failed so far!

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"No-Confidence" Motions

There are three distinct sets of causes that usually motivate political actions of the type known as No-Confidence Motions. The first set of impulses or causes arise when an entire nation feels that its security, honour and or well-being etc., are in jeopardy due to maladministration or mishandling by the Council of Ministers. In such cases the lack of faith on the part of the whole nation is reflected in the legislature or Parliament through motions of no-confidence being initiated by the Opposition, supported by a substantial number of members, and finally being thrashed out to the bitter end on the floor of the Chamber or House concerned. Such an occasion—and the consequent parliamentary move—was that which led to the fall of the Neville Chamberlain Ministry in Britain, and it reflected the rejection by the entire British nation of Chamberlain's policy of "peace at any price."

The second set of causes are the reactions and repercussions of wide-spread discontent amongst the peoples of a country, generated by the persistent failures on the part of the Government to control large-scale anti-Social acts or major disasters that could have been avoided by timely preparations or actions on the part of the Ministry. On such occasions the Council of Ministers are called to account through such motions. And unless they render convincing explanations or replies the indictments persist and cause disaster to the party in power, sooner or later, unless efficient rectification follows within a reasonable period of time. Motions of no-confidence, such as these, justify the existence of an efficient and forceful Opposition in Parliaments or legislatures in a democracy, provided there is substance behind the accusations.

Lastly there are the freak occasions, where the causative factors are lapses, splits or revolts within the actual structure of the party in power. These have little or no basis where lack of faith in the Ministry by the main body of the peoples are concerned. These are in reality caused by vicious party intrigues causing large cracks in the body-politic of the party concerned. If the Opposition is alert they might succeed in overthrowing the Ministry, by a fluke, so to say.

Of course such parliamentary tactics are only possible in countries or States where the democratic way of life obtains. And because of the same democratic system, in such motions, the charges levelled against the Government must be specific and they must be substantiated to the fullest extent by the accusers during the course of the debate. If the charges be vague or the evidence adduced in support of the arraignment proves to be unsubstantial then such no-confidence motions must be regarded as being either political stunts of the more undesirable variety or as being political callisthenics of the crude and ineffective kind.

Recently there has been a spate of no-confidence motions, in several State legislatures and one in the Lok Sabha. Of these only two are worthy of consideration and record, namely the no-confidence motion in the Kerala Assembly and that in the Lok Sabha. The rest might be dismissed as being political stunts of the most shallow variety, hastily launched without any preparation worth the name in order to utilize the country-wide discontent resulting from soaring prices and artificially created shortages of essential foodstuffs and consumer goods.

The Kerala no-confidence motion is worthy of record because it caused the downfall of the **seventh** ministry that had assumed charge of the State in the course of seventeen years, with three periods—including the present one—when the President of India took over charge. The Congress Ministry was overthrown due to the defection of fifteen party members who **voted with the Opposition.** Further, no party leader from amongst the Opposition could form a Ministry either on the strength of a single party or with a coalition formed with other groups—which also seems to be a curious characteristic of that State. As for the motion or the debate, it was more a sham, a mockery, than reality since the outcome was a foregone conclusion. It was really a freak affair.

The Lok Sabha motion, which asked

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the House to express "want of confidence in the Council of Ministers" was a far more serious affair. It was the second motion of no-confidence ever moved in the Lok Sabha, the first one being last year's move, against the Nehru Ministry.

Last year's no-confidence motion was also a serious affair, moved as it was under the shadow of Chinese aggression and our failure to meet it adequately. It failed to attain its objective, which was to expose the vital want of dedication and laxity regarding basic principles that had affected both the effectiveness and the reputation of the Council of Ministers. There were specific charges that could have been brought forward and pressed home on the strength of evidence, which though circumstantial in character yet followed definite patterns which indicated the causative factors conclusively. It is true that the Congress Ministry would have been able to defeat the motion by sheer weight of votes, but the effect on the public mind could have been tremendous, if only the movers and the supporters of the motion could have demonstrated that their motion was motivated purely by the zeal for safeguarding the liberty and the security of the nation and the well-being of its peoples. If the public had been convinced then the Government—and the Congress Party—would have been forced to undertake drastic reforms and re-appraisals of its policies or else to face disaster at the elections and bye-elections.

The movers and supporters of last year's no-confidence motion failed to stamp into the public mind the full import of their charges because in their minds the individual and party vendetta against the Congress predominated over their regard for the nation's security and welfare. In their eagerness to assail the Congress Government from every quarter, they totally ignored the essential points in such a motion, namely that the charges must be specific and clear cut, and that they must have weight of evidence—and not a mere mass of verbiage—so that the indictment may be pressed home. They were too obsessed with the idea of making the most of a chance to smear the face of the Congress to remember that they also owed a duty to the common citizen, despite and over the calls of party-allegiances or personal feuds. As a result the whole affair has virtually passed into oblivion.

It is too early to assesss the results of this year's no-confidence motion in the Lok Sabha, on the score of lasting effects and consequences. But judging from the replies given by the Ministers and one or two of the Congress members, it has considerably helped in the clarification of certain ambiguities in the policies and procedures of the Government which may possibly help in the rectification of some erratic moves of the administration and in the co-ordination of action as between the Centre and the States.

On the other hand some of the charges levelled against the Government were loosely framed and there were the same lack of sharpness and want of pin-pointed evidence in most of them, though they were mostly not as vague and woolly as in last year's motion. Mr. N. C. Chatterjee, an Independent member, who initiated the "20 hour" debate with a 30 minute speech, was quite specific in most of the charges he levelled against the Government although the "spear-heads" were blunted in many instances due to lack of attention to details. The main charges, as itemised by Mr. Chatterjee himself, were:

(i) Failure to protect the nation's economic independence on account of the Government policy of increasing reliance on foreign private capital, (ii) the Government's "supine dependence" on foreign imports of goods, (iii) increasingly submission to private capital, blackmarketeers and failure to check bank advances against foodgrains, (iv) failure to hold the price line, (v) failure to ensure security of life and property of citizens, (vi) failure to ensure purity of elections, (vii) failure to maintain territorial integrity.

In condemning the complacence of the Government on the food front, Mr. Chatterjee pointed out the defiant attitude of the Delhi Foodgrain Dealer's Association which had made an open declaration that they would declare the prices of foodgrains. This, he said, was the result of all the "high-

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...ding threats and pledges of the Gov-...ment."

It should be pointed out, that similar ...ant statements were made by the food-...ins dealer's associations elsewhere. And ... arrests have followed, under the D.I.R. ...some leaders in the trade—which may or ...y not be a consequence of Mr. Chatterjee's ...tment.

He charged the Government with weak-...s in the carrying out of the anti-corrup-... drive, and he made some broad asser-...s including a reference to the Home ...ister's Sadachar Samiti, which he said ... been disowned by the Congress Presi-... and the Government. These assertions, ...ever, were proved to be based on wrong ...mation, particularly in regard to the ...wning of the Sadachar Samiti by the ...rnment, which was categorically deni-...y the Prime Minister on his own behalf, ...the same day, in the Lok Sabha.

The clearest pointer in Mr. Chatterjee's ...tment was contained in his condemna-... of the vacillating policy of the Govern-... on Kashmir, in the course of which he ...d the Prime Minister to make a cate-...al declaration that Kashmir would not ...artered away. The rest of his charges ...e too broad and sometimes somewhat ...ulative in character.

Mr. Dandekar of the Swatantra Party, ...o followed Mr. Chatterjee, made a curi-... speech. He said that though his party ...red from the Government policies, it ...not like to condemn it at present. It had ...rited the evils from its predecessor, he ... and should be given time before it ...d be condemned. But all the same he ...demned the Government, though his ...ements were all broad, "party-wise," ... sometimes "wild and woolly," as when ...condemning planning for basic industries, ...said it was ridiculous to emphasise heavy ...stries, heavy engineering and steel ...ts and to call them basic, for, according ...m, in a country like India agriculture ...e could be called the basic industry!

Acharya Kripalani, the Independent ...ber, who won a bye-election from Uttar ...desh, through the "back-lash" of Morarji ...'s financial measures as propounded in ... budget, delivered a typical speech in his attack on the Government. It was delivered in his characteristic sermonizing style, on broad lines which often strayed beyond the mark. The following extract illustrates a typical—and somewhat telling—thrust:

About Kerala, Mr. Kripalani said: "Oh it is wonderful there. All our administrators and Ambassadors came from Kerala, and these are the people who cannot administer their own home State. The Congress has been self-defeated in Kerala, and self-condemned everywhere."

The Congress Party which was "mismanaging" the country would do well to heed the religious injunction: "Your enemy is within yourself. If you destroy this enemy, you will conquer the whole world. Otherwise you will be destroyed."

On the previous day Mr. Hiren Mukherji, leader of the Communist 'Rightist' Group, in his speech charged the Government with incompetence and inefficiency in their food policy. He said that although he saw good intentions on the faces of Mr. Shastri and Mr. Nanda, he would say that if they did not have the requisite strength and determination, the good intentions would fade away. He said that the goals of the Fourth Plan, as approved by Mr. Nehru, were in danger of being lowered. He demanded strong action against Congressmen in Orissa and elsewhere, against whom there were charges of corruption. He said while Home Minister Nanda had good intentions regarding dealing effectively against corruption there were other Ministers in the Union Cabinet who believed in go-slow tactics. He said a former Chief Minister, who had to resign because of some judicial pronouncements, was now included in the Union Cabinet. He also described Mr. Shastri as having a "split personality", who while professing to follow the policies of Mr. Nehru, was being "incoherent."

There were other speeches from the Opposition, in support of the motion, but most of them were repetitive and had little beyond strong criticisms of Government's mishandling of difficulties. These criticisms were all, more or less, tinged with party animus.

The rebuttals of these charges were

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almost all as vehement as the charges themselves. Some of these, ensuing in the train of the debate from the Congress benches are worthy of record. On the opening day of the debate, Mr. K. Hanumanthayya, Congress member from Mysore, vindicated the Congress attitude in correcting wrongs and evils. "When things go wrong" he said amidst cheers from Congress benches, "we take up cudgels more heavily than all of you put together." As an example he cited the initiation of the Das Commission inquiry against a Congress Ministry and the "strong man" of the Punjab.

When a remark came that it was done under pressure from Parliament and the Opposition he retorted that the Congress enjoyed the confidence of the people because it dared take action against its own party men when something went wrong.

On the second day of the debate, two Congress members, amongst others, namely Mr. Harish Chandra Mathur of Rajasthan and Mr. Vidyacharan Shukla of Madhya Pradesh made some telling remarks:

Mr. Mathur said that if no alternative programme was presented by the Opposition, the no-confidence motion lost its importance. He referred to the various achievements of the Government during the last 17 years.

Severely criticising the opposition, Mr. Vidyacharan Shukla (Congress) said that the opposition had no national interest in the mind in moving a no-confidence motion, but wanted to create acrimony to subserve its political ends.

On the third day, Mr. Frank Anthony, nominated member, denounced the no-confidence motion as a "political stunt" and expressed the opinion that the Congress must continue to remain in power in the interest of political stability in the country. It was a surprise to the Opposition as Mr. Anthony was not regarded as a supporter of the Congress.

Several Congress and Opposition members expressed their sense of alarm at the rapid rise in population, which, they said was neutralising most of the increase in production.

While Mr. Anthony wanted legalisation of abortion, Mrs. Savitri Nigam suggested that families having more than five members should be taxed.

While some of the speeches made by Opposition members have been described as "hard hitting" the rebuttals by the Ministers were equally emphatic—and sometimes accompanied with convincing facts. Thus on the third day of the debate, the Rehabilitation Minister Mr. Mahabir Tyagi first of all assured the House that the question of compensation to the displaced persons for properties left behind in East Pakistan would be discussed at the forthcoming conference of the Home Ministers of India and Pakistan.

Referring to the Opposition charge against the Government, during the debate that it was against the settlement of the East Pakistan D.P.s in West Bengal, Mr. Tyagi emphatically said that it was a wrong accusation. Nearly 50 per cent of the D.P.s who recently came from East Pakistan, had been settled down in West Bengal. In the past, 31 lakhs out of 41,17,000 D.P.s had also been settled in West Bengal.

"West Bengal is getting crowded. There are other States in the country where these kith and kins or ours can be settled. They have a right over other parts of the country and can go anywhere," Mr. Tyagi stressed.

In passing it might be stated that this fact of West Bengal beng overcrowded though extremely well-known, is deliberately suppressed by some members for purely ulterior or party motives.

The Home Minister Mr. Nanda and the Food and Agriculture Minister Mr. Subramaniam were equally emphatic—Mr. Nanda devastatingly so—in their replies. Mr. Nanda evidently believes that attack is the best form of defence. He called the Swatantra Party as a "freak of Indian politics" reflecting the "unfinished task of the Congress Government." He accused the Communist Party of showing little respect for the men and women of India, who in their millions had voted the Congress into a position of majority. This was when he took exception to Mr. Hiren Mukherjee's epithet of "brute majority of the Government." He wondered why the Communist Party felt that this country was not great enough to claim the whole of their loyalties and hinted at some extra-territorial considerations.

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body, which put Mr. Hiren Mukherji on defensive. Mr. Subramaniam's state- was firm and frank and his policy ement was fairly clear.

Mr. Nanda had said the Congress would ue to remain the "sheet anchor of cracy and the hall mark of stability in country." He again said the Congress have displayed certain weaknesses it had "enormous vitality and capacity regeneration and will become fitter and to shoulder the responsibilities of the ernment."

In passing we would take the liberty of rking that we can only hope Mr. i's optimism would be justified. The hope for the regeneration and revitali- of the Congress lies in the curbing of trigues launched by those intrusive ents in the Congress that have bedevill- all the actions and administrative ures instituted by the Congress and the ess Government for ridding the y of corruption, and moral perversion.

Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, Finance ter, made a clear unambiguous state- to the effect that, come what may, the rnment will not cut either Defence or opment expenditure. Any reversal that decision would bring disastrous quences, he said. In his hour-long he deprecated the show of much n at short-term hardships and over supply failures. He said he agreed wage increases for workers were ine- e in the face of the present sudden rise ces. But at the same time he warned country men about the cumulative ball" effects of a vicious wage-price

The Fourth Plan, as he put it, would ivour to concentrate on production of required for giving a boost to the ultural programmes, early completion vy engineering and other engineering ries already taken up and such addi- projects as were deemed necessary alancing the programmes and provid- sound basis for future industrial deve- ent.

In the organisational field our policy the Fourth Plan will continue to be on the lines set out in the industrial policy resolution of 1956", he said.

The debate was finally wound-up on Friday the 18th September by a two-hour speech by the Prime Minister Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri. This long and somewhat discursive speech was his first major parliamentary performance since he became the Chief Executive of the Union. But despite its length and rambling nature, the frank admission of faults and failures and his unerring capacity to spot the solution of the problems, and the transparent sincerity of the man, endeared him to the house. The following were the "high-lights" of the speech, as given by **The Statesman:**

On the Sino-Indian dispute, Mr. Shastri said the position remained unchanged. He did not "rule out talks if these become necessary" quoting a remark of the late President Kennedy to make his position clear. This was: "Let us not negotiate out of fear but let us never fear to negotiate."

He also said that the Government stood by its pronouncements on Kashmir, taking the opportunity to deny that Mr. J. P. Narayan had taken any letter for President Ayub from him (Mr. Shastri).

The point that steadfastness to the basic tenets of Mr. Nehru's policies did not mean inflexible adherence to the "beaten track" was perhaps the most important made by Mr. Shastri in his speech.

In order to buttress it he cited not only the history of India's freedom struggle, but also the transition in the Soviet Union from Lenin to Stalin and then to Mr. Khrushchev.

Mr. Shastri's long review of the food situation ended with a back-to-the-village appeal to Ministers and officials. A plan would be drawn up to make this possible for Ministers. He also felt that Community Development officials should be made to go to the villages and one way of going this was to deprive them of their jeeps.

He was confident that the food difficulties would be overcome and said it was the Government's responsibility not only to provide cheap food to the people but also other essential commodities.

Mr. Shastri also accepted the "difficult responsibility" put on him by Mr. Nanda to determine whether complaints of corruption

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against Ministers should be investigated. But he wanted a "convention" to be established that the Minister concerned should resign immediately should either the Prime Minister or a Chief Minister feel that there was a prima facie case against him.

He took the opportunity to affirm that he did not believe that the country was seething with corruption; it was an honest country, he said, which had set high standards for itself. As proof of this, he cited the fact that people like Acharya Vinoba Bhave were held in higher esteem than even the Prime Minister.

Mr. Shastri said the Community Development programme would, for the next few years, concentrate exclusively on increased food production.

Mr. Shastri said it was essential that the prices of such commodities as sugar, cloth, oil, matches and bicycles should be fixed and sold only at fixed prices.

The Government would soon switch over from voluntary to statutory price control of popular cloth varieties.

Mr. Shastri reaffirmed his faith in planning and said "the philosophy of planning is wholly acceptable to us."

The motion was finally put to the vote because the movers remained "unconvinced," and it was defeated by 307 votes to 50. Thirteen members, possibly of the Swatantra group, abstained from voting.

Student Demonstrations and their Aftermath

Student demonstrations in our country have led to unfortunate incidents in many parts of the Union in recent years. These outbreaks of undisciplined and riotous violence, which have frequently led to unhappy consequences, indicate immaturity not only on the part of the students themselves but also on the part of some of their elders.

In the days prior to independence, some of our fighters for independence utilized the youth and the consequent reckless courage and enthusiasm of students to further their own ventures in the cause. These ventures covered a wide range, from peaceful demonstrations of **Satyagraha** to violent acts of terrorism and sabotage. All of these were sought to be put down by force by the British executive, through the medium of the police, armed constabulary and sometimes even by the military. These repressive measures were, more often than not, carried to extreme and brutal excess, indiscriminately and senselessly because of the power-drunk obsessions of the bureaucrats in charge. These acts of violence and repression generally had the younger generation as their targets and naturally caused widespread indignation amongst the people, whose reaction to those atrocious acts of repression committed on their children naturally mounted high. The more bold amongst the publicists and journalists of the day played up this emotional upsurge amongst our peoples by focussing all the light of publicity on these atrocities, suppressing all the details of the acts and ventures on the part of those who were trying to further the cause of independence to the best of their lights.

Independence has been attained, but the legacy of those days seems to linger in the minds of people who should know better —particularly amongst the educationists— if we may use the word—and the journalist.

It was a brave man, who spoke up or tried to report beyond the prohibited or to write editorials condemning official acts of violent repression, in those days of the laws of sedition and punitive press Acts. Today those primitive laws and acts are gone and as a consequence many a lesser animal has put on the lion's skin in order to direct the light of publicity or the flow of increased circulation in the desired direction. And the immaturity of our own people's political consciousness lies in our inability to detect the ulterior motives on the part of those who high-light, in an unfavourable way, the measures taken by the keepers of law and order, while either totally suppressing or "doctoring" the sordid details of the brainless and reckless acts of destruction and violence committed by these youthful delinquents and indisciplined hooligans. As a result, the public eye being blind where the offences—however heinous—are committed by the students, or those who pass for students, scheming political saboteurs and political parties whose sole objective is to

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corrupt the administration, to the extent secured by their foreign paymasters or ideological mentors—sometimes there is only a thin line dividing the two—find in these undisciplined students with their underdeveloped brains, their best tools for sabotage and subversion. It is about time the public woke up to this fact. The following news extracts would illustrate our point.

Bhubaneswar, Sept. 3. The Deputy Speaker Mr. Loknath Misra, this morning adjourned the Orissa Legislative Assembly till September 10 "in view of last evening's unprecendented incident in the Assembly premises."

The Deputy Speaker made this announcement immediately after the House reassembled at 10-30 this morning.

He said that in view of yesterday's incident 'it is impossible to carry on the normal business of the House today'.

The House adjourned without transacting any business.

The Deputy Speaker said 'the situation created by educated youngmen yesterday at the time of the working of the Assembly is an incident which is unprecedented.'

'I do not think in any other State Assembly in the country this kind of occurrence ever happened. I think the damage will amount to more than Rupees one lakh' he added.

Later Mr. Misra in a meeting with newsmen contradicted a report published in a section of the local press that one of the students was assaulted by a police guard in the evening's incident, causing him bleeding injury.

He said nobody was assaulted by police guard, but he knew of a student sustaining bleeding injury while breaking glass panes. The student later on told other students that he was assaulted by the Police Guard.

Mr. Biju Patnaik, former Chief Minister of Orissa, in a statement on yesterday's incident in the Assembly premises said that he was 'deeply ashamed that the citadel of democracy had been invaded and the prestige and sanctity of the House was reduced to dust.'

'It is black day for Orissa and it would take a generation to recover Orissa's lost prestige,' he added.

We do not know who were the prime-movers in assembling and letting loose on the premises of the Orissa Assembly these "educated youngmen," nor do we know what journal "high-lighted" the student's injury and put a deliberately false interpretation on the causes. But both the process of inciting impressionable and undisciplined brains —immature and half-educated—and the false interpretation and the wrong emphasis put on such incidents in reports made by hack-journalists and printed by feckless editors is becoming only too familiar to us.

It is about time we realized that hooliganism and riotous acts of destruction are as reprehensible—indeed they are more so—when committed by students as when they are by lawless riff-raff. Anti-social acts are anti-social acts, whoever commits them and if our mistaken and immature young hopefuls commit such acts, they must take the consequence. The police are there to prevent breaches of law and order and they would be failing in their duty if they did not use force—within reason—when it becomes necessary.

"Bharat Bandh"

The common citizen is in a bad way in these days of artificial shortages and soaring prices. Everyone knows the reasons —only the reasons advanced seem to vary with the political complexion of the person or party proferring the reason. And if there is difference of opinion regarding causes of shortages, or high prices, there is even more variety in the solutions offered for these vital problems. This was amply demonstrated during the 15 hour Food Debate in the Lok Sabha that began on September 7, and ended on September 10 with the approval of the Government's food policy by 201 votes to 34. It is to be noted that the number of Congress members who abstained from voting was over a hundred, which showed that they did not believe that the Government was proceeding along the correct lines regarding the prevention and punishment of hoarding, blackmarketing and profiteering. A Congress member had indeed accused the Government of slackening the drive against hoarding.

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The Government has been accused of the lack of foresight and perspicacity and of showing a "soft" attitude towards those who are engineering these distinctly anti-social moves that have caused so much hardship and suffering to the nationals of the Union. And as yet the Government has not been able to absolve itself of these accusations by putting into action really effective measures to check these evils that are vitally affecting the life and well-being of the masses. The charges of pusillanimity levelled against the Government in dealing with the prime offenders, have not been refuted to the satisfaction of the common citizen. And the short-time corrective measures taken in hand by the Government to meet the foodgrains shortages also are not likely either to yield quick results nor are the results likely to be lasting unless the anti-social activities of hoarders and profiteers be checked with drastic and punitive action that would effectively discourage them from further ventures in the future.

But even granting all these, we fail to discern any logic in the All-India hartal call given by some Leftist group leaders and trade union heads. Indeed we can see nothing excepting a desire for undue publicity, at the cost of the common citizen, on the part of those who gave the call. It is clearly evident to all that the loss caused by cessation of work in every sphere of life, can only pile further burdens on the shoulders of the suffering common peoples. And it has been amply demonstrated through the poor response to the call for hartal, that the majority of the peoples of India have come to realize that fact.

NOTICE

The offices of the *Modern Review* shall remain closed from October 12th to October 25th (both days inclusive) on account of the Durga Puja holidays. The next issue of the *Modern Review* shall be published, as usual, on the 1st of November, 1964.

Editor, *The Modern Review*

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Current Affairs

By KARUNA K. NANDI

...jectives Of Planning

Speaking to a public meeting in Calcutta September 20 last, Shri Lalbahadur ...stri, during his first visit to the city as ... Prime Minister of India, underlined ...w the objectives of Planning and was ...orted to have said that the "needs of the ...n in the street" should determine its ...s. It was the execution of Plan ...jects, Shri Shastri was reported to have ...hasised, which seemed to him more ...portant and projects already taken up ...uld receive priority over those that were ... to be taken up. "Not paper planning" ... emphasised, "but speedy execution of ...jects was what mattered."

The Prime Minister would, thus, seem ...have put his finger on the very crux of ... problem of planning. "Investment" he ... reported to have elaborated, "unrelated ...oduction might contribute to inflattion." ... have, again and again, reiterated in these ...ms that while we are fully in accord ... the principles and need for develop... planning in the context of Indian ...itions, we cannot endorse the manner ...which Plan investments have, so far, ... handled as being either legitimate or ...ductive to the wholesome and balanced ...elopment of the national economy.

The process of planned development ... we are afraid, so far very largely follow... what seems to have been so aptly des...ed by the Prime Minister as **paper ...ning**. The architects of Indian deve...ent planning would seem to have been ...verwhelmingly enamoured by certain ...demic theories of growth that in formu...g the Plan contours they would seem ...ve, so far, been very largely ignoring ...in inescapable realities of the situation ... the country. In the result a comprehen... view of planning in the manner in ...ch it has been emerging over very nearly ... last three quinquennia, would seem to reveal the inherent imbalances and lack of co-ordination between the different branches of endeavour over which Plan effort is being spread over.

Thus, the allocation of development effort as between agriculture and industry would seem to be a very apt illustration of the manner in which the mind of the Planning Commission would appear to have been working. One does not quarrel with the basic legitimacy of the desire to secure a shift from the overwhelming agrarian base of the national economy towards an adequate measure of industrialization. But the fundamental fact could not be ignored that while the economy of the country as a whole was overwhelmingly agrarian at its base, agricultural performance, from the point of view of both productivity as well as the developing consumption needs of the nation remained well below requisite levels. What, therefore, was really needed was to induce a developing shift towards increasing industrial employment opportunities to relieve, in corresponding measure, the paralyzing burdens on agriculture—and this would inevitably postulate correspondingly increasing measures of industrialization—while at the same time providing for the necessary stimuli to agricultural growth both in terms of unit productivity as well as in terms of gross production to cover the developing needs of the nation. That in laying out the programmes for industrialization primary emphasis should be lent to essential producer bases like iron and steel, coal and minerals, power and transport etc., was only legitimate.

In brief, and we have more than once in the past underlined this in these columns, one of the basic foundations of economic growth in any country and at any period of history—and more so in India in

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the present times—would seem to be a surplus agriculture. It is only when such a point has been reached in agricultural development that the process of rapid and balanced industrialization would be considerably facilitated. Planning in India over the last one decade and a half would seem to have been consistently ignoring this one basic postulate of growth and to have diverted resources overwhelmingly towards rapidly widening industrial capacity even while the country had to continue to subsist on a continuing and presently considerably inflated process of imports of food grains into the country. The Planning Commission promised the country self-sufficiency in food grains production by the end of the Second Plan period with a target of 80 million tonnes of cereals production. The target was not fully reached although performance was quite commendable upto then with a gross yield of 76 million tonnes at the end of tthe Second Plan period. For the Third Plan a target of 100 million tonnes was envisaged to provide for the 2.25 per cent annual net increase in the population. Unfortunately although the population has continued to pile up according to schedule, food production appears to have wholly failed to respond to the stimulii provided for in the Third Plan programmes in this behalf and, a year before the Plan period is scheduled to come to a close, the gross rise in food production over these four years, with slight occasional variations in annual outturn quantums, has been of the order of approximately just above 4 per cent over the 1960-61 level. Now it has been made amply clear that the target of 100 million tonnes of food grains by the end of the current Plan period will remain, as Shri Shastri describes, merely a paper plan worth, in real terms, far less than the scrap of paper on which it had been written and the hope of attaining the level of self-sufficiency, so vigorously promised in the Third Plan has receded to the distant future.

One of the important questions to which an answer has not so far been vouchsafed either by the Government or the Planning Commission is tthe reason for this dismal and paralyzing failure to even remotely reach the targets of the Third Plan on the agricultural front. The immediate past Union Food and Agriculture Minister was reported to have picturesquely, though a little heartlessly averred last year that, despite massive development investments extending over more than a decade of planning which included large multipurpose river valley projects providing for irrigation and flood control and also large scale fertilizer production, not to speak of the revolutionary changes in the land tenure system leading to large scale expropriation of intermediary interests and an amazing extent of proliferation of agriculture and food administrations in the States, food production still remains very largely at the mercy of the seasons and it may just be possible to reach self-sufficiency only in course of the next two or three Plan periods. The Planning Commission was recently reported to have reiterated its determination to ensure self-sufficiency in food production in course of the Fourth Plan period, though Shri Ashok Mehta in course of an earlier interview to the press was reported to have averred that this desired level of production would be attained through five consecutive two-year quick-yielding programmes that the Planning Commission was arranging to launch. All this would seem to indicate a continuing confusion in thinking in this vital matter and one does not quite know what can be expected to actually eventuate in real terms.

Another, to our way of thinking, even more important question that remains to be clearly answered is the extent of the country's basic consumption need of food grains, in actual terms, now and at the end of the next two Plan periods (assuming that the desired level of self-sufficiency in this behalf can only be reached at the end of not the Fourth but the Fifth Plan period). In an earlier estimate essayed by us in these columns we endeavoured to demonstrate that even at the present level of production basic needs of the population can just be covered together with a 10 per cent margin for unavoidable wastage and seed grains. This, of course, presumed that all kinds of food cereals of both the finer and the coarser

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eties of grains were wholly diverted to an consumption requirements. It is sible that with the increasing preference the finer grains of the average consumer recent changes in the pattern of con- ption would make increasingly greater ands upon the finer varieties somewhat capable and a resultant shortage would inevitable. Even then the shortage d only be marginal in quantity and a ain measure of processing of the coarser ins before ttheir being offered for con- ption, which should not prove impos- e, might conceivably and very largely ate this shortage. What would, then, n to be an inescapable need of the situ- n is to introduce such wholesome checks balances in the pattern of the distribu- trade in food grains that the scope for t exploitation of existting marginal lies for heavy profiteering and hoarding d be effectively eliminated. The Gov- ment have already arranged to enter the food grains trade and to introduce ning in urban and industrial concen- ions—and this was very clearly under- d by Shri Shastri in his Calcutta address t the extent to which it is at present nded to do so may not supply, we are ll, the only desirable answer to the lem. The fractional measure of State ing in food grains which it is announc- would be launched with the new may, on the contrary, further confuse already complex and largely intractable ation.

What would seem to be a clear requi- of the present situation is to maintain ket supplies, whether it is done by a instrument or by the trade in the ate sector.And to be able to do so it is erative that hoarding at all levels must uthlessly eliminated. That hoarding has playing a most crucial role in the ent situation has been officially almitted verified. The scope of hoarding by plus farmers, unless backed by heavy cial resources, can only be marginal in nt. It is clearly the sources of finance, ly from outside the organised credit —although the suspicion that bank ts have also been lending a measure of strength to these anti-social operations has never been clearly and unequivocally dispelled—that must be held to be the main culprit in the situation. The Government seem to be completely helpless in effectively dealing with this paralyzing element in the economy. Difficulties notwithstanding, it should not be wholly impossible, given the ruthless determination,—which they do not seem to have the courage and the strength to muster—to immobilize the operations of these "unaccounted" credits. Why is it that the Government seem to be unable to devise effective measures towards this end is a question that the Prime Minister will have to give a clear answer to. As we write, the announcement has come through that with a view to induce additional restrictions on credit the Bank Rate has been raised by a further half per cent to five per cent. This, although a move in the right direction, will not, by itself go a very long way towards a stable price structure unless several other factors have been taken care of. Of these, one of the most important is, of course, the operations of credits from outside the purview of the organised money market which urgently calls for their immediate and effective immobilization.

Of the other factors a great deal has already been said in these columns in recent months. In brief it may be reiterated that the need for a far closer relation between investment and output than has been the case so far, has become immediately imperative. Here the importance of what the Prime Minister described as "Paper Planning" in his Calcutta speech becomes all too obvious. Despite the earlier mid-term reappraisal of the Third Plan which disclosed certain very dismal and crucial failures, the need for a thorough reappraisal of Plan investments as a whole uptodate and their production resultants has become urgently necessary. It is also necessary to examine and appraise the pattern of the continuing lags between investment and output; the extent to which these lags flow from basically infructions investment outlays including avoidable expenditure on overheads and know-how, has to be realistically determined as well as the extent to

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which shortfalls in Plan yields are to be accounted for by the basic inconsistencies in plan formation—structurally and in their dynamics (as, for instance, in poor co-ordination of Plan projects, wrong and faulty priorities causing resultant lags between interpendent manufacturing and servicing projects etc.)—and the pattern and quantum of failures in Plan implementation derived from administrative and other failures. That infructuous Plan investments have been materially and cumulatively responsible for the present heavy and spiralling inflationary pressures on the price structure is all too obvious to to need reiteration.

An additional and primarily important group of factors unquestionably generative of the present inflationary situation are the rapidly increasing tempo of Government's consumption expenditure on the one hand and the present primarily inflation-oriented taxation structure in the country on the other. We have again and again emphasised that while conceding the need for increasing taxation to meet the rising demand for the twin purposes of defence and development, the structure of taxation urgently calls for a complete and thorough revision, if not really redrawing of its contours to make it an instrument of effective disinflation. The present Finance Minister admitted almost as much by implication in one or two of his pre-Budget public statements, but there is no indication, so far, that he has either the courage or the vision to act, wholesomely and effectively, upto his own convictions in this regard.

The confusion that has been the inevitable result and the resultant and widening areas of distress that has been increasingly affecting even the all too rudimentary living levels of the people, especially during the last twelve months, have created a measure of confusion in the minds of even those who ought to know better is much too distressing to see. The Prime Minister himself had, earlier called for a slowing down of Plan outlays; the Finance Minister was reported to have said that he did not think it would be possible to sustain Fourth Plan investments at the size so far envisaged. There have been others who have even called for a scrapping of Planning altogether. Shri Ashoke Mehta seems to be the only realist who insists that it would be impossible to recede from Planing of the size envisaged without inviting complete and wholesale disaster although he concedes the need for a revision of Plan priorities and projects. The Prime Minister in his Calcutta address would seem to have bit the nail on the head when he pleaded for more effective implementation with a view to obiviate infructuous Plan expenditure. While highest priorities must be accorded to the agricultural sector, plan investments in basic industries must also be maintained, ensuring the while that they do provide the estimated yields in actual terms. The Government must help by being more abstemious in their consupption expenditure on civil administration—they must begin to function on a severely conditioned austerity basis (they have been preaching austerity to the people long enough and it is only legitimate that they practised for themselves some of their own professions!)—and by re-orienting the taxation structure to apply it effectively to mop up as far of the additional money that goes into circulation as may not be fully covered by production-yields. And while the Planning Commission accords the higher priorities to agriculture they should also do well to revise the present basis of assistance to the growth of small and cottage industries both as a balancing factor in the economy as well as to maintain the level of agricultural effort at the requisite level. There is no question that one of the obvious evils of the current shift towards increasing urbanization in the country is the progressively declining rating of agricultural occupation—a fact which is loaded with the most disastrous potentialities in a country which has to depend for well over one half of its national income on agriculture —and an integrated development of agriculture and cottage and small industries, which would closely conform to the inherited social and economic traditions of the people, might be the only possible instrument that might help to effectively re-establish agricultural occupation on its rightful status in the social economy. It

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re high time that a certain measure of thinking commenced on the facts and purses of Planning—not with a view to apping it for, we wholly agree with Shri hita that would be dangerous but with a w to integrating its results and processes e closely to its declared objectives than been the case so far. The Prime ister appears to have initiated the right e in his Calcutta aedress but a great deal body and flesh must be added to it before can hope to be really effective and purseful.

Nation Who Forgets Its Own Heritage: Story of Ram Mohun Roy's House

There was, perhaps, nothing usual in recently circulated news, that appears ave deeply shocked large sections of the try's intelligentsia, that the historic ential house of the late Mahatma Raja Mohun Roy on Amherst Street in utta, has recently been disposed of to a te buyer. The present surviving scion e Raja, Shri Dharani Mohan Roy, it is d, retains a life interest in this historic ding and shall continue to occupy it g his life time after which the new r will move in. Many a historical ment in the country bearing witness e nation's past heritages have similarly lost on account of our Government's us apathy and the people's sense of lessness to do anything in the matter. one of the proudest historical heritages alcutta was the University Senate Hall when it was decided to pull down this ic building to make room for a hideten-storeyed abomination to house the ersity Library, public outcry was both rous and wide-flung against this what considered an act of vandalism. The e or the Central Government may not had any direct role in this decision n was the sole responsibility of the ersity authorities, especially that of the Vice-Chancellor, the late Prof. Nirmal ghanta. But they might have usefully legitimately intervened to prevent the ction of this significant historic monument which played such a vital part in the emergence of resurgent India during the latter half of the nineteenth and early twentith centuries. Public protests, apparently, could be ignored, as they were, with impunity without fear of any untoward consequences.

In the present case conditions may differ materially as they obviously do, but the end result,—that of utter destruction of a historic monument—would be more or less identical. The first house that the Raja inhabited on his arrival in Calcutta has long been diverted to the use of the metropolitan police force and except for a tablet on the gate-post there is nothing to show that this house was once the venue where the emergence of the modern age in Indian history was being incubated. Now the Raja's own house is destined to go the same way and very soon no evidence may survive indicating that this house at one time witnessed the making of history at a most significant juncture of India's passage through the times. Enquiries stated to have been made by the **Anandabazar Bazar Patrika** from the State Government in this connection appears to have led to the shameless answer that the Government had no scheme of acquiring this historic house as a national movement now or hereafter. Apparently the Government are wholly insensible of any responsibility in this matter.

Knowing as we do of the level of intellectual attainment and moral sensibility of the leaders of our Government as a whole (we apologise in advance to those among them who are exceptional; our observation in this behalf being intended to apply only to the general herd!) we would not be surprised even if we were to be told that they did not feel that Ram Mohun Roy was such an exceptional individual after all as to be ranked among the markers of history and the house occupied by him in this city deserved to be treated as a historic and a national monument. With most of the rabble that happens to rule this hapless country today, Indian history began only with the inception of the Indian National Congress and all was, to them, a stygian void before. So, if they are unable to assess

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and appreciate the place a Raja Ram Mohun Roy should occupy in the history of our people one cannot really blame them for it! It should be mentioned in this connection that the decision said to have been taken some time ago that the State Government would acquire and preserve as a national monument Ram Mohun's ancestral home at Radhanagar in Hooghly district also appears to have been indefinitely shelved.

We are reminded in this connection of a story we heard sometime ago from a source which we consider absolutely reliable. Soon after Independence the Chairman of the Ram Mohun Memorial Committee in Bristol, Dr. Sukhasagar Datta, wrote to the late Jawaharlal Nehru suggesting that a life size portrait of the Raja from the brushes of the famous British painter Seargant which was in Bristol at the disposal of the Memorial Committee, should be brought over to India and preserved here in India's Parliament Hall. The Prime Minister was reported to have replied that arrangements would be made to bring over the portrait after a suitable place to hang the portrait was selected. Dr. Datta came on a short visit to the country in January, 1958 and personally saw Nehru for the purpose when he was told that the walls of Parliament Hall had no more space available to accomodate this famous portrait of this foremost of modern Indians.

As already observed there is nothing unusual or surprising in the State Government's apathy in the matter. It would only seem to be in keeping with the ruling party bosses' thinking or, perhaps, lack of thinking in the matter. That Ram Mohun was the universally acknowledged father of Modern India is a fact of which they seem to be completely unaware and to which, naturally enough, they appear to be wholly indifferent. What matters even if Mahatma Gandhi himself, to whom they accorded the place of the "father of the nation", repeatedly acknowledged that the Raja was the first Indian in history who had conceived the vision of a one united Indian Nation! The fact that Rabindranath described Raja Ram Mohun as "the great path maker of the modern century in India" naturally has, to these power-mad ignoramuses, even a far lower rating than Mahatma Gandhi's very legitimate tribute. They behave as if India had no past glories to preserve and build upon, no moorings in the bed-rocks of historical heritage!

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AMANANDA CHATTERJEE: PERSONAL REMINISCENCES AND TRIBUTE

By AMAL HOME

Calcutta, October 1, 1943

Christmas, 1906. The Indian National gress which had met in Calcutta with abhai Naoroji as President, and a great ibition of Indian industries, an adjunct the Congress, had drawn thousands to this from all parts of India. Calcutta was bustle and colour. The Congress pandal, ering the site now occupied by Alexandra ri, and the Exhibition grounds, occupying entire area now covered by the many mises between Chowringhee and Gokhale d, faced each other; and one had only ross the road to get into one from the r. An eager and precocious boy, who just completed his thirteenth year, full e extremist politics of the Bengal school, persuaded an indulgent father to make his companion on his daily visits to the gress-meeting. Soon, however, the boy ld tire of the speeches, most of which, of se, he could not quite follow, but he ld sit quietly through all of them, and ently his father would take him to the ibition with its many attractions and -shows, and there they would stroll, er and son, round the many stalls till s would be lit and the whole place sformed into a fairy land.

It was the last day of the Congress, and e seemed to be no end of speeches, and it almost dark before the session ended. atient to get into the Exhibition ground, boy was being led out of the crowd by his er when the latter was accosted and sted by a friend of his whom the son never seen before. Dressed in a but-up brown Kashmere tweed coat with sers to match, a round cap crowning iron-grey hair, his beaming countenance noble presence not only arrested atten- but commanded respect at once. Ask- for his father the boy readily made an sance to the stranger and felt a gentle sh on his bent head. Together they ked out of the Congress grounds,—the friends talking, both evidently glad to meet each other, it seemed, after a long time. No, he was sorry, he could not accept any invitation to lunch the next day; he had to leave for Allahabad the same night; . . . . . And there they parted, after a few minutes,—the boy receiving a pat on his head again.

This was my first "meeting" with Ramananda Babu. My father "introduced" him to me after he had left us and told me all about him. He had known him well since his student days and later when he was a Professor of City College where my father had also worked early in his life. And he was full of his praise —his scholarship and erudition, the many gifts and graces of his intellect and character. I had, of course, known him by name, being even in those days a diligent reader of the Prabasi, to which my father subscribed, and had also heard of him from a young coach of mine, who had gone up to Allahabad sometime ago and, though a perfect stranger, had enjoyed his hospitality. He had told me that Ramananda Babu kept his door open, and not for Bengalees alone, and how deeply respected he was in the United Provinces, through which my private tutor had toured on behalf of Jogendra Chunder Ghosh's association for scientific education of young Indians abroad.

II

A little over a year later, early in 1908, Ramananda Babu came down to Calcutta with his two papers and his family. He took a house in Cornwallis Street on a private lane alongside of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj prayer-hall. He lived in this house and conducted his papers from it for more than a decade. It was quite a modest house, but it soon became well-know as the Prabasi-office and the residence of the Editor of **The Modern Review**. Down the alley had walked more celebrities and

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more famous people than, perhaps, any other street in Calcutta had known—poets and politicians, authors and artists, writers and journalists of all races in India and most nations in the world—all going to see Ramananda Babu. I know hardly any famous son of Mother India whom I had not seen going up or coming down that hardly eight feet wide passage. And I had seen a future Prime Minister of England and a future Minister of Education—Ramsay Mac-Donald and Herbert Fisher—coming out of 210|3|1, Cornwallis Street. Both of them were then in India as members of the Royal Commission on Public Service. They were accompanied by Gopal Krishna Gokhale.

Ramananda Babu's eldest son Kedarnath and myself soon became great friends. We lived nearby; we were almost of the same age and we had many interests in common. Both of us were voracious readers and devoured everything that came across our way. We exchanged books and magazines, and he lent me his books and periodicals, sometimes even encroaching on his father's collection. And it was this that brought me to the notice of Ramananda Babu. Kedar had lent me a book which belonged to his father, and he had left for Darjeeling. Ramananda Babu needed the book. I do not know even to this day how he came to know that the book was with me, but one day, on his way back from his morning constitutional, he came to our house and asked my father where I was. I was sent for, and, on my coming, he asked me for the book. I felt very much embarrassed, but he reassured me with a smile, adding that it did not matter even if Kedar was away; I could come and borrow books and periodicals as usual from his house. My father told him, half in jest, that I wanted to be a journalist. He smiled and said that I might find, if I ever became one, that journalism was not a bed of roses.

It was as his son's friend that he took notice of me, and soon I came to enjoy his affection. I would often accompany him in his morning walks, "falling in" as he passed by our house. He would greet me with a smile and we would walk up to College Square where he would be joined by his friends, Krishna Kumar Mitra, Heramba Chandra Maitra, Prankrishna Acharya, Lalit Mohan Das and one or two others whose names I now forget. I would then naturally "fall out" but rejoin him on his way home. He spoke little, but would sometimes talk of his boyhood, of his home at Bankura, of his father who possessed great physical prowess, how as a boy he would often walk miles visiting his relations from village to village, how simple were their lives, of his student days, how once R. C. Dutt on coming to inspect his school had given him a personal prize, so pleased the great author and administrator was with his English composition, how the famous Professor Tawney took his classes in English, and how Jagadish Chunder Bose taught Physics at Presidency College, which he had to leave because he lost his stipend as he was once too ill to attend the lectures for a period. He would sometimes even speak of the educationists he had known and I still remember some stories he told me about a remarkable Englishman, a distinguished Wrangler, who was Professor of Mathematics at Muir Central College, Allahabad, who knew his Shakespeare from cover to cover. He was, if I remember aright, Homersham Cox. And it was then also that I heard from him about his friend Major B. D. Basu, the historian—of his great scholarship, his fine library and his famous collection of Gandhara sculpture. It was later my privilege to meet and know him through Ramananda Babu.

III

These were days of struggle for him. The **Prabasi** had begun paying its way but The **Modern Review**, a little over two years old, had yet to turn the corner. And it meant hard work and hardship. He worked incessantly, day in and day out, as I have seen no other journalist work. His day would begin with his return from his morning walk, not later than seven, and he would be at the desk—reading, marking and clipping newspapers or periodicals, editing contributions, writing articles and notes.

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keeping accounts and even receiving money orders or V.P. payments at the office, which was also his editorial "sanctum sanctorum." Barely furnished, this room had no electric light or fan, and was often crowded. Right in front, in the narrow passage or in the backyard of the Brahmo Samaj prayer-hall children would play and shout; and in the next room we, his son's friends, would often gather and hold great argument about this and that, but not the least perturbed, he would work on, not even at once admonishing the children or the visitors, who at least should have known better. And so he would work, retiring early at mid-day for lunch and a little rest, and he would be back again in his chair for a couple of hours and occupy it till late in the evening. Then he would go out for a short walk, returning home to dinner, bath and bed—late at night. Thus he brought up his two papers, leading the life of almost an ascetic, living on the most frugal meals, dressed in the simplest of clothes, sleeping on the hardest of beds. He knew no comforts, no luxuries; denied himself all pleasures; no social engagements knew him, no amusements either. And he was only forty-five years old.

I had the great privilege and unique opportunity of seeing Ramananda Babu every day at this period of his life. I had in the meanwhile developed a great penchant for journalism and was very fortunate in receiving his guidance and encouragement. I sat at his feet for my first lessons in writing for the Press, and he took such pains with my humble efforts that they were deemed fit enough to be published in his periodicals when I was still at college. He would sometimes send for me and go through my writings in my presence, correcting and correcting, adding and altering, till, perhaps, very few lines of the original remained. He would more than once return me my manuscript and ask me to rewrite it. Among my cherished possessions are one of these manuscripts—a short article I wrote for the **Prabasi** when Rabindranath received the Nobel Prize in 1913. He opened the portals of journalism to me and gave me the start. It was to him that I owed my first appointment in the Punjab and my subsequent translation from the now defunct daily, the Panjabee to the Lahore Tribune, which had, a short while ago, acquired Kalinath Roy as its Editor.

IV

By 1910, within three years of the periodical being started, the **Modern Review** had come to occupy the foremost place among India's journals. Its elder sister, the **Prabasi**, started in 1901, had, of course, stormed the Bastile long ago. Bengal had not known a journal like this before. It was incomparably the best monthly in Bengali. Both his journals were immensely popular, but they never swam with the stream. They educated their readers, yet they were neither heavy nor boring. He knew exactly how to hold the balance between education and entertainment. With him it was not a question of "brightening" a serious paper in the manner found lucrative for big circulation. It was not a question of a solemn periodical attempting to be sprightly like an elderly lady trying to look twenty. His journals combined education and entertainment as an organic whole—one inseparable from the other. Ramananda Babu knew, if anybody did, that the first rule in journalism is that you must be clear what public you are aiming at and pursue it with an undivided mind. His two periodicals soon attained wide and influential circulation, but never developed the opportunist politics that go with such circulation, nor were they ever subordinate to the interests of any party or political leader.

The strength of these two journals lay in the 'Notes' Ramananda Babu wrote from month to month on all topics. Of these again, the political notes stood apart. Cold as steel, sharp as a scimitar, they rent asunder all sophistries, all the specious arguments against India's claim to Swaraj. He paved through these Notes her way towards Home Rule as no other publicist in India had done. Bristling with incontrovertible facts and irresistible arguments, they were beautifully arranged and conveyed as a rule in the simplest of words. There were no purple

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patches. If ever there were, they were led up with extraordinary skill, and they seemed exactly as much as the subject will bear. I once took the liberty of asking him as to how he, a student of English literature which he had taught for nearly twenty years, could avoid literary embellishments to his writings. I did not, of course, mean the literary jargons and cliches with which we lesser journalists seek to decorate our 'leaders' or 'notes'. He knew that and said that when he first started writing for The **Modern Review**, he made it a point to write for the common man, not the literary person, and he wanted to convey his ideas in as unornamental a garb as possible, in the plainest Anglo-Saxon words, with no reference either to classics, or to modern high-brows. There was no staginess, no sentimentality in his writings. His style was natural, direct, irresistible as a physical process. He had little humour, but a grimly satiric note sometimes crept into his writings. His fearlessness, his freedom from partisanship, his consummate plain speech, his great pertinacity of purpose and his terrible truthfulness soon won a very large circle of readers for his notes, and among them were some of the foremost men of our time. I have a vivid recollection of Aurobindo Ghosh scanning the notes of the **Modern Review** from page to page sitting at the desk of his uncle Krishna Kumar Mitra (then detained as a State Prisoner at Agra), when he lived at his house, the old Sanjibani-Office at College Square, after his acquittal in the Alipore Conspiracy case. And I still remember the remarkable tribute he paid to Ramananda Babu's journals in the columns of his English weekly **Karmayogin** on their translating Indian Nationalism into religion, into music and poetry, into painting and literature. I also remember what Gopal Krishna Gokhale said about the **Modern Review**, when in my capacity of the Under Secretary in charge of public meetings at the Calcutta University Institute, I went to invite him to speak under its auspices on the Elementary Education Bill, which he was then sponsoring in the Imperial Legislative Council, and when his old friend Prithwis Chandra Roy, the Editor of the **Indian World**, had deserted him over the issue, and Gokhale had found his staunchest supporter in Ramananda Chatterjee. More than once at the height of the Non-Co-Operation Movement, Chittaranjan Das had asked me as to what Ramananda Babu thought of a particular move or utterance of his, knowing full well that he did not subscribe to the orthodox Non-Co-Operator's views and differed strongly from him on those questions. So great was the esteem in which Motilal Nehru held Ramananda Chatterjee as a journalist that he invited him to the Chief editorship of the **Independent** when he started it at Allahabad in 1919, asking him to dictate his own terms and offered to bear all expenses for the transfer of his two papers back to Allahabad should be choose to do so. I had it from Panditji himself in 1920 when I joined the staff of the **Independent**, then edited by Bipin Chandra Pal.

The influence of the **Modern Review** became with years co-extensive with the common wealth of thinking and cultured men and women all the world over,—a daily enlarging congregation of hearts awakened to a deep sense of love and regard for India, all that she had been in the past and all that she hoped to be in the future. His work for his two papers has left an abiding mark on Indian journalism. He enabled it to triumph over the disabilities resulting from imperfect technical equipment, and gave it a conscious pride, an awareness of the things of the mind, a sensitiveness to beauty, which will never be effaced.

Ramananda Babu was a strenuous fighter, and when he hit, he hit straight from the shoulder, but never below the belt. On public questions he would often differ and differ strongly from some of his friends, dear and esteemed friends, but no difference of opinion were allowed by him to loosen or even to affect his love and regard for them. No one he loved and revered more than he did Rabindranath Tagore. Yet on two different occasions he differed from him and differed openly. The first was in 1917, over the choice of Annie Besant as

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esident of the Calcutta Congress—a ice that the poet not only approved but r support to, by accepting the Chairman- p of the Reception Committee when the derates led by Surendranath Banerjea eded from it over the issue. Rabindra- h was anxious for Ramananda Babu's pport, and before he finally threw in his with the Besantites, he went to see his end, trying, if he could, to persuade n to his views. I had the privilege of ompanying him to Ramananda Babu's use—the old Prabasi-Office I have spoken ut already. It was past ten at night, d the narrow lane had no light. As the t waited in his car, I went to fetch a p from the house. I found Ramananda u reading, and he came down with a ricane lantern and showed Rabindra- h in. Quietly we went up the narrow rs, myself now leading with the lantern. e Poet opened the conversation. He gave reasons for his support to Mrs. Besant; mananda Babu gave his for opposing her. etly the Poet listened to his friend and etly he came away. The next day, or day after, I do not remember exactly, acceptance of the Chairmanship of the eption Committee was in the hands of Besant's supporters I was the bearer his letter of acceptance addressed to hlal Ghosh, and when he gave it to me, said that a load was off his chest now he had been able to explain his position Ramananda Babu. It did not matter if they differed.

The other occasion when Rabindranath Ramananda differed was in 1938 over partial scrapping of the **'Bande Mataram'** as a Congress anthem on the ground s being offensive to the religious feel- s of the Muslims. Ramananda Babu, as ders will no doubt recall, did not share Poet's opinion on the question and held h against it in the **Modern Review** and **Prabasi**. Yet, if I might say so, he shipped the very ground the Poet trod. ll never forget what he once told me t him. It was many years ago. Both had gone to see the Poet at his Jora- residence. He was slightly indis- and was in his bed-room on the second floor into which we were ushered. We found him with a well-known Homoeopathic practitioner of Calcutta and a young relation just returned from abroad after many years. The doctor left after sometime; the young man remained and went on talking, almost completely monopolising the talk, about his experiences in Europe. There was no end to his **'ipse dixits'** or to his self-assurance. The Poet listened on in silence though it became increasingly oppressive. Ramananda Babu sat quiet all through. It was getting late, and we took leave of the Poet. As we walked back home through the lane where now runs Chittaranjan Avenue, I could not conceal my annoyance with the bore we had left behind. Then Ramananda Babu said if I had noticed that the Poet listened to everyone as if what he had to say was of supreme importance; but when there was no occasion to listen, there was a far-away look in his eyes, as though he could see something that was invisible to the rest of us. I did not then quite understand what he meant. I realized it afterwards and knew how truly and felicitously Ramananda Babu had put it. The Poet was really at heart a solitary man with the solitude of a mind voyaging through strange seas of thought, alone.

Ramananda Chatterjee was the soul of sincerity and never could be anything else. He had the simplicity of all noble natures. He was shy and sensitive. It was the shyness and sensitiveness of spiritual aloofness. He had the utmost contempt for the art of studying appearances and for the tricks by which public men catch the lime light. The supreme type of concentrated publicist, he never publicised himself. He never gave an interview in his life and never "posed" for the Press photographer. For many years he led a most secluded life, and at last when his fame spread far and wide, he was dragged into publicity and public life, whose honours came thick and fast for him: within a few months he became an all-India figure. His single-mindedness and simplicity, the great dignity of his character, his devoted services to his fellowmen, his steadfast allegi-

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ance to high ideals and his most passionate patriotism won him a position of honour and authority in India which few of his contemporaries had enjoyed. He fought for India till the last breath of his life.

It is not, however, in the gestures of the arena, but in the familiar and domestic things of a man's home and immediate surroundings that you divine the man. And this man was noble. Of him it may be said "a larger soul hath seldom dwelt in a house of clay." His love and affection, his tender consideration, his abounding humanity were beyond praise. A great sorrow came to his life in 1919, when his youngest son Prasad suddenly died after a brief illness. Always a deeply affectionate and almost an indulgent father, the blow was a terrible one for him, made all the more unbearable by the partial loss of reason the shock brought for his dearly beloved and devoted wife, Manorama Devi, who was a true helpmate to her husband —a woman of remarkable courage and striking personality. I was at Lahore when Prasad died. He was a gifted child with an original bent of mind. He was like a younger brother to me, and I wrote to the sorrowing father how I felt when I heard the sad news. And he wrote back: "It will never be the same again." And he really was never altogether the same man again. He retired from Calcutta for a time and lived at Santiniketan. The death of his wife in 1935 left him desolate. A more loving husband I have never known. Always deeply reserved, frugal of speech, he unbent in congenial society and became what he was in his home and to his friends, —the most urbane and delightful of companions. He loved children and children loved him.

A man of rare moral elevation, of unimpeachable private life, deeply religious, of transparent sincerity of conduct, he led a simple ordered life such as all can live, but few do. The material simplicity of his existence was something extraordinary and rarely met with. His devotion, his courage, his selflessness, his indifference to praise or blame or public opinion were worthy of emulation even by the highest in our land. He who gives these to the world gives to it infinitely more than those who give laws and schemes, doctrines and dogmas or lead rival parties of politics. For more than thirty-five years it was my singular good fortune to enjoy his fatherly affection. He guided me, he helped me; he encouraged me and praised me. He gave more than I deserved, and with a contrite heart, I remember occasions when I must have hurt his feelings. But he was always understanding, always forgiving; I can never repay his kindness. Now that he is gone, I can only offer to his sacred memory my tear-stained tribute of love and reverence, my heart's homage to his immortal soul.

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MERELY A SPORT, OR A CREATION OF LOVE ?

With Gleanings from Rabindranath

By PRAPHULLA KUMAR DAS

the creation of the world by God merely a sport (*lila kaivalyam*), or a Creation of Love ? "But what is the necessity of raising this question" ? It may be asked. To this enquiry we give the reply in the following words.

The *Bhagabadgita*, the most popular of the sacred books of the East, says—"Among thousands of men scarcely one strives for perfection, and of those who strive and succeed, scarcely one knows Me in truth," that is, has the intuitive realisation of My Self. This however does not present an encouraging prospect before those who are devotedly striving after a life of communion with God. But that as it may, the truth underlying the above quote from the *Bhagabadgita* cannot be questioned as we find that it is grounded on the direct spiritual experience of the *rishis* (*i.e.*, the enlightened ones, sages) whose teachings have come down to us in 'that remarkable group of scriptures called the *Upanisads* from which the *Gita* is known to have derived its main inspiration. Take the paradox of the inscrutability of *Brahman* in the *Keno Upanisad* (1.11), "He who feels that he has not been able to know Him has come to know Him ; on the other hand he who thinks that he knows *Brahman* does not in reality know Him." This is so, for *Brahman* cannot be comprehended as an object of knowledge in nature or described. God can be known only in intutive apprehension or *saksatkar*, *i.e.*, direct vision of Reality. The truth of the above statement of the *Gita* is further borne out by the words of Christ. While teaching by the similitude of labourers in the vineyard, he said, "The last shall be the first and the first last ; for many be called but few chosen."

Yet, in spite of the disheartening prospect laid out before them, the men of devotion, in those days of plain-living and high-thinking, of spiritual enlightenment and affluence, persevered in their quest of the Eternal to reach the goal ; for they were convinced that to know the *Brahman* is the highest aim of life. Thus it has been possible for the world to give birth to the God-men who sacrificed their all to make room in their hearts for the Giver of all. Without these men the world would have been a waste land, which it is not.

The Call of God ; Its Reality

Hence the man of devotion (*bhakta*) or God-man in spite of the words of warning given by the masters about the difficulty of "the way that leadeth unto life" strives on to reach the goal ever attracted by the call of the Deep which reaches his inner self, sweet as the melodious music of the flute, though inaudible to the outer sense. Had it not been so he could never have reached his goal surmounting the obstacles lying in the path of salvation.

From what has been said above, it may be, a man of faith following the path of reason and knowledge might raise the question,—"The above lines hold out a charming prospect, no doubt, before our mental vision, but has it any objective reality which can be apprehended by us inwardly"? To put it more pointedly, does the Supreme Being, All-knowing and All-wise, Whose glorious majesty is revealed throughout the world, ('*yah sarvajnah sarvabid yasyaisa mahima bhubi*') ever concern Himself in any way with every individual's spiritual efforts, encouraging as well as helping him inwardly whenever necessary ?" This question leads us to the central theme of our discussion.

We shall answer the question worded as above by first affirming the reality of the call of attraction inwardly felt by the devotee of unswerving loyalty to his Beloved. It is, in the words of Tagore, "not a mere subjective idea, but an energising truth ; and whatever symbol may be used to signify it, the consciousness of this call is spiritual." He gave utterance to what he felt in many of his devotional songs ; here is one out of the many instances of his yearning cry for the Infinite on hearing His call :

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I am restless ; I yearn after the remote !
Remote, O Thou far remote !
Thou playest
A thrilling music on Thy flute !
I am listless, Oh Remote, I am indifferent
to my surroundings.

The same kind of feeling was voiced by Kabir, the mystic devotee of the fifteenth century, for whom Rabindranath had great admiration :

What is that flute whose music thrills me
with joy (*kaun murali sabd sun anand bhayo*).

Again,

I hear the melody of His flute, and I
cannot contain myself (*ham se raha na jay*).

The above are clear instances of the devotee's personal experience of the call of attraction from God symbolised by the music of the flute. This experience is directly apprehended by a selfless devotee who feels the highest attachment to the object of his adoration. Such a soul has a foretaste of the joy of other-wordliness which makes him fitly attuned to receive inwardly the unheard melody that ever attracts him, but which remains unheard by others. His soul is like the finely attuned receiving set responsive to the musical wave vibrating in a distant plane of the ether ; but the vibration is not caught by any other musical instrument having a set of strings however finely tuned they may be. Nor is the knower of *Brahman* (*i.e.*, one versed in the analytic or indirect knowledge about *Brahman*; His ways, manifestations, and acts in the great drama of the world) necessarily a God-man who can have this direct apprehension of God. So says Rabindranath, "But the knower of *Brahman* (*Brahmajnanee*) is not necessarily the devotee (*bhakta*) of Brahman." He then goes on to say, "It is for this reason that the scriptures say that the truths of spiritual experience lie hidden in the inmost recess of the heart." Hence, "the proof of their reality does not depend on our arguments, or discussions. We however know it for certain that they do exist." The number of the saints and mystics who have borne testimony to this experience of theirs is not few. The religious literature of the world is enriched with the records of their experience which some of them chose to give utterance to for the good of mankind. We may accept them as true or reject them ; but to reject them would be to ignore the most vital part of the experience of the human race. "In matters of physical science," says Radhakrishnan, "We accept what the greatest investigators in their departments declare for truth. In matters of religious truth we should listen with respect to what the great religious geniuses, who strove by faith and devotion to attain their spiritual eminence, have given out. In religious experience personal encounter is as real as the encounter of subject and object in cognitive experience."

Lila

Now comes the main subject of discussion before us—Why should the Creator who is the ruler of this vast universe feel attracted to each one of His devotees and encourage him by His Call ? Some people try to cut the Gordian knot saying the off-repeated words "It is His *lila*." Yes, it is ; but what is this *lila* like ? We shall try to answer this by putting to ourselves the question —"Why did God create this universe"? It must be understood first of all that we are not speaking here of the Absolute Being (*nirguna Brahman*), incomprehensible and indescribable, being without determinations. "The *Upanisads* do not reduce the Absolute devoid of all determinations to a bare abstraction. The absolute is a living reality with a creative urge. When this aspect is stressed the Absolute becomes a personal God, *Isvara*." (Radhakrishnan). The two are not different entities, but two aspects of the one Unity. In relation to man and the universe created by Him, the Personal God, *Isvara* is *Brahman with the principle of self-manifestation.*

The word "*lila*" (sport), in connection with the creation of the universe was perhaps first used by the author of the *Brahmasutra* (also called the *Vedanta Darshan*) the most authentic treatise giving a synopsis of the philosophy of the *Vedanta* (*i.e.*, the *Upanisads*), in a very condensed but pointed way by means of short aphorisms (called *sutras*). All the commentators of the *Brahmasutra* agree that it was intended to be a summary of the teachings of the *Upanisads*. In the second chapter of the second book, in the section dealing with the creation of the universe, the author argues that the theory of the creation of the world by *Brahman* out of a motive or necessity cannot be accepted (*naprayojanavattvat*). Commentators explain—God cannot have a need or motive for creating the universe, for He is All-sufficient. His desires are eternally fulfilled. Since He is without any motive, and since without

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motive no activity is possible, therefore God's tion of the world can not be accepted. The sutra says—But as in ordinary life, creation only a sport or pastime to Brahman (*lokavat-likaivalyom*); *i.e.*, though there may not be motive, yet, as commentators explain, let be understood that it is a mere sport with Creator; as in this world men in high position have no unfulfilled desires indulge in sport relessly. Nor can the Creator desist from act of creation, for it is the spontaneous over- of His nature; even as men cannot help thing in and out. This gives answer to the tion—why does He indulge in this activity? cannot He rest inactively or sterilely in self? It has already been made out that the olute is a living reality with a creative urge; we shall see a few lines below *how this tive urge reveals the Creator* as Brahman the *principle of self-manifestation*. Now, as what is that 'nature of God' from which tion proceeds spontaneously, it is well-known the various texts of the Upanisads, chiefly "*anandaddhyeva khalvimani bhutani te*" (truly it is from bliss that all beings are) (Taittiriya 3.6.1). As to what is meant 'bliss' as the source of creation, and other questions coming in its wake, we shall a full answer below.

Here we are confronted with some questions follow one another: If the creation was a sport having no plan or purpose be- it, why did God create a world like this not any other? If we grant that the creation world like this was merely an accident, the question would be, "why did not the creative of God stop with the creation of this tial universe?" In other words, "why did sport take the turn of creating sentient like men endowed with intelligence, tion and action"? What was the cause of creation of the world of matter and then that the embodied souls, unless we attribute some al motive behind this action on the part of Creator? For a comprehensive answer to all questions, we shall come to the writings Rabindranath which give a full explanation the mystery of creation in the light of teachings of the Upanisads. In the of sermons delivered by him in Bengali published under the title of *Shantiniketan* tly as 1909, in his innumerable devotional songs, and in lectures delivered in England twenty years later (published under the titles of *The Creative Unity* and *The Religion of Man*), he has left a rich store of spiritual food that will serve for generations to come to minister to the spiritual cravings of sincere enquirers.

Rabindranath begins his exposition of this subject by giving the derivative meaning of the Sanskrit word *sristi* (*i.e.*, creation) coming from its root srij, whch means 'parting with,' 'giving away' or 'sacrificing.' According to some others the root srij implies 'emanation,' 'letting loose.' He who is the Creator sacrifices his own self. This act of giving away does not detract from the integrity of Brahman. He creates by giving away His Self." This conception of the act of creation by sacrificing the Creator's Self is one of the earliest to be found in our scriptures, for it is found in the Rig Veda. Says Radhakrishnan, "The *Purusha-Sukta* of the Rig Veda makes out that in the original act of creation, God has torn Himself apart. The act of creation is an act of sacrifice." Rabindranath had said this years ago in his book *Santiniketan*. He says, "This act of giving away is not the outcome of any necessity or constraint. The nature of bliss (ananda) or joy of the Creator is therefore, to give Himself away spontaneously. In that sense, of the essential nature of the Creator, He is a 'giver (of joy).' The Upanisad also has so characterised Brahman—'This is it that bestows joy' (*esho hieva anandayati*). We also know this from our experience in life. "Our joy" the Seer-poet goes on to say, "gratifies or fulfils itself by imparting a part of it to others spontaneously." Hence the Upanisad says, "Truly, beings here are born from Bliss." As to what is meant by 'bliss,' we find that the same text of the *sruti* begins by saying, "He (the sage Bhrigu) knew that Brahman is bliss." What is the meaning of 'Brahman is bliss'? The sruti says, 'the Self consists of bliss,' *i.e.*, is full of bliss (Atma-anandamayah). The word '*maya*' implies abundance. Brahman abounds in bliss and this bliss is immeasurable. Thus from the Upanisad texts we come to find that Brahman is full of bliss; and from Rabindranath's interpretation of the sruti—'this is it that bestows joy', we find that the Creator, from the abundance of bliss which is the essence of His being creates by giving Himself away. Now, from this interpretation, it is but one step to come to the reply to the question 'why did God

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create man'? At the outset we are to bear in mind that in the Upanisads, the Personal God (*saguna Brahman*) as the Creator has *not* been characterised as one *without any desire*; rather, we find the opposite being distinctly stated—*'so' kamayata, bahu syam'* (11.6.1 Tait.), *i.e*, He desired let me be many. So, on the authority of the Upanisad, we find that "the Lord of all creation has *kama* in the sense of *desire*." In other places of different Upanisads too, we find words have been used which, though they do not explicitly signify 'desire' have yet been used to denote some kind of intention—(a) He thought shall I create worlds? (*Aitareya* 1.1.); (b) He thought may I be many (*Chhandyogya* 6.2.3.), etc. Let us now see what could be the source of this desire in the Creator for His being many. Evidently, for the All-Wise Creator it could not have been an aimless or fantastic desire like that of an insane person, as Sankara points out. Now, in the expression, 'let me be many,' the word 'many' *i.e.*, manifold objects, may stand for non-sentient *i.e.*, soulless, as well as sentient beings. Let us think that God at first created the material universe which, in itself, amply manifests His glory and power. But so long as He did not bring forth the sentient beings as men are, in this world, the Creator would remain hidden in the midst of the soulless universe in an unrevealed state of mere self-awareness, which is the fundamental consciousness of Brahman as the Absolute, *i.e.*, the *Nirguna Brahman* to which alone this state of self-awareness is applicable. But it has been pointed out that the Absolute is a living Reality with a creative urge; and now we can see that as a Personal God He is *Iswara with the principle of self-manifestation*. For, led by this creative urge Iswara desired to bring forth the embodied soul, man, whom He provided with a body equipped with vital breath (*prana*) and mind (*Mundaka Upanisad*), that he (*i.e.* man) might realise in his spirit the manifestation of God. Self-manifestation of the Creator implies the apprehension of the Self of the Supreme Spirit in the spirit of man, the external world playing a subordinate yet an important part in helping man to "To look through nature up to nature's God." So the Seer-poet said, *God wants this manifestation of His Self* in the mind of man. Thus was man, destined to be the co-sharer of His bliss, sent to this world.

Here we get the reply to the question, "*Why was man created,*" as well as why the Creator is represented as Brahman with the *principle* of *self-manifestation*. Hence sings the Seer-poet,

Thou wilt have Thy *Lila* with me;
It is for this that I have come to this world (*Gitanjali*). Then, as to what is meant by the word "lila," and why this material world was created, he sings—

You and I shall unite in (the play of) love;
For this the sky is full of splendour, the earth
full of blooming beauties.

So we see, man was intended by his Creator to be the Central figure, the hero in the cosmic drama of creation destined to unite in love with his Creator as his Beloved; and the material world was to be the background of this play of love helping man to unfold his spirit. But without man, the central figure, merely the material world, wonderful and beautiful though it might be, would be meaningless—

"This round of green, this orb of flame
Fantastic beauty, such as lurks
In some wild Poet, when he works
Without a conscience of an aim."

What would it matter, then, if there were no God if there existed no man?

But how can the external world of nature help man in unfolding his soul? To serve His purpose God "created man in His own image" giving him a fraction of his own nature of consciousness (*jnanam*) and bliss (*anandam*); so that man might realise with his power of apprehension the manifestation of the Creator in the outside world, and be filled with admiration and love for Him to feel the bliss of thus discovering the *anandamaya* as the Bestower of bliss (as the Upanisad says—'This is it that bestows joy'). (Here is the true and everlasting significance of the Old Testament account of the story of creation—"God made man in His own image.") In this gift of bliss, man will discover that the *Creator is also the spring of boundless love* whence proceeds this flow of bliss. This gift of bliss is but an aspect of the love of God for man; for who ever gave away gifts worth giving spontaneously, *unless out of* the spring of *love* in him for the reveiver thereof? So the poet-philosopher says in one place—"The fundamental truth of the religion of love (*Bhakti-Shastra*) is that the relation of the Finite with

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Infinite is one of joy, that is, of *love* :" the osopher Sankara also says, "That which is ed the nature of being blissfulness, is also nature of being the source of highest love. *Atmanatma Viveka.*"

This manifestation of His joy, which is but aspect of His love for man, He seeks in the rit of every man ; and for this, says the Seer-et, "everyday His messages carrying tidings newer sources of beauty reach the door of ry man's heart. So he sings in one of his ous songs—

r this have you come down within our reach unite your love in the love of your devotee."

This was the Seer-poet's inmost and unalterable h to which he gave expression in several of sermons at Santiniketan (1909), and this he rated twenty years later in one of his lectures England. Here are his own words—

"If this was not true, then it would be an utter humiliation to exist at all in this world. If it were solely our business to seek the Lover, and his to keep Himself passively aloof in the infinity of His glory, or actively masterful only in imposing His commands upon us, then we should dare to defy Him and refuse to accept the everlasting insult latent in the one-sided importunity of a slave." —*The Creative Unity.*

Tagore gives his own rendering of the song a *Baul* (a Class of religious mendicants of ern India, who have no special incarnations their simple theology.)

"My longing is to meet you in play of love,
my Lover,
But this longing is not only mine,
but also yours ;
For your lips can have their smile,
and your flute its music, only in your delight in my love ; and therefore you are importunate, even as I am."

And he thus explains this song, "Your could not have its music of beauty if your ht were not in my love. Your power is and there I am not equal to you, but it even in me to make you smile, and if you I never meet, then this play of love remains plete. This conception of the reciprocity of is the corner stone of the *Vaishnava* religion ch is a religion of love. In the *Bhagavata Purana*, the standard work of this religion, God is represented as saying, "The devotees are my heart and I am the heart of my devotees. They know no one else than me, I know no one else than them." Nor was this conception confined to any *age*; in the *Bhagavadgita* which was composed more than two thousand years ago, the author puts it in the mouth of Krishna (standing for God), "I am supremely dear to him whose devotion is single-minded, and he also is dear to me." Nor is this realisation confined to any *country* ; Rabindranath quotes the following from the poem of an English poet of devotion, in his book *Santiniketan*—

"Thou hast need of thy meanest creature ;
Thou hast need of what once was thine ;
The thirst that consumes my spirit
Is the thirst of thy heart for mine."

St. Augustine is said to have expressed the same truth—"Thou hast created us for Thyself, and our heart is restless till it finds Thee."

We sum up in Tagore's own words :

"God's will, in giving his love, finds its completeness in man's will returning his love. Therefore, Humanity is a necessary factor in the perfecting of the divine truth. The Infinite, for its self-expression, comes down into the manifoldness of the Finite ; and the Finite, for its self-realisation, must rise into the unity of the Infinite. Then only is the Cycle of Truth complete."

—*The Creative Unity*

We cannot resist the temptation of adding one more instance of what perhaps is an experience of the most intimate and unique realisation of union between the Finite and the Infinite in the enjoyment of the bliss of mutual joy in which the two seem to coalesce while retaining their separate entities, the One functioning through the other :

What divine drink (amrita) wouldst thou have,
my God, from this overflowing cup of my life?
My poet, is it thy delight to see thy creation
through my eyes and to stand at the portals of
my ears silently to listen to thine eternal
harmony ?

Thy world is weaving words in my mind and thy
joy is adding music to them. Thou givest thy-
self to me in love and then feelest thine own
entire sweetness in me.

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(The Poet's own rendering from the original *Gitanjali* in Bengali.)

Lastly, he who has heard the song of his Beloved's call has begun to run his race, and will not stop till the goal is reached in the union with his Beloved. But what is the destiny, it may be enquired, that lies in store for others—multitudes of people, good, bad and indifferent? The master's reply is that the call of sustenance and encouragement for all of them is heard coming over the Deep—

"That nothing walks with aimless feet;
That not one life shall be destroyed,
Or cast as rubbish to the void,
When God hath made the pile complete."

Since God has torn Himself apart and created each individual soul out of His own Self (which is but an aspect of His love) so that all of them may have a share of His Infinite bliss, the whole creation is meant to be a moral 'edifice' ('pile'). "The world is not a completed act; it is still in the process of completion. The world-spirit exists in the human-spirit which can attain to a consciousness of itself," says the philosopher. So the Creator, out of His infinite love for each individual spirit, "cannot cast him into the void as rubbish." He will wait for aeons and ages till each one who is a fraction of His Self comes to feel the urge for leading a career of personal endeavour by which alone the path of freedom or *mukti* may be attained. He does not force anyone, but he is keeping ceaseless watch upon the career of everyone, and whenever, in the cosmic process of spiritual evolution any soul needs His encouragement or succour, He gives it to him according to his attainment. Says the Seer-poet,

"Thou art steadfastly gazing at me
through the countless stars of the whole
expanse of the sky."

Thus, the Lover will continue to wait; "for as long as the bud (of the spirit) does not come to full bloom, the offering of the finite soul's worship is not ready."

God says, "I do not demand your offering from you forcibly; I have given you my own-self, give me your joy in me; he who is unmindful to me through ignorance will discover his mistake someday or other."

Thus, would the Creator be waiting endlessly as the individual soul will proceed from state to state, from birth to birth—

"Look also, Love a brooding star,
A rosy warmth from marge to marge."

This is the *lila* of God, the play of love. The whole creation is thus one of love, and the union of each soul with his Creator is—

"The one far-off divine event
To which the whole creation moves."

And, the same Seer-poet of England also realised—

"Love Creation's final law." *Tennyson.*

So the *rishi* had declared, "Truly, it is from Bliss [*i.e.* from Love, the source of all bliss] that all these beings are born."

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ALLAN OCTAVIAN HUME'S POLITICAL TESTAMENT : AN APPRAISAL

Prof. B. L. GROVER, M.A., Ph.D.

The popular image of Allan Octavian e as a liberal and one of the founders he Indian National Congress does not e a complete picture of the impact of his sonality on Indian political life. An ect which has not so far received ade- le attention at the hands of scholars is orientation which Hume gave to Indian ical thought. Hume rightly sensed among the politically-conscious Indians e was a growing conviction—a direct tion to the failure of the struggle of 58—that the methods of revolution e futile. As an Englishman interested e perpetuation of British rule in India, ecussed attention on the alternative e of winning over the goodwill of the ish Government and thereby securing e constitutional advantages. This idea h was already there in an embryonic was skilfully seized by him and given finite shape and direction through the ching of a loyal Indian National Con- s. Hume made no insignificant contri- n in creating among the thinking por- of the Indian community a tradition yalty towards the British Crown, in ting their minds and energies into the nels of constitutional agitation thereby tively minimizing the chance of its into violent and dangerous courses. her, by his intense humanity and abid- ympathy for the Indian people, Hume ened their faith in British justice and lay. The Indian National Congress conceived to generate a particular line inking as also to serve as an efficacious y-valve for the escape of public resent- . Hume served the cause of the British re more than the cause of India's tion. It was no mere coincidence that e's severance of active association with Indian National Congress by giving up of the General Secretary in 1906, wit- ed the emergence of a ginger-group in gress which stood up against the 'in- tive' methods for which Hume and the gress stood; the showdown with the 'Old Guard' came at the Surat session of the Congress in December 1907.

Hume's Conditioned Humanitarianism

By inheritance and upbringing Allan Hume was a liberal who worked for the general good of humanity. His father, Joseph Hume, headed the Radical group in the British Parliament for thirty years; Joseph championed the cause of the Indian people during the debates on the Charter Act of 1854. The son imbibed in his character the qualities of intolerance of injustice, tenacity of purpose combined with the devotion of a missionary to his work. Even in his capacity as a District Officer (1849-67) at Etawah in U.P., Allan Hume lent the weight of his position to the spread of education,[1] advocated temperance,[2] setting up of juvenile reformatories, eradiction of social evils like female infanticide, child marriage, forced widowhood etc. The improvement of the lot of the Indians was very dear to his heart for which he worked whether in office or out of office. He identified himself with the people of India and in his correspondence with Lord Dufferin referred to the Indians as "Our people."

Hume's liberalism was, however, of a 'paternalistic' type. It was his firm conviction that India would benefit from the continuation of British rule. He showed unflinching faith in the Anglo-Indian connection and worked for strengthening these bonds. When the idea of forming an Indian National Union was first mooted in 1883, a preliminary report was sent to members which read thus: "The National Union, so far as it has been constituted, appears to be absolutely unanimous in insisting that unswerving loyalty to the British Crown, shall be the key-note of the institution.....it holds the continued affiliation of India to Great Britain, at any rate for a period far exceeding the range of any political forecast, to be **absolutely essential** to the interests of our own National Development."[3] One funda-

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mental objective of the Indian National Congress was to make unflinching effort for "the consolidation of union between England and India." Amongst the early teachings and preachings of the Congress, Hume listed the following:

> "The people are taught to recognize the many benefits that they owe to British rule, as also the fact that on the peaceful continuation of that rule depend all hopes for the peace and prosperity of the country. They are taught that the many hardships and disabilities of which they complain are after all, though real enough, small in comparison with the blessings they enjoy.....The sin of illegal or anarchical proceedings are brought home to them, and the conviction is engendered that by united, patient, constitutional agitation they are certain ultimately to obtain all they can reasonably or justly ask for, while by any recourse to hasty or violent action they must inevitabily ruin their cause and entail endless misery on themselves."[4]

An ex-Secretary to the Government of India in the Hume Department, Hume had conclusive evidence of the mounting discontent in India due to the Government's unimaginative policies. Frequent famines plagued the very existence of the people. Lawlessness was on the increase in the Deccan and cases of violence frequent. India stood on the verge of a revolution. Hume decided to act to safeguard the interests of the British Empire. He sought a constitutional channel for the discharge of the great surging tide of discontent. In reply to a letter from Sir Auckland Colvin, Governor of the N. W. P., emphasising that the Congress movement was premature, Hume wrote back: "I have always admitted that in certain provinces and from certain points of view the movement was premature, but from the most vital point of view, the future maintenance of the integrity of the British Empire, the real question, when the Congress started was, **not**, is it premature, but is it too late—will the country **now** accept it?....A safety-valve for the escape of great and growing forces, generated by our own action, was urgently needed, and no more efficacious safety-valve than our Congress movement could possibly be devised."[5] Hume's approach, under the circumstances was similar to that of Lord Durham who had reported on the Canadian affairs in 1839 and had recommended grant of representative government coupled with the tightening of Imperial control by the union of Ontario with Quebec. It was Hume's firm conviction that some political concessions were inevitable to placate the Indian feelings, for concessions alone could save the British empire from the explosive situation it faced. In a letter of August 1886, Hume in an impassioned manner pleaded for broad-basing the Indian administration: "I only want you, dear Lord Dufferin to understand—to think for yourself—you who have read and realized history—what all this means—what must come to, unless you and someone bestir themselves to disinfect the insalubrious streams of the administration by turning into them the purer element of independent indigenous representation."[6] Thus Hume's limited objective as far as Indian aspirations were concerned was limited to the demand for an efficient, honest and sympathetic administration coupled with the extension of the system of representation of Indians in the Legislative Councils. Hume did not advocate the grant of Home Rule to India, much less full independence. Rather, he hoped to perpetuate Britain's rule in India by broadbasing it on the willing consent and co-operation of the ruled.

Hume did much to enliven loyalty to the British Crown. If the Indians had some grievances, Hume attributed them to the insolence and callousness of the bureaucracy or ignorance of the British people of Indian problems and not due to any deliberate policy of exploitation. The British Crown stood for the well-being of the Indian people, who were Her Majesty's most sacred trust. Thus Hume explained away the issue of exploitation. He, in fact, gave a new orientation to Indian political thought. The educated opinion in the country rallied round Hume's banner (the Indian National Congress) and harped on the tune of loyalty year after year. At the first session of the Congress at Bombay

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W. C. Bonnerjee proclaimed the questioned loyalty of the Indian National ress in these words: "Let him say for all.....that there were no more ughly loyal and consistent well-ers of the British Government than himself and the friends around him."[7] the second session of the Congress at tta (1886) Dadabhai Naoroji dwelt on "civilising rule of the Queen and the le of England." He posed the question himself answered it: "Is this Congress rsery for sediton and rebellion against British Government (shouts of 'no, or is it another stone in the foun-n of the stability of that Govern-? (cries of 'yes, yes'). There could but one answer, and that you already given, because we are all ughly sensible of the numberless bless-conferred on us, of which the very ence of this Congress is a proof in a ell (cheers).....Let us speak out like and proclaim that we are loyal to the one"[8] (cheers again). Confirming his in British sense of fairplay and justice, bhai in his second presidential address hore (1893) said: "I for one have not adow of a doubt that in dealing with ustice-loving, fair-minded people as the h, we may rest fully assured that we not work in vain.....I have never ed in my faith in the British charac-Surendra Nath Banerjea as Congress ent (1895) announced that the Indian al Congress did not work for sever-but unification and permanent embodi-of India as an integral part of the great h Empire and that the Indians could with unbounded confidence on the jus-nd generosity of the British people and representatives in Parliament.[10] Mr. nkaran Nair used even more emphatic age in his presidential address (1897):" me say at once that in the remarks I that I deem it superfluous to proclaim yalty to the British Throne or Consti-or to add that we have not the est sympathy with any speech or writ-which would regard a severance of our ction as a desirable consummation."[11] C. Wedderburn, a disciple and close d of Hume outdid all Congress presi-dents—delivering his presidential address (1889) he referred to the demonstration of Indian love and respect for Ripon at the latter's retirement from India and added: "These demonstrations were a popular declaration that on such terms **British rule could be accepted as the national government of the Indian people.**" Thus Congress presidents, one after the other vied with one another in proclaiming the loyalty of the organisation to the British Crown and affirming their faith in British justice.

Allan Hume aimed at bridging the widening gulf between India and England by a twofold approach—injecting the spirit of loyalty among educated Indians and attack on the loose ends of British administration in India. He attributed the sufferings of the people to the callousness of the top-heavy bureaucracy. Himself a victim[12] of the excesses of the bureaucracy, Hume urged Lord Dufferin to improve the administration by provision of cheap, sure and speedy system of justice; a police system to which the people could look as friends and protectors; a more elastic and sympathetic revenue system; a less harsh administration of the Arms and Forest laws and above all ending of racial discrimination in criminal cases and recruitment to public services. Hume brought to the notice of the Viceroy cases of racial and official discrimination against the Indians in criminal cases which he described as analogous to the state of affairs in England during the Chartist movement; he also made reference to the **Punch** cartoon in which the special constable says to the Chartist: "Look here if I kill you it's nothing, but if you kill me it's murder." Hume likened the Indian bureaucracy to the regime of the Bourbon Kings of France in the latter half of the 18th century who had neither eyes to see nor ears to hear and upon whom sudden destruction was brought by the hatred of the intellectuals energizing the dull despair of the masses. Hume believed that 'toadyism' existed in India to a greater degree than anywhere else. Needless to add that the bureaucracy and the system they perpetuated proved stronger than individual viceroys!

The Indian bureaucracy did not relish Hume's strictures on their administration

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and retaliated by indulging in character assassination. They attributed uncharitable motives to his altruism. Lord Reay, the Governor of Bombay, described Hume as "the head-centre of the organisation from which emanated all the Ripon demonstration" and believed that the London Committee of the Indian National Congress was supporting 'Riponism' in that country as an electioneering move of the Liberal party in England.[13] Mr. J. B. Peile, a member of the Viceroy's Council, found Hume's actions motivated by "misguided ambition," while C. P. Ilbert, the Law Member, doubted his honesty and described him as "an incorrigible mischief-monger."[14] Some suggested the immediate deportation of Hume from India.

True, both Hume and the bureaucrats sought the same objective, namely consolidation and perpetuation of British rule in India, their methods differed. While the bureaucracy believed that this objective could be achieved by strict and efficient administration, Hume contended that a sympathetic administration congnizant of the feelings of the Indians could achieve the same end more effectively.

Hume's Political Eclipse

Allan Hume earned a position of great importance in India by acting as a liasion between the Nationalist workers and Lord Dufferin. Both the parties had faith in his mature judgement. While the nationalists believed that he came as a Messiah (R. N. Mudholkar in his presidential address, Bankipore, 1912, termed Hume as Moses or Aaron and even more successful than Moses)[15] to work for India's political salvation, Lord Dufferin, on his part, believed that Hume was a truly loyal servant of the British Crown. Gopal Krishna Gokhale expressed the importance of Hume's position thus : "If the founder of the Congress had not been a great Englishman and a distinguished ex-official, such was the disturst of political agitation in those days that the authorities would have at once found some way or other of suppressing the movement." Besides a political organisation associated with the name of an Englishman was likely to be sympathetically viewed by liberal-minded Englishmen in England.

Hume's great influence in the Congress waned as years rolled on and not unoften he met with the opposition of his co-workers. In a personal letter of August 1886 to the Viceroy, Hume tried to dispel the widespread impression in the Anglo-Indian and official circles about his unique position in the Congress party and wrote : "If you think I am at all a **dictator** you are quite mistaken. There is no doubt that if in certain matters, if.....my views chanced to coincide with theirs could apparently do great things and exercise extraordinary influence. But on the other hand I am wholly powerless."[16] He believed his position in the Congress Party was no better than that of a "fly in the wheel."[17] How greatly disillusioned Hume felt would be clear from another letter he wrote to Lord Dufferin wherein he opened his heart thus :

> "And now I have done all I can, and, to tell the truth, am getting gradually very angry and disgusted. I undertook this work under assurance of all necessary support, by which I certainly understood being vouched for in all I advanced under their suggestions, and this vouching for, directly I cannot obtain, at least hitherto failed to obtain.....There is not even one Indian who will publicly stand by me and say openly it is all true.....I am distinctly enjoined to let it be gradually known that I was working under the advice and guidance of advanced initiates (Mahatmas) and I have done so, and having done so, am apparently so far stranded that though hundreds of thousands, it may be a million or two do know that this is true, the great mass of Europeans, at any rate, must look upon me as a lunatic or a liar....I have made up my mind.....to drop all reference to my friends—to cease to admit that I have any longer any connection with them—unless they are in a position to give advice which ought not to be disregarded on public matters."[18]

The nationalist leaders charged Hume with vanity and being incapable of any superhuman achievement. In his second

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idential address at Allahabad (1892) C. Bonnerjee, a stalwart of the Congress ganisation from its very inception, said: e Congress movement is only to some ent, and I may say, only a limited extent, to the influence which Mr. Hume has ercised over us. It is not the influence of man or of that man or of any third that has made the Congress what it Despite his disillusionment and tical eclipse in the Congress organisa- Hume did not break off connections the party but became more and more terested. In 1891, Hume expressed his re to proceed to England, but was pre- d upon to stay on in India. However Congress Party appointed Pandit dhyanath as the Joint General Secretary in 1893 Mr. Ananda Charlu was named e Joint General Secretary. In 1894, Hume ly left India. Although Hume continued e designated as the General Secretary e Congress till the year 1906, Mr. D. E. ka was appointed as Joint General tary to act for Hume in India.

Hume's disillusionment from the ernment House was also not late in ng. It was Lord Ripon who had re- ended Hume's name to Lord Dufferin the remark that this ex-secretary to Government possessed a good know- and understanding of the Indian ems. Dufferin gave Hume easy s and invited him on a number of sions to discuss public matters. It was long before that Lord Dufferin dis- ed Hume to be of 'unpracticable e.' Hume's suggestion for the appoint- of a Public Service Commission com- g Mr. Aitchinson (Chairman) and W. Wedderburn, Prof. Wordsworth, Henry on and Hume himself as members did find favour with the Viceroy. Dufferin refused to discuss with Hume any plan representation of Indians in the Legis- e Councils. Hume flattered the Viceroy the latter had more the good of India heart than even Lord Ripon, that he ferin) was in harmony with the gress resolutions in spirit if not in detail. only difference, maintained Hume, that ound between the Congress leaders and ferin lay in the fact that while the former wanted definite action in the desired direction to be taken at once the latter would not act without great preliminary consideration at Governmental level in India and England. Hume's flattery did not yield any dividends and Hume and the Viceroy drifted apart. The Viceroy felt very unhappy at some of Hume's writings which cast aspersions on the Viceroy himself. Hume had published a collection of newspaper articles under the title "The Rising Tide" and in the preface attributed to the Viceroy the recommendation to the Secretary of State for sterner measures and restrictions on the press and made references to the secret correspondence that had passed between the authorities in India and England, which in the same preface Hume described as "dishonest, disingenious and insulting to the people of India" Dufferin took strong exception to these allegations which he described as baseless and accused Hume and his friends of indulging in the "systematic defamation of the Government." Duffering penned a strong personal note to be sent to Hume which was worded thus: "Is it then, I would ask you, consistent with your honour and self respect or with the patriotism of an Englishman and a loyal subject of the Queen to add to the Viceroy's difficult task of governing this country by disseminating among the people of India and the public at home the groundless insinuations in regard to his personal sentiments and his confidential communications with the Secretary of State which are contained in this pamphlet."[20] This draft letter was sent to members of the Viceroy's Council for their comments. However, to avoid entering into a public controversy with Hume, Dufferin did not despatch the letter and allowed the matter to rest there.

The year 1887 saw the activization of Congress propaganda and publication of pamphlets like 'The Old Man's Hope,' 'A Congress Catechism,' 'A conversation between Moulvi Fukruddin and one Rambukh of Kamliaklipur' etc., and the stiffening of official attitude which described such publications as seditious and savouring of the methods used by the Anti-Corn Law League in England or Irish Fenianism. Lord

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Dufferin denounced the Congress Party as a 'microscopic minority' and their ultimate aspirations as 'a big jump into the unknown.' Even at the social level Lord Duffering refused to communicate with Hume and did not acknowledge any of his letters.[21] In his correspondence with the Secretary of State, Dufferin. described Hume as 'idiot enough.'[22] This estrangement between Hume and Dufferin which became more and more wide as the years rolled on was more due to their different appreciation of India's problems. While Hume believed that the Indians, if not pacified, would rise in open insurrection, Dufferin described his fears as 'foolish.' Hume felt unhappy at Dufferin's 'dignified take-it-easy attitude,' while the Viceroy considered Hume as myopic in political judgment.

Although Allan Hume lost his position of pre-eminence in the Congress party and influence with Lord Dufferin, his efforts had not been fruitless. His services to the cause of British Imperialism are incalculable. He generated new thought waves in India. He focussed attention on loyalty to the British Crown and the British sense of justice and fair-play. He emphasised the efficacy of constitutional methods for redress of Indian grievances. Unchannelled, the politically conscious Indians would have drifted into the arms of revolutionaries. That 'extremism' crept into the ranks of the Indian National Congress in the early years of the 20th century was more due to the wooden and unimaginative policy of British ruling circles fed on the neo-imperialism of the time. Nevertheless Hume's political conditioning of the Indian National Congress left an impact on the Congress which it could never completely shake off.

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1. When after the holocaust of 1857-58 the official opinion turned against the spread of popular education, Hume indignantly wrote in his report of January 1859 : "Assert its supremacy as it may at the bayonet's point, a free and civilised government must look for its stability and permanence to the enlightenment of the people and their moral and intellectual capacity to appreciate its blessings" (Quoted by W. C. Wedderburn in Allan Hume's biography, p. 17).

2. Hume described Abkaree as the Wages of Sin. In a report of 14th September 1860 Hume showed his unhappiness at the increase of revenue from liquor traffic and wrote : "Of this revenue the Wages of Sin, it may in the words of the old adage be truly said that ill-gotten wealth never thrives, and for every rupee additional that the Abkaree yields, two at least are lost to the public by crime, and spent by the Government in suppressing it" (quoted in *Ibid.*, p. 21).

3. *Ibid.*, p. 53.

4. Hume's speech at the Allahabad session of the Congress. (Dec. 1888), Quoted by C. H. Philips in the "Evolution of India and Pakistan." p. 142.

5. Wedderburn, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

6. Dufferin Private Papers : letter received from Hume dt. 13th August 1886.

7. Congress Presidential Addresses, Natesan & Co., First series, p. 3.

8. Chundal Lallabhai Parekh : Essays, Speeches, Addresses and Writings, of the Hon'ble Dadabhai Naoroji, pp. 332-33.

9. Congress Presidential Addresses, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 251-55.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 337.

12. Hume differed temperamentally from the rank and file of the bureaucracy. His habit of expressing his views with great freedom was construed as insubordination and accounted for his transference in 1879 from the Government of India Secretariat to the Revenue Board at Allahabad. On Hume's insistence to know the cause of the expulsion from his original paradise in Simla, the Private Secretary to Lord Lytton in a letter of 17th June 1879 wrote that the decision of the Government "was based entirely on the consideration of what was most desirable in the interests of the public service."

13. Lord Reay's letter to Lord Dufferin dated 24th May 1885.

14. Ilbert's personal letter to Dufferin dt. 4th November 1886.

15. Congress Presidential Addresses, *op. cit.*, Second series, p. 63.

16. Hume's letter to Dufferin dated 2nd August 1886.

17. *Ibid.*

18. Hume's letter to Lord Dufferin, dt. 27th November 1886.

19. Congress Presidential Addresses, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

20. Dufferin Private Papers, draft letter dt. 18th June 1886.

21. "I have long since ceased to have any communication with Mr. Hume" Dufferin's letter to the Secretary of State dated 18th Nov. 1888.

22. *Ibid.*

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CULTURAL LAG OR ADJUSTMENTAL DELAY—A NOTE

By DEBNATH MOOKHERJEE *

Since W. F. Ogburn coined the term "cultural lag" in early 1920's, it has been variously interpreted and used to mean a number of different situations. According to Ogburn, cultural lag is a lack of adjustment "between two parts of culture, one of which changes before or in greater degree than the other part does." He also precisely differentiated adjustmental delay from cultural lag. Unlike the later concept, adjustmental delay only implies a failure to adjust to a new invention, whereas a lag presupposes the existence of two or more inter-related and interdependent variables. But in spite of a rigid theoretical division between the two concepts, it is very difficult to draw a sharp line between their practical applications, specially when they are looked in a society in transition. Most of the Asian societies are in a stage of transformation, desiring a change towards a betterment in the spheres of their social, economic and political life. As a result of this change an element of conflict and maladjustment is apparent among them in various degrees. It would be rather difficult to describe specifically whether these maladjustments can be termed as cultural lag or adjustmental delay; a satisfactory analysis of these phenomena would call forth a thorough study of their intrinsic social structures. Such an undertaking would be a tremendous task indeed and would go beyond the compass of their paper. An analysis of a few aspects of Indian society (of which the author has some empirical knowledge) may provide an insight into the problem.

In a complex society like in India, one is liable to be even more confused as to the proper use of these concepts. However, the major intent of this paper is not to bring forth any controversy regarding these concepts and their uses but to present a picture of the general nature of the adjustmental problems in India.

One of the various aspects of the psychosocial maladjustments in India is a problem resulting from an absolute high rate of increase of population in recent years. In the last decade, for instance, India has added over seventy-five million people to her total population. This tremendous increase would have some disastrous effect upon the socio-economic structure of India. In the past, population increase was not a great problem in India's village oriented economy. Consequently, there was little need on the part of the people to be concerned about birth control. In recent decades, on the other hand, with a decrease of death-rate mainly through improved medical and sanitary facilities and a maintenance of a steady birth-rate on a relatively broad population base, a disaster of over-population is looming large over the horizon of modern India. And it is absolutely necessary for the people to control and limit the birth-rate. But unfortunately, a large part of the people cannot yet get themselves psychologically adjusted to the idea of practising birth-contsol. The Government of India, however, is trying to stimulate this idea among the people in various ways. Since independence, numerous family planning clinics have been opened, free medical advice in this respect is provided, and attempts are being made to familiarize the people with various birth-control devices. But in spite of all these efforts on the part of the Government, the latest Census Report shows an increase of population by about 21.49 per cent over the previous census, against 17.49 as was expected. Should this situation either be thought of as a cultural lag or only a delay in adjustment between the national need and the psychosocial response? [It is to be remembered in this context that this maladjustment on the part of the people has been intensified to a considerable extent due to their low economic condition and a lack of proper sex-knowledge. With the general spread of educational facilities and a rise in the standard of living, it may be hoped that this problem of adjustment would be minimized to a certain extent in the future.]

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With the development of industrialization and urbanization, various other adjustmental problems have been cropping up in the economic and social structure. The problem emerging from family reorganization may be considered in this respect. The traditional joint patriarchal families were composed of the parents, their unmarried sons and daughters, married sons and their offspring. Each of these families was a largely integrated social unit which provided social, cultural, emotional and economic support, security, stability, and guidance to all the members of the family. Particularly the aged, disabled and infant members of the joint families were specially benefited in that system. Some of the accompanying consequences of urbanization and industrialization resulted in a gradual dispersion of the joint families. The newly created nuclear families, generally composed of the husband, wife, and their unmarried children, are too individualistic in their outlook. Socially and economically these families are either unable or unwilling to play the role of the former joint families. The newly independent State, on the other hand, has not yet been able to extend its social security programmes to fulfil every felt need of the society. As a result of this changing set-up of the family pattern, perhaps a sort of lag has emerged between the social [or rather individual] need, and its socio-national response.

A little contemplation also reveals a psychological maladjustment in this sphere of family reorganization. A large portion of the present-day nuclear families have been compelled to come out of their joint units due to various causes of which employment opportunities and housing problems are two major ones. Besides, joint-property ownership has become uneconomical as a result of recent land tenure and reform measures adopted by the State. Due to the shortage of housing and higher cost of living in the urban areas, to live under the same roof for all the members of a joint family has become an impossibility. Moreover, employment in different parts of the country required some of them to move away from the joint families. It appears that a considerable number of these people have not yet been able to adjust themselves psychologically to their new family structure and environment. Most of them still need the supervision, guidance and security once afforded by the joint families and feel themselves morally responsible for rendering the duties and liabilities to the members of their pre-existing joint unit. As a result of this lack of emotional adjustment an element of unhappiness or an implicit psychological conflict between one's family orientation and that of procreation, is sometimes revealed in the life of some of the people during this transitory period.

A great deal of diversified opinions center around the appropriateness of the caste system in the context of the social change in modern India. It is an accepted fact that the cast system was very closely interrelated with India's socio-economic system from the ancient times. The economic positions and the relative professions of the four castes were Brahmins (priests and intellectuals), Kshattriyas (warriors and administrators), Vaishyas (marchants and cultivators), and Sudras (the menials and servants). Later developments also created a sub-caste, namely, the untouchables. With the gradual change in the traditional socio-economic structure, and with the industrial and urban developments, these differences of occupations and positions have no hard and fast binding upon the people. Moreover, any discrimination on the ground of one's caste and creed has been legally abolished by the Constitution of India. But still it is apparent that there is a lack of adjustment or lag between the structural change in the society and its 'mores'. Even today there are some set jobs for the lower caste people—and a person of the upper caste, even if uneducated and unsophisticated, either would be looked down upon by society or would be ashamed of himself if he performs these jobs.

This note illustrates the problem of adjustments by means of a few examples. Though these examples have been selected from the Indian society, most of the other changing Asian societies would perhaps reveal problems of the same nature. In most of the Asian societies some sort of conflict or lag is apparent between their respective traditional influences and the new wave of urbanization and industrialization. Even those societies who apparently seem to be quite serene and satisfied with the new ideas and changes would reveal an undercurrent of their own tradition and culture debarring them from a full-fledged adjustment in their social, economical and cultural life. In the case of India, this

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djustment is even more pronounced. Impact urbanization and industrialization, coupled h the ideas of so-called 'modernization' e entered into the very fibres of Indian society are gradually spreading their roots into the of India. On the other hand, there is the ianism'—India's own eternal tradition, values cultures which are influencing Indians in ry phase of life. As a result there emerges a adjustment in every sphere of the life of the ple—maladjustment between the national need and social response as revealed in their reluctance to practice birth-control, between the emergence of new social situations and their emotional response to it, as revealed in their sense of insecurity at the breakdown of the joint families, and between social change and social 'mores,' as revealed in their emotional instability regarding the caste system. Should these maladjustments be termed as 'cultural lags' or mere 'adjustmental delays'? More research is needed to find out an appropriate answer.

STABILITY AND CHANGE IN RURAL LIFE

Village Survey Findings

By SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKER

stinctive feature of the report of the Census 1961 is the village survey monographs which intended, to quote Shri Asok Mitra, the strar-General and Census Commissioner, "to out how much of a village was static and yet ging and how fast the winds of change were ing and from where." Under the general me, at least thirtyfive villages are to be yed in each State. To make the description personal observation is brought to bear e interpretation of statistics in the case of ges selected for the survey monographs. The en description is supplemented by real life ographs of the people, the physical surrounds in which they live, and the implements with h they work on the field.

The monographs * under reference cover e villages in West Bengal where, according ri J. C. Sen Gupta, Superintendent of Census ations, fifty villages are proposed to be ered by the survey. West Bengal being among the most industrialized and most urbanized States in the country the surveys—dealing as they do with two villages (Kodalia and Kamnara) on the outskirts of urban areas and one village (Ghatampur) in the interior of the rural area—yield an interesting picture of the progress and limit of industrialisation and urbanisation in the country.

Kodalia is about two miles away from the town of Chandernagore and is also within easy reach from Hooghly—Chinsurah, the headquarter town of the district as well as of the division. It is easy for the people living in the village to establish communication with the outside world by trains, public buses, motor cars (even if none living in the village owns one) and cycle rickshaws. A number of residents of the village do indeed seek work in the nearby towns, and even in Calcutta, which is 20 miles away.

Similarly the village of Kamnara is situated about 3 miles away from the city of Burdwan along the Burdwan-Katwa road. From the point of easy accessibility to and from nearby urban areas, Kamnara is almost as well placed as Kodalia.

The village Ghatampur in the industrialized Hooghly district is on the other hand situated in the heart of the rural area, being sixteen miles away from the district town of Chinsurah. The nearest railway station is at a distance of half a

* *Census of India 1961, Volume XVI, West gal*, Part VI, Village Monographs. 1. (Kodalia ge in Hooghly District), 2. (Kamnara village Burdwan District) and 3. (Ghatampur in ghly District), by J. C. Sen Gupta, Superinent of Census Operations, West Bengal and ia, New Delhi, 1963, Pp. xi ; 35 and ix, 31 ; 5 ; Price Rs. 2.20, Rs. 2.80 and Rs. 2.90 spectively.

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mile from the northern boundary of the village; but the nearest bus route is three miles away as is the nearest post office (even for posting letters the people in the village have to walk all the way to the post office at Makhalpur, three miles away).

It is remarkable that through all the three villages the railway runs dividing each of them into two parts.

The population of the villages varies in size those near the urban areas having a larger population than that in the rural inland. There was 182 households in Kodalia with a population of 922; 150 households in Kamnara with a population of 970. On the other hand the village Ghatampur has 150 households with 727 persons. The population of the villages is multi-caste and in one multi-religious.

Immigration

In all cases the immigrants have accounted for a large number of the inhabitants. Fifty families in Kodalia village came to the village in the present generation, while eight families came one generation ago. In Kammara sixty-eight families have come to the village to settle there in the present generation, while twentyine families had come to the village in the previous generation. In Ghatampur sixteen families came to settle there in the present generation, while fifteen families had settled one generation ago. In none of the villages any migration from the village is reported.

The types of houses lived in by the people vary according to the caste, which again roughly indicated the economic position of the inhabitants. In Kodalia the largest single caste group, Karmakars, does not have even a single *pucca* house for any of its members; there are 18 sadgopes and 17 brahmin families (out of a total of 21 families in each caste group) live in *pucca* houses, the total number of such houses in the village being 53. In Kamnara, there are only four *pucca* houses, two belonging to two Urgrakshatriya gentlemen (one of whom does not live in the village), the other two being accounted for by the school and boarding house attached to the school. In rural Ghatampur 144 of the 150 families surveyed are found to live in houses having mud walls, 3 families live in houses with walls made of split bamboos and three other families having houses with brick walls.

Occupational Pattern

The occupational pattern in the villages will be seen from the following table:

Occupational Pattern in villages

	Kodalia	Kamnara	Ghatampur
Total No. of Families	182	150	150
Cultivation	4	68	49
Agricultural Labour	38	25	77
Manufacturing	—	12	7
Livestock	10	—	3
Construction	5	—	—
Wholesale Trade	18	—	—
Retail Trade	27	3	2
Transport, Storage and Communication	35	1	1
Other Services	39	31	4
Domestic Service	6	—	—
Non-workers	—	10	7

The overwhelming majority of the population in Kamnara and Ghatampur still relies on agriculture. Even in Kodalia as many as fiftytwo families derive their living from agriculture. It will be noticed that in the rural Ghatampur village more than half of the population has to depend on work as agricultural labourers for their sustenance, whereas in the villages near urban areas the proportion of agricultural labour families to the total is much lower. This is to be read with the disclosure by the Second Agricultural Enquiry that the percentage of landless agricultural families in West Bengal was 63.49 in 1956-57. Although in Kodalia village there is no non-working family the number of families classed as non-workers is 7 in Ghatampur and 10 in Kamnara. Perhaps the most striking thing is that in Kodalia which is situated near an urban area within easy reach of electricity, there is no industry. Industrialization remains a far cry. Of the 12 families in Kamnara depending or manufacturing the heads of families work in a rice mill in a nearby village (this again shows the undesirable type of industrialization that has encroached upon village life by replacing hand pounding of paddy which apart from being a source of employment is also a source of nourishment to the rice-eating population), the heads of two families work in the locomotive shed at "Burdwan, the head of one family prepares and sells sweetmeats outside the village, while the head of one family makes blankets from wool."

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The following tables provide further details :

NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS BY CASTE AND INDUSTRIAL CATEGORY

Caste	Cultivation	Agricultural Labour	Livestock	Construction	Transport Storage and communications	Wholesale Trade	Retail Trade	Other Services	Domestic Service
[illegible]man	..	..	..	1	..	5	6	9	..
[illegible]ya	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	..
[illegible]stha	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	4	..
[illegible]pe	1	..	..	..	..	..	4	15	1
[illegible]a	..	..	9	..	4	7	1	..	..
[illegible]ri	..	10	..	..	3	..	..	..	3
[illegible]ti	..	2	..	..	3	..	2	..	..
[illegible]makar	2	23	..	3	7	..	11	..	2
[illegible]out	..	..	..	..	1	6	..	2	..
[illegible]jan	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..
[illegible]i	1	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
[illegible]th	..	1	..	..	2	..	..	..	..
[illegible]ar	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..
[illegible]h [illegible]ukman)	..	..	..	..	1	..	2	..	..
[illegible]	..	..	1	..	2	..	..	..	..
[illegible]ya	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
[illegible]a	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
[illegible]ti	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
[illegible]ultivator from [illegible]akulam [illegible]rict in [illegible]dhra)									
[illegible]ya	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
[illegible]	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
[illegible]ani-Kahar	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
[illegible]hnab	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..
[illegible] (Basket [illegible]king)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
[illegible]anshi	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
[illegible]	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
Total	4	38	10	5	35	18	27	39	6

The Industrial Classification has been done according to the system prescribed by the Directorate General of Employment and Training, Ministry of Labour and Employment, Government of India, with the modification that the division Trade and Commerce has been sub-divided into two parts, e.g., Wholesale Trade and Retail Trade. Similarly, Other Services has been divided into two parts—Other Services and Domestic Service.

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NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS CLASSIFIED BY CASTE AND INDUSTRIES CATEGORY OF THE HEAD

Name of Caste or Tribe	Cultivation	Agricultural Labour	Manufacturing	Ratail Trade	Transport Storage Communications	Other Services	Non-Workers
Goala or Gope	29	..	..	1	..	..	5
Santal	12	8	5	..	..	8	..
Ugra Kshatriya	9	1	3	1	1	3	2
Bauri	2	3	2	..	..	11	..
Kush Metey or Bagdi	..	9	1	..	..	3	2
Namasudra	11	2	..	..	..	..	..
Muchi	4	2	..	..	..	..	..
Gandha Banik	1	..	..	1	..	1	1
Brahman	..	..	..	..	..	2	..
Bairagi	..	..	..	..	..	2	..
Ahir	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
Hari	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
Total :	68	25	12	3	1	31	10

FAMILIES CLASSIFIED BY CASTE|TRIBE|COMMUNITY AND INDUSTRIAL CATEGORY OF THE HEAD

Caste|Tribe|Community	Total No. of Families	Cultivation	Agricultural Labourer	Manufacturing	Ratail Trade	Other Services	Livestock	Transport, Storage & Communications	Non-Workers
1. Muslim	26	17	5	..	1	..	..	..	1
2. Sadgope	24	14	2	4	1	1	..	1	1
3. Kora	19	3	16	..	..	..	..	..	..
4. Kaora	15	2	11	..	..	..	..	..	2
5. Deswali	14	2	12	..	..	..	..	..	..
6. Karmakar	13	..	12	..	..	..	..	..	1
7. Bauri	12	1	11	..	..	..	..	..	..
8. Goala	11	7	..	..	..	1	3	..	..
9. Brahman	6	3	..	3	..	..	..	..	..
10. Bagdi	5	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..
11. Bhumij	3	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..
12. Paramanik	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
13. Chhatri	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
Total :	150	49	77	7	2	4	3	1	7

It is not difficult to imagine a picture of the conditions of living of different groups of people from the preceding table showing occupational distribution ; Ninetynine families out of 182 (i.e. 54.0 per cent of the families) in Kodalia were in debt ; seventythree families were in debt in Kamnara ; and 119 families were in debt in Ghatampur where only 31 families were free from debt. Not surprisingly many families are under-nourished.

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LIGHTING

There is no electricity in any of the three ages under discussion, notwithstanding the fact all of them are situated in or near the indus- belt and two of the villages lie on the out- s of urban areas. The statement requires to qualified by the fact that in Kodalia the se of the Inspector of Works of the Eastern way has electric connection. In Kodalia, 103 ses have hurricane lanterns and 78 houses are ted by uncovered lamps. There is no petromax hazak (kerosene pressure lamp) in any of the ses. "Judged by the standard of lighting, 78 seholds may be considered to be in the class poor peasants," writes Shri Sen Gupta. (p. 9) Kamnara, 91 houses use hurrican lanterns, e 59 houses use uncovered kerosene lamps or . In Ghatampur, 70 families use hurricane ns and the remaining 80 families use un- ered kerosene lamps.

If the Kerosene stove is taken as an indicator dustrial age, only 15.4 per cent of the house- s in Kodalia, could be considered to have ed the industrial era. Apparently none of the seholds in Kamnara has a kerosene stove, ugh 53 families there use coal or coke as estic fuel solely, or in supplementing wood as . In Ghatampur again only 3 families, or only per cent of the families, possess kerosene es.

TRANSPORT

If possession of a bicycle is considered an cator of entry into the industrial age, 18.7 per of the families in Kodalia and 13.3 per cent e families in Kamnara and apparently none Ghatampur are found to have felt the impact e industrial age.

EDUCATION

In all the three villages people have a keen reness of the need to educate the children. ll the people are not able to send their children school, it does not indicate so much their willingness to do so as their inability to bear cost of education of the children. The average of educating of a boy or a girl in school is ximately Rs. 150 in Kodalia and Rs. 41 in ampur. It is, therefore, that only 36.8 per of the families having children between the of 8 years and 20 years in Kodalia can send children to school ; in Kamnara 51 per cent e families having children in the age-group 5-16 years are able to send their children to school ; and in Ghatampur only 42 families out of 89 having children in the age-group 5-16 years are able to send their children to school. Shri Sen Gupta writes of the attitude of the people of Ghatampur : "Those families which have children in the age-group 5-16 years but do not send their children to school are perhaps too poor to pay even this small amount for the education of a child. The parents of the young man who attends a college have to spend approximately Rs. 600 per year for his education.

"The residents of the village are fully alive to the need of educating their children. As far back as 1916 they established the primary school by their own initiative in the outhouse of the local official of the then zamindar. In 1925, the school was shifted to the present building. The building was constructed on a plot of land donated by the goalas and the muslims of the village. The sadgopes supplied the C.I. sheets required for the construction of the roof and also supplied the doors and windows, the building being constructed with the subscription raised from the villagers. Before the school was taken over by the district school board, the recurring expenses used to be met partly by the members of the managing committee of the school.

"There is a Junior High School at Porabazar and a High School at Belmuri.

"The adults who did not have the good fortune to attend a school in their boyhood, also feel the necessity of becoming literates, but there is no adult literacy centre in the village."

COMMUNICATION

The surveys have underlined an unmistakable gap in the existing system of communication. Twentyeight of the families in Kodalia read newspapers, while 12 per cent are found to listen to radio broadcasts. In Kamnara only in 11 families out of 150 newspapers are read and there are only two families possessing (transistor) radio sets and one family possessing a gramophone. In Ghatampur, newspapers are read in 15 families and radio sets are possessed by 6 families (and another six families regularly listen to the broadcasts).

Most of the Karmakars, bauris and bagdis in Kodalia village do not know that untouchability has been abolished by law. In Kamnara, the heads of only 55 households know that inter-

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caste marriage is permissible under the law, while only 38 families know that untouchability has been abolished. The situation in Ghatampur is still worse : only 17 families are aware that inter-caste marriage is permissible.

In other words more extensive efforts are required to be made in the field of communication in the rural areas. Undoubtedly with the increase in the number of liberates the solution of the problem will be facilitated but in view of the inability of a large number of families to meet the cost of sending their children to school, wiping out of illiteracy is not going to be achieved soon. Again, the problem of adult illiteracy is none the less formidable. The best way to attack the problem would be to introduce universal free primary education, to start with, adult literacy classes, and community radio listening centres. Yet, if past experience be any guide, the mere extension of educational facilities may not be sufficient to induce economically underprivileged people to derive benefit from the same. Many of the families may find it difficult to spare the children who are valuable as helping hands ; in many families, again, want of sufficient clothing in a handicap to school going.

Inequality and Strain in Village Life

The surveys confirm the existence of inequality and strains in the villages—belying much of the idealization of the village-life. The inequality is reflected not only in the type of dwelling houses owned or ornaments worn but also in the ownership of household land. In Kamnara village, for example, 51 families have their homesteads on other people's land, as the following table shows :

OWNERSHIP OF HOMESTEAD LAND IN KAMNARA AND GHATAMPUR VILLAGES

Area of Homestead	No. of Families in Kamnara	Ghatampur
1. Up to 5 *cottahs*	55	49
2. Between 6-10 *cottahs*	29	29
3. Between 11-15 *cottahs*	3	4
4. Between 16 *cottahs*—1 *bigha*	2	15
5. More than 1 *bigha*	1	14
6. Ejmali estate (joint ownership)	9	—
7. Lives on others land	51	39
Total :	150	150

The same picture of extreme inequality is discernible in the field of ownership of agricultural land. In Ghatampur only 78 families own any agricultural land ; in Kamnara, the number of families owing agricultural land is only 72 in a trail of 150.

About Ghatampur village Shri Sengupta writes, "The village society is far from homogeneous and there are a number of factions in the village. This division into groups or factions is not guided exclusively by considerations of caste or community as there are more than one group within the muslims as also within the sadgopes and the goalas."

Desire for Change

There is no direct evidence of any definite desire for change in the villages covered by the three surveys, although there is some dissatisfaction with their present occupations among a number of the people. In Kamnara, Shri Sen Gupta writes, as many as "97 out of the 150 families interviewed are satisfied with their present conditions and unless there is a change in their outlook, it would be futile to expect that they would exert themselves to bring about an improvement in their standard of living." (p. 29) This is not very surprising, though. The desire for change requires a stimulus to come to the fore. In a preponderantly illiterate society the ideas and imagination of the people cannot but be obviously restricted ; it will be idle to blame them for the absence of any desire for change which could come to the surface only with the knowledge or assurance that anything better is possible. To the extent that the villages have not been permeated with the desire for change one of the principal aspects of planning has failed to be realized in that planning itself is stipulated on the need for change. The need is, therefore, to generate action or programme to imbue the village population with the idea stressing the need for change as well as the possibilities and programmes for bringing about such changes in practice.

Finally, the sponsors of the survey are to be thanked for making available a wealth of supplementary information pertaining to the real life conditions in the rural areas. Shri Asok Mitra, Census Commissioner, informs us that this "is, perhaps, for the first time that such a survey has been conducted in any country, and that purely as a labour of love." The investigators, the

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tographers and the writer of this monographs e earned the gratitude for all their work, as o the Census Commissioner by approving the eme of publication.

It is to be hoped that in future monographs, a greater attention will be paid to studying the impact of the Estate Acquisition Act and the land reform measures.

BERNARDIN de ST. PIERRE AND HIS TINY NOVEL

By B. BISSOONDOYAL

NARDIN de St.-Pierre who passed away at ny sur l'Oise on 21.1.1814, i.e. a century a half ago, was a dreamer of dreams.

This disciple of Rousseau was stranded in ritius in 1767. The island was then a French ession and was known as Isle of France. Far fretting and fuming, he made the best of d job. The means of communication were tive, but this did not prevent him from g a walking tour. *Voyage a l'ile de France*, irst book on Mauritius, was its outcome. It soon translated into English and was highly d as it happened to be one of the earliest nts of this island that had appeared in the sh tongue.

The *Voyage* was followed, although not diately, by *Paul and Virginia*, a tiny novel has immortalized Mauritius. The *Voyage* had d the way for this novel that takes its name Paul, the hero, and Virginia, the heroine. are made to set out on a tour. The children across a cruel slave-owner with whom the hearted Virginia pleads the cause of a run- slave. This kind act endeared her and her nion to the whole slave population. Stand- out in sharp contrast to the White slave- r, Virginia sympathizes with this population set great store by the sympathy that came the Whites. So does Paul.

The innocent children live in communion Nature. Far from the town of Port Louis, capital of Isle of France, in a valley that is ale of Kashmir in miniature, stood the huts o forsaken French families. Paul belonged to of them and Virginia to the other.

Tropical birds, luxuriant vegetation, lovely noble streams and their soft murmurs, smiling plains and vast fields with sugarcane plants lifting their green heads under a bule sky held in thrall the lover of Nature that St.-Pierre was. He did not let slip the opportunity that had come for the full display of his powers.

Thanks to the description of the flora and fauna that came from India and other Asian countries and especially the very names of tropical plants and flowers the novelist succeeds in creating an atmosphere that bears close resemblance to that of *The Thousand and One Nights*.

Rousseau could give pen-pictures of only the countries of Europe he had visited. His disciple excelled in describing Indian Ocean islands like Mauritius and Bourbon in glowing words. Many are the new terms he introduced into descriptive writing. His is not the arid vocabulary of his predecessors from whose writings the sights and sounds of Nature are carefully excluded. He created exotic literature. Could Chateaubriand have produced Atala if there had been no Virginia? St.-Pierre's tiny book is of unique significance in French literature. The pages he devotes to the dscription of Nature are a distinct gain to literature.

St.-Pierre produced several works some of which are voluminous. *Paul and Virginia*, on which his fame rests, pushes all the others into the background. There is no hope of ever rescuing from oblivion the *Voyage*, *Etudes de la Nature* and *Harmonies de la Nature*.

It is an embittered St.-Pierre that wrote *Voyage a l'Ile de France*. He was near starving and had to sell his books. He then looked upon the island as "'a rugged country, covered with rocks." Seen from a distance, French Mauritius appeared beautiful. He was distant both in space

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and time. He had left the little island in 1770 and his idyllic romance first saw the light of day, as part of *Etudes de la Nature*, in 1788 when it was entitled *Histoire de Mademoiselle Virginie de La Tour*. He had long been contemplating to give the title *Tableau de la Nature*. It was ultimately rejected.

Bernardin de St. Pierre—A portrait

Both, however, are suitable titles. With the sole exception of La Fontaine, writers in seventeenth-century France had nothing to do with full-throated birds, beasts, plains, fields and pasture. The French colony that was largely a wilderness when Bernardin visited it, would have conveyed nothing to them as it means nothing to the lovers of beautiful scenery who visit it now that the balance of Nature has been dangerously disturbed.

St.-Pierre's novel has a slender plot. Paul and Virginia who fell deeply in love, were happy and had not to go to school. Nature was their teacher. The Godfearing children shunned the society of the sophisticated islanders.

But a time came when Virginia had to be sent to Paris at the request of a rich relative. Created by the eternal traveller, Bernardin, Virginia could not be stay-at-home. Paul is a character who had resolved to journey to India in order to enrich himself. The story is entirely in keeping with the character of its author. Virginia did not like that civilized centre and decided to come back home. In the early title of the book, Virginia had rightly been given greater importance than Paul. As ill-luck would have it, the ship that took her back to Isle of France, was wrecked by a cyclone within sight of the Mauritian shore and she was drowned.

The importance of the ship-wreck comes home when the reader realizes that Bernardin insinuates that Virginia could not have remained the Virginia she had been at the Valleedes Pretres. To allow her to come into contact with Paul and others would be to introduce manners that would convert the republic of St.-Pierre's dreams into a den of vice.

Novels depiciting voluptuaries had culminated in *Manon Lescaut*, the novel of adventure written by the Abbe Prevost. Hence it is that St.-Pierre's book was hailed as a healthy reaction.

Its moral tone was appreciated at a critical period. After the French Revolution, it was being felt that a return to religion was desirable. Chateaubriand's *Genie du Christianisme* restored faith. The religious-minded people of Isle of France were delighted to see that some pages of *Paul and Virginia* were reproduced in it, as they agreed with St.-Pierre that morality must be respected and immorality eschewed. Mauritius island contributed its mite when interest in religion was revived in France.

It is true to say that in India too this little work was well received. As soon as they conquered India the British planned to bring the literature and science of the West within the reach of their new subjects. A committee was set up in Calcutta which had interesting European works translated into Bengali. *Robinson Crusoe* and *Paul and Virginia* were chosen at the very outset. Thus when Europe entered India a bit of Mauritius found its way to that sub-continent.

Bernardin was a great friend of Asia and of all its countries, loved India most. He was out to visit the old continent, had started on his travel and had even gone as far as Poland and Russia where one of his peculiarities broke out and he rejoiced in Romantic adventures. He had to retrace his steps. His desire to see Asia

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never fulfilled. But he could not, for the of him, put it out of his mind. He wrote short stories about India. The first is *The Cottage* which found favour in Mahatma ndhi's eyes as in it casteism is condemned right. *The Coffee-House of Surat,* which is other, turned out so excellent a tale that Soi whom Gandhi admired, included it in *Twenty-three Tales.* Sainte-Beuve expresses, in *traits litteraires,* the opinion that Bernardin the uncle of Romanticism, and an uncle ing from India with the avowed object (of ching French Romanticism)." The first trans- of *Paul and Virginia* was a woman. Her so absorbed her that she gave her book the g title *Paul and Mary.* She made *amende orable* by adding the sub-title *An Indian y.*

Although this classic finds readers among sorts and conditions of men, it was, like *Euphues,* a great favourite of ladies. On eve of her tragic end, the ill-fated Marie inette read it intelligently and shed tears. famous book was a much needed breath of air in the society of the day. "The century is," writes Lamartine who adds that St.- e makes his readers "pray and weep."

The story is pathetic. And the pathos is not minor key. It excites pity and terror and is edy in the true sense of the term. Virginia's was a calamity. Paul and all the other bers of his family and Virginia's pass away uick succession. The faithful slaves follow to the grave. One of the slaves was Mary. was so kind-hearted that she replaced inia in the affection of Helen Maria Williams, translator that unconsciously entitled her slation *Paul and Mary.* The dog that was the ant companion of the children, is soon ed. When St.-Pierre reached the Vallee Pretres the spot, so says he, had been com- y deserted.

Appreciated by ladies nicknamed *Bernardines* meant primarily for the young, *Paul and inia* is a little work that has a high place in literature. Several editions were published ng the lifetime of its author whose fame was ng through France. He was made a member the Institute in 1795. For the past 176 years fascinating novel has been delighting trave- like Alexander Von Humboldt and others, whole host of authors like Hazlitt and Carlyle, Theophile Gautier and Joubert, Guy de Maupassant and the Goncourt Brothers, Flaubert and Anatole France, Lamartine and Tagore.

The future Napoleon was in his teens when he was moved to tears on reading this delicious novel. Whenever he met its author he used to say, "Monsieur Bernardin, when do you mean to give us more Pauls and Virginias and Indian Cottages ?" The youngman won fame and did not forget Bernardin upon whom he conferred the Legion of Honour.

Long, long ago, or to be precise, in the very year Mauritius was definitely ceded to the British by the Treaty of Paris, i.e. a year before the decisive battle of Waterloo, the earth was closed over the remains of the father of the Godly children and the uncompromising foe to untouchability.

Bernardin was still in Mauritius when the island received E. Sonnerat's vist. Both these Frenchmen were naturalists, both were travellers, both have written interesting accounts of their voyages. Bernardin's *Voyage* (1773) is less known and is not as important as Sonnerat's. Curiously enough, it is the little-known book that has influenced the author of the much bigger and more important work.

Bernardin de St.-Pierre made a favourable impression on Sonnerat although he was not at his best when he wrote *Voyage a l'Ile de France.* St.-Pierre would like to be remembered as a naturalist. Today it is the novelist who has two tiny novels to his credit that is read. It must be repeated that Bernardin is the author not only of *Paul and Virginia* but also of *The Indian Cottage,* the second novel. J. Chenier saw in it "the best, the most moral and the shortest of novels." It is shorter than *Paul and Virginia* which is short enough.

Mauritius Island had French rulers when these Frenchmen visited it. Neither the one nor the other hesitated to castigate those rulers who were their countrymen. Both found fault with the slave-owners who meted out ill-treatment to their slaves. It is interesting to note that Maurice Garcon of the French Academy has quoted Bernardin in an article that has appeared in June last, to show that he was among those who put up a defence in favour of the slaves and thus went a long way in bringing about the abolition of slavery in France.

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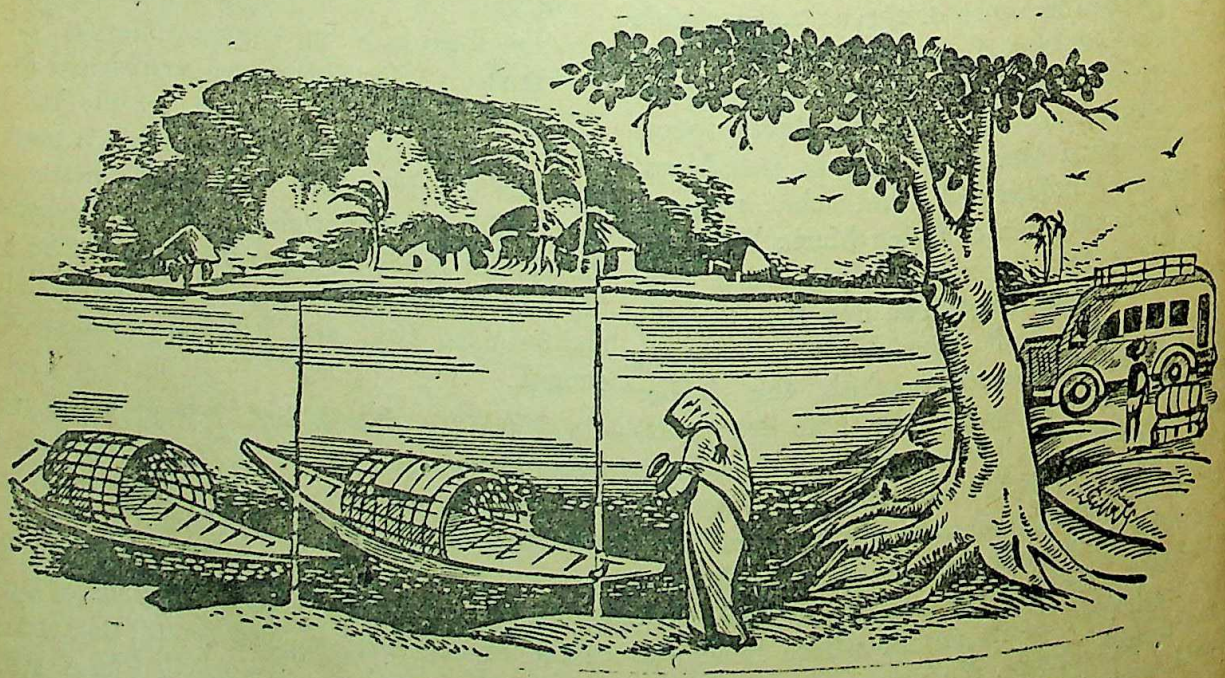
If Bernardin has hinted, in *The Indian Cottage*, that the Hindus have a sacred book known by the name of *Beth* (Veda), Sonnerat was out in search of the book. He spent seven years in India and went back home empty-handed.

When later he happened to acquaint himself with the contents of the work he was overjoyed. He made so good a use of the knowledge acquired that Sir William Jones was satisfied with his own contribution only when he outstripped Sonnerat. Almost all the European luminaries of the nineteenth century came under his influence. In a letter dated 27.2.1811, Goethe stated that had it not been for Sonnerat he would not have been interested in the Vedas. That interest drove him to read William Jones whom Sonnerat had put on his mettle. It is after reading Sonnerat's *Voyages aux Indes Orientales et a la Chine* (1774), approved on 5.2.1782 by Condorcet of the Royal Academy of Sciences, Paris, that Buffon wrote his *Natural History* that bears marks of the influence the illustrious traveller and naturalist exerted on him. Chateaubriand was fond of reading not only Bernardin but Sonnerat too. This sentence, borrowed from the latter's book, could not but have had the desired effect: "In her splendour India gave religions and laws to all the peoples of the world." This is indicative of the love he bore India. The sentence was to be repeated by Louis Jacolliot a century or so later.

Sonnerat's love of India was comparable to that of Jacolliot and Bernardin. Sonnerat and Bernardin shared much in common. Sonnerat too passed away in 1814. Both had heard in 1810 that Mauriteus had become a British colony. This year the 150th anniversary of the two deaths is being commemorated. The event must not be passed over in silence in India who owes them a debt of gratitude.



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RANJIT SINGH AND THE FALL OF SIKH POWER

By S. N. QANUNGO

the rise of the Sikh power had been phenoand its victorious mid-career under Ranjit was meteoric and its fall within a decade his death was a colossal tragedy. History never provided plain sailing for any country nation. Such has been the fate of the Mughal ire and of the Maratha and Sikh powers. Maratha power received a death-blow at at; but it arose within a decade more rful and managed to survive for more than a century; whereas the Sikh power after a sharp reverses lay prostrate like a chained never destined to rise again. The Sikhs were ubtedly a more virile people with fewer vices the Marathas. They were welded into a more mass of nationalism by Guru Govind Singh what the Marathas had been under Shivaji e Peshwas. Why then so tragic a fate for a brave nation as the Sikhs?

No single cause explains the rise or fall of tion. Such a historical phenomenon is usually umulative effect of several causes, general specific. It is only superficial exercise in y to hold that the murder and counter-, intrigue and counter-intrigue at the e Durbar after Ranjit's death or the ery of the Sikh generals and audacity of the a soldiery were responsible for the downof the Sikh power. Causes lay deeper and a ical analysis can only reveal the due impor- of each cause and fix the responsibility for d catastrophe resting on historical characters. Ranjit Singh left behind him no worthy essor among his various descendants and en. He was not succeeded by an Augustus, le of consolidating his work. His family life full of scandals; his wives found paramours g his handsome Dogra favourites. Ranjit a "legitimate" son Kharag Singh who ruled sick bed and died on it after a year. Kharag's promising son Nao Nihal Singh was ered ingeniously by his minister, Dhyan , on the same day. Kharag Singh was ded by Ranjit's "supposed" son Sher Singh during his father's life-time had shown some abilities as a soldier. After his accession to the throne Sher Singh turned an imbecile voluptuary. It is said that he made a paradise for himself in the Huzuri Bagh outside the fort of Lahore. There he would spend days and nights lying on a bed or roses in the company of musicians and dancing girls. Next came two "reputed" sons of Ranjit, Kashmira Singh and Peshawara Singh and a minor son Dalip Singh born of Rani Jhindan. Majors among these were each intent on stealing a race for the gaddi over others or setting up as virtually independent rulers. Where is the wonder, then, that Ranjit's legacy was lost by such intriguing imbeciles?

It Ranjit Singh could not help begetting incapable or illegitimate sons, he could certainly prevent the growth of dangerous factions at court and outside under his very eyes. It is common knowledge how the work of Ranjit Singh was undone by these factions within a decade after his death. Besides the court party formed by harem influence centering round his sons, there were two other parties during the life-time of Ranjit Singh. These were:

1. The Sindhianwala (or Sandawala) party of Ranjit's relatives headed by Tjit Singh and Lehna Singh.

2. The Dogra party headed by the three brothers, Gulab Singh, Dhyan Singh and Suchet Singh.

During the later years of Ranjit these three brothers exercised the most potent influence in the Lahore Darbar. Apart from the military and administrative abilities of these brothers, Ranjit's infatuation for Dhyan Singh's handsome boy, Hira Singh, was the reason of his father's rise to almost absolute wazirship. The three brothers were accomplished courtiers and ambitious adventurers. Dhyan Singh plotted to oust honest and straight-forward soldier Khushal Singh from the key post of Deodhiwala. These three were created Rajahs: Gulab Singh of Jammu, Dhyan Singh of Bhimbar, Suchet Singh of Ramnagar. They had practically an entrenched position in the hills, and were biding their time to become

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independent of Lahore. They all professed to be anti-British knowing that it would pay with the soldiery and Sikh Sardars who were openly anti-British ; but at heart they were looking to the British as their future allies should the Sikh antipathy against the non-Sikh Dogra party threaten their power. This avowal of anti-British sentiments strengthened the Jammu party against the non-Sikh but loyal Hindu party headed by Sawan Mal, Governor of Multan. Ranjit tried to keep a balance between the two, but a sort of senility made the Maharajah blind to the motives and actions of the Jammu brothers. Dr. N. K. Sinha writes, "We even hear from Mumes that Dhyan Singh fortified his home in Bhimbar by strengthening it with guns taken from Lahore, but no one dared to disclose these facts to the Maharajah." He justly remarks, "In their case his departure from his usual attitude of vigilance has its nemesis. His sons paid very dearly for the engrossing and prejudicial influence which he allowed the Dogra brothers to attain."

Dr. N. K. Sinha maintains that Ranjit Singh so completely centralised everything pertaining to his civil and military administration that his disappearance caused not a vacancy but a void in which the entire structure of government was submerged. But as a matter of fact, Sikh monarchy itself is a strange phenomenon in the history of Sikhism. Ranjit Singh forced a violent transformation of the Sikh Commonwealth of the eighteenth century into a personal state or at best a dynastic monarchy. This was a misreading of the Sikh character by Ranjit. The Sikhs from the very start had no tradition of monarchy. It went against the grain of individualistic egotism and the democratic bias of the Jat clans which formed the substance of Sikh nation. The Sikhs had discarded the Hindu theory of kingship as a divine institution and of a king as a superman. Nor did they look upon the temporal ruler as the shadow of Allah (Zill-i-Sobhari) as medieval Muslim jurists held. So both the seed and soil of Sikhism were unsuited to the creation of a dynastic monarchy as Ranjit did.

Moreover, Ranjit Singh's state lacked the cement of any high principle of secular nationalism and yet he discarded the other alternative ; namely, the mortar of communal patriotism that had held together the Sikh Commonwealth. In Punjab there was no tradition of secularism, administrative or political. Since the days of Aurangzeb it had been the battle-ground of a deadly communal fight, ringing with the Sikh war cry :

"He is of the Khalsa, who fights in the van,
He is of the Khalsa, who slays a Khan."

Ranjit could not make his people forget this bitter legacy of hatred in a day. And yet Ranjit wanted to play the Akbar as a ruler of the Sikhs.

Dr. N. K. Sinha holds that a collision betwen his military monarchy and British Imperialism was inevitable. Ranjit Singh, the Massinissa of British Indian History hesitated forgetting that in politics as in war, time is not on the side of those on the defensive. Dr. Sinha's observation is very significant indeed. The whole military armament of Ranjit Singh was meant ultimately for measuring swords with the British. So he himself believed at heart and such was the belief among his people and army chiefs. But Ranjit lost a golden opportunity for catching the English at a tight corner. First when the British were busy with the Burmese war in the east and the siege of Bharatpur on the west, Ranjit might have taken his chance. The Rajah of Bharatpur solicited Ranjit's aid and promised him one lakh of rupees per day after crossing of the Sutlej with his army. The embers of the last Maratha war were still burning (1819) and the Gurkhas were smarting under defeat. If Ranjit had made an eastward dash, the Marathas, the Gurkhas, the Pindaris and the Jats would have probably joined him against the English. It is, of course, true that Ranjit Singh's kingdom was landlocked ; he had no navy ; his officers were mainly Europeans, and his resources were not sufficient. His north-western frontier was also insecure because of the Afghan and Pathan menace. But remembering the terrible shaking which the Khalsa army without a Ranjit gave to the English in later times, Ranjit had a fair chance of success in inflicting some defeats on the English army, and rounding off the Sikh national commonwealth by compelling the British to leave the cis-sutlej states to his suzerainty. Ranjit took no risk and therefore indirectly compelled the Sikh state to do so in sheer self-reliance when the Khalsa felt smothered within the closing net of British Imperialism.

Ranjit Singh failed to subordinate the military to civil authority. He left the army too powerful for the civil authority to control. As a

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ult the struggles and convulsions in the Sikh dom after Ranjit's death had caused the ngse of the central civil government at Lahore, d resulted in the ascendency of the Khalsa y through the typically Jat institution of the chayats. At a time when the country needed powerful brain and the strong hand of an Iron ncellor or a Lord Protector, a government rolled by Panchayats meant chaos and hubbub. every turn of palace revolution they were ed by an increase of pay. The Khalsa army me what the Practorian Guards had been in me or the Janissaris of Constantinople under Ottoman rulers.

Historians have been all praise for Ranjit gh for his political and military reforms as an ghtened and progressive ruler. It proved an ll work for Ranjit with the Sikhs to create army of the New Model. This army was held be the finest in India. Pitted against any ntal army its success could be confidently icted; but against the English it could never e out victorious. Of this army the Sikh plied brawn, muscle and indomitable spirit; the brains that officered this army were non- or foreign at the top. White officers were not ys acceptable to the proud sentiments of the . Moreover the British records convey the ession that the European officers of Ranjit were restive towards the latter part of his . Even Ventura is said to have once offered services to the British Government through Gregor and later directly to Wade. Besides no an authority than Lawrence observed, "the harajah would have shown more foresight if he had devoted the same attention that he did to the European tactics to rendering his troops really efficient after their own fashion, if he had erected fortifications around Lahore and Amritsar on European models and there planted his guns, encumbering his troops in the field with but a few, perfectly equipped light artillery." Ranjit's military system was designed for aggressive regular warfare; but it was ill-suited for flexible tactics of irregular warfare on the defence. He always thought in terms of the offensive and not defensive. He ought to have taken the latter contingency into consideration. For a flat and open plain like the Punjab, forts were more necessary than trained battalions and artillery for the purpose of defence. The garhis of old mists, which proved the rallying points of scattered bands in their fight against the Mughals and the Abdali were beyond doubt useless before European artillery. And the example of Bharatpur was before the eyes of Ranjit Singh. If Ranjit had built a Bharatpur at every confluence of numerous rivers in the Punjab, the Sikh power would not have been so completely and so swiftly broken after a few sharp reverses. The Sikh army lost its nerve and staying power without such forts to recoup their strength and give time to the people at large to rise *en masse* against the invaders.

Though the Fall of the Sikh power is necessarily to be seen against the background of deeper and more impersonal factors, few will deny that individual failings and faults of character also played their due role. It is a paradox of history that Ranjit Singh had no mean share in it.

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LIBRARIES IN DAKSINAPATHA

By DIPAK KUMAR BARUA, M.A., Dip. Lib.

Libraries as the Store-houses of knowledge and organs for the spread of learning were fully developed and ornamented in Daksinapatha (Southern India).[1] These South Indian libraries which were located mainly in the Buddhist Viharas (Monasteries) and Brahmanic temples represented the classical phase of the library movement in this country. Through a long tradition of institutional learning the people of this part of the country did their best to establish and preserve the libraries which, perhaps, became maturer in age and physical make-up than the libraries of other parts of India. There lies little doubt, to-day, as to their richness in contents and importance in the cultural life. Under the liberal patronage of the kings of South India many libraries were founded to help the innumerable readers and scholars. From this point of view the South Indian libraries occupy a very prominent place in the history of Indian education. The numerous collections of manuscripts which have been discovered in the Mathas, Viharas, Ghatikas and Pathasalas in South India show that the library was there a well-recognised institution and was a part and parcel of the religious as well as educational life.[2]

Of the Buddhist centre in Andhra, Amaravati is the most widely known. Its old name was Dhanyaghata[3] or Dhanyaghataka. Here was a magnificent Stupa built during the Satavahana period. Round this Stupa, a community of monks had settled down. Consequently in course of time Amaravati became a famous monastic centre. It was originally inhabited by the monks belonging to the Mahasanghika School. But later it developed as a Mahayanist centre. The Buddhist monks, had here two separate establishments situated on two cliffs. The Chinese Pilgrim wrote: "At a hill to the east of the capital was a monastery called Purva Sila (Fu-po-shih-lo) or "East Mountain Monastery' and at a hill to the West of the city was the Avara Sila (A-fa-lo-shin-lo) or 'West Mountain Monastery'. These had been erected for the Buddha by a former king of the country who had made a communicating path by the river, and quarrying the rock had formed high walls with long broad corridors contiguous with the steep sides of the hills. The local deities guarded the monasteries which had been frequented by saints and sages during the millennium immediately following the Buddha's decease, a thousand ordinary brethren came here to spend the retreat of the rainy season. Afterwards common monks and arhats sojourned here together, but for more than one hundred years there had not been any brethren resident in the establishment and the visitors were deterred by the forms of wild animals which the mountain gods assumed."[4] From the Chinese account we further find that Bhavaviveka, the great dialectician, lived here for sometime in a monastery on a hill.[5] Hiuen-Tsang recorded that the mountain cliff, which Bhavaviveka entered by the magical power of the Dharani Sutras was not far from the south of the Capital. According to the "Life," Hiuen-Tsang stayed here for several months studying the Mulabhidharma and other Sastras of the Mahasanghika School.[6] Taranatha wrote that the great Monastery near Lhasa with 7,700 monks and a University with six colleges was built after the model of a monastery at Dhanyakataka which was surely a great centre of Buddhistic learning in the South during the seventh century A.C.[7] Here were very good collections of manuscripts which quenched the thirst for knowledge of the erudite scholars who took their abodes there. A part of teachers' educational programme at Amaravati was the creation of a good library.[8]

Nagarjunakonda is a large valley on the right bank of the Krisna river in the Palnad Taluk of the Guntur district of the

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dras Province. It covers an area of a le over eight square miles and is com- ely shut in by the surrounding hills ch are the off-shoots of the Nallamalai nge. The area is dotted with numerous cks and mounds which represent the es of former Buddhist monuments, mostly ges, Caityas and Viharas. A large num- r of limestone pillars which were probably nded to support the monastic buildings,[9] e also unearthed here. From some cir- nstantial evidences it is clear that at garjunakonda also there were very good lections of manuscripts. The monk- holars here were deeply engaged in nume- s scholastic activities which invari- y gave birth to excellent store-houses of tten records. Nagarjunakonda, ancient ayapuri, must have been one of the est and most important Buddhist settle- ts in South India and enjoyed interna- al reputation for its educational eminence huge collection of texts. In the east and th of Vijayapuri was an extensive out- g plateau called Sri-Parvata where ariuna the great took his resort in the part of his life.[10] Though there is no rence to Nagarjuna in any of the ins- tions discovered in the locality, the e Nagarjunakonda lends strong support t's association with that great scholar. m the extensive ruins it is obvious that central monastic establishment of arjunakonda besides possessing other tures of a structure of the similar nature, a great seat of learning too and was med to house a monastic university h its library.

Hiuen-Tsang saw a great Sangharama t far from Vingila) which may be identi- with the Vihara of Guntapalle. This nastery had spacious halls, storeyed ers, balconies beautifully carved and rnented. There was an image of Buddha, sacred features of which had been por- ed with the utmost powers of the arts. front of this convent were erected two Shinas, one several hundred feet h. The Bhikkhus and Bhikkhunis had to perform their respective duties. Monastery also possessed a well- ped library which was a fountain of learning to its inmates.[12] Even today on the hill of Guntapalle may be found the remnants of a grand Vihara associated with numerous other rock-cut monasteries and a large pillared hall. One may still see here the monks' cells. "The facade of the Monastery has one main entrance in the centre flanked by two little windows and are decorated with little horse-shoe shaped gables of the usual early Buddhist type, with simulated wooden fanlights or screens, above the semi-circular door and window frames."

Buddhism flourished also at Kancipura[13] which was situated near modern Conjeevaram, the capital of Dravida or Cola on the river Polar, Forty-three miles south-west of Madras.[14] From this place monks left for Ceylon. Many renowned scholars dwelt here. Buddhaghosa is said to have written the Monorathapurani, a commentary, at this place at the request of Venerable Jotipala. Hiuen-Tsang in the seventh century noticed the Kancipura Monastery with its library containing the Yoga texts.[15] He mentioned a certain Dharmapala from Kanchi as being a great teacher at Nalanda. Dhanyabhadra, a son of the king of Magadha and a monk, also heard at Kanci a sermon delivered by a Buddhist monk on the Karanda Vyuha-Sutra.[16] This Buddhist seat of learning was well-known for its reputed teachers and well-furnished library. Scholars from even Ceylon used to come here to study the scriptures and utilise the rich collection.

An inscription in the Arutala-perumal temple at little Conjeevaram[17] dated Vikari, Mesha Sudi Prathama (March 29, A.C. 1359) records that a certain Vaisnava Dasa was invested with the title of Brahmatantra-Svatantra-Jiyar by God, and directed to establish a matha, with the lands necessary to meet the expenses and provide with books procured by him. This epigraph refers to a collection of manuscripts, which was kept in the matha and a stipulation made for its proper up-keep as envisaged in the expression "iva tedina postakangalum, vendum upakaranangalum."[18]

Here the term "postakangalum" indicates the manuscript-bundles, while the

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"upakaranas" are the accessories and paraphernalia required for maintaining a library, such as, racks for accommodation of manuscript-bundles, spare stylus of cadjan leaves for copying work and other scribal apparatus.[19]

We have also reference to the Sarasvati-bhavana or library, founded and maintained by the Maratha rulers, which contained a large number of important works[20] at Tanjore or Tanjai which is the name of a village[21] and was the capital of the Cola Kings, Nayak rulers, and the Maratha rajas.[22] This temple-city of Tanjore of the tenth century can thus really be called a city of libraries and educational institutions. But details are lacking in this respect. It is said that in a renowned library of the king of Tanjore, which dates from the end of the sixteenth or beginning of the seventeenth century A.C. there were about 18,000 manuscripts written in a wide variety of languages. From A. C. Burnell's printed catalogue we learn that it had 12,375 manuscripts.[23]

At Nagai in Hyderabad there existed a big temple-college in A.C. 1058. Among the ruins of the place there is a "big building with an outer courtyard, with rooms on either side, with a big doorway which leads into a spacious hall with a number of stone benches serving as pials and seven niches in the back wall."[24] Evidently this ruined building is a part of the Ghatikasala referred to in the inscription of Nagai. The same epigraph tells us that there were six librarians in the College, obviously in charge of the library. The seven niches in the back wall of the ruined building must have been a part of this college library. The same copper-plate grant of Western Chalukya King Trailokyamalla from Kolura and dated Saka 980, Vilambi Pushya Suddha Chavuti (24th December, A.C. 1058) further records a grant of land for the maintenance of 400 Brahmans in the Nagavavi or Nagai Agrahara. Maduva founded an educational institution called Ghatikasala for two hundred scholars studying the Vedas and fifty-two studying the Sastras. The Institute was manned by three Vedic teachers, three Sastra teachers, for teaching Bhattadarsana, Nyaya and Prabhakara, and six librarians (Sarasvati-bhandarikas). Madhuva gave that land for the maintenance of the teachers and students. In the same inscription we find that the distribution of donations were made in the following order "35 mattar of land under the dam of Arturu and Diggavige (lower cave at Nagavavi) to the expounder of Bhattadarsana, 30 mattar of land to the expounder of Nyaya, 45 mattar to the expounder of Prabhakara, 30 mattar to each librarian, 30 mattar to the striker of the hours (ghatika-prahari)". This mention of the allotment made to the librarians is interesting for our present study. It shows that library and librarianship occupied so much of an important place that the royal declaration was necessary in this respect even in the eleventh century of the Christian era.

Coming to the thirteenth century we find many interesting examples of royal collections. In the Andhradesa itself, the collections of the feudatory rulers of Gadwal and Vanaparthi deserve special mention. Thousands of rare and valuable manuscripts have still been preserved in these states out of the literary zeal of generations of enlightened rulers.

At Sravanavelgola, the famous seat of Gotamesvara in South India to each of the Jaina temples was attached a spacious monastery known as Matha or Upasrava. At these dwellings the ascetic monks lived, reading and copying their sacred books and translating these for the benefit of the populace. In the Monastery at Sravanavelgola there was a large, valuable and well-preserved collection of manuscripts mostly on palm-leaves in Sanskrit, Kannada and Tamil languages.[25]

Bijapura, under the name of Vidyapura, was a great centre of literary activity in the pre-Mohammadan period. The Western Chalukyan Kings of Kalyana erected here beautiful buildings, ruins of which are still to be seen and which housed good collections of books,[26] as the inscriptions of the place show.

At an obscure place called Mudabidre (or otherwise) spelt Mudabidri) near the West Coast in South Kanara there was an

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ent Jaina Matha which contained a large manuscript bhandara, where kept copies of valuable works.

An undated inscription which is assign- to the latter half of the thirteenth cen- mentions the foundation of a library rasvati-bhandaram) in the temple of rangam which is an island near Tirucira- i or Trichinopoly[27] where stands Ranga- temple[28] of Palapalli Nilakantha kar who also installed the image of ngriva, Sarasvati, and Veda Vyasa in mandapa housing the library[29] and pro- for their daily worship.[30] From an ription dated A.C. 1269 we learn that kantha Nayakar was a contemporary of Ramanathana.[31] According to the mas, a temple of the first magnitude ld have a library of its own. So the le of Srirangam, an important centre ligious activities, had also a big library the dissemination of knowledge. Here images of Hayagriva, Sarasvati and -Vyasa in the mandapa, represented ree presiding deities of learning.

There were, basides, numerous other libraries in South India. Details are mely sketchy as regards their origin, ion and consequent development. So meagre sources an attempt has been e in the following space to give an nt of them.

In an old document a reference is made a library and librarians (Sarasvati- daratta) in a brahman village called ma-Pandya-Caturvedi-Mangalam in h India.[32]

Another South Indian Inscription bered 695 of 1916 contains a grant to College of a temple somewhere in the t of Tinnevelly in South India having l provisions for enriching the Saras- bhavana or library of this monastic tional institution.

The South Indian Inscription numbered of 1913, too, refers to the foundation of tured colony of 108 Brahman families ed with all the necessaries of life and with a library called Sarasvati- dara.[33] From this epigraphic record the existence of libraries in South India oved. The inscription shows an ardent love for books and libraries of the South Indian people.

The library development in the Deccan plateau took a very colourful and embellished course. In South India, as we have seen already, libraries grew up abundantly. Though the libraries, here, are of much later age in comparison with those in other areas yet these have set up an example of marvellous perfection in the East. The splendid collections of books and manuscripts of South India represented the classical age of libraries in India. These Collections with their precious contents may really be compared with other ancient libraries of Western World. But curiously enough we find that most of these libraries were subsidied adequately by the royal personalities. Naturally as financial security was assured, the library authorities found enough scope and privilege to build up their excellent collections. We have already observed that the libraries of Nagai, Dhankataka, Kancipura and many other places were really remarkable store-houses of human knowledge. Thus South India being a fertile ground for the development of libraries had shown an excellent example of helping the scholars by supplying books as well as necessary information for the advancement of learning.

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1. By Daksinapatha we mean the tract of land which comprises the whole of the Peninsula from Nasik on the West and Ganjam on the east, to cape kumari (Comorin) on the South including the modern districts of Berar and Telingana. Maharastra and the Konkan, with the separate states of Hyderabad, Mysore, and Travancore, or very nearly the whole of the Peninsula to the south of the Narmada and Mahanadi rivers (Majumdar, S. N. ed. *Cunmingham's Ancient Geography of India*, p. 14). For our convenience we have followed here the above boundary—limits of Southern India, which are of Chinese origin, to locate the ancient libraries there.

2. *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XXXIII, pt. ii, August, 19 5 (Swaminathan, K. D., Sarasvati—Bhandaras in South India).

3. *Epigraphia Indica*, vi, pp. 146-157.

4. Watters. *On Yuan Chwang*, vol. ii, pp. 214-215.

5. Beal, S., *Buddhist records of the Western World*, vol. ii, p. 223.

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6. Beal, S. *The life of Hiuen-Tsang*, p. 136.
7. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. iv, p. 163.
8. *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, viii, pt. 4, 1934, p. 226.
9. Subramanian, K. R., *Buddhist remains in Andhra and the history of Andhra*, p. 27.
10. Das, S. C. ed. *Pag-Sam-Jon-Zang*, pt. i, p. 74 ; Wassillew Der *Buddhismus*, vol. i, p. 220.
11. Beal, S. *Buddhist Records of Western World*, vol. ii, p. 218.
12. Subramanian, K. R., *Buddhist remains in Andhra and the history of Andhra*, p. 27.
13. *Indian Antiquary*, 44, p. 127.
14. Law, B. C. *Historical geography of ancient India*, pp. 161-162.
15. Watters. *On Yuan Chawang*, ii, p. 227.
16. Melanges, *Chinois et bouddhiques*, vol. i, (1931-32), pp. 355-376. (Waley, Arthur. *New light on Buddhism in mediaeval India*).
17. *A.R.E., 1919*, No. 574.
18. Conjeevaram Inscription of Brahmatantra Svatantra Jivar S 1282. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXV, pp. 319 ff.
19. Journal of Indian History, vol. xxxiii, pt. II. August, 1955.
20. Altekar, A. S. *Education in ancient India*, p. 160.
21. *Epigraphia Indica*, XXVII, pt. VII July, 1948 (Tiruvorriyar Inscription of Caturanama Pandita).
22. Law, B. C. *Historical geography of ancient India*, p. 192.
23. *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1955 ed.) Vol. XIV, p. 9.
24. *Hyderabad Archaeological Series*, No. 8, p. 1, (Inscriptions of Nagai).
25. *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, vol. viii, pt. 4, p. 231.
26. *Fergusson Architecture of Bijapor*, p. 12.
27. *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. iii, p. 168, *Epigraphia Indica*, iii, 7 ff., *Ancient India*, *Bulletin of the Asiatic Society of India*, No. 5, January, 1949.
28. Law, B. C. *Historical geography of ancient India*, p. 190.
29. Sastri K. A. Nilakanta. *The Cholas*, p. 633.
30. *Madras Annual Reports on epigraphy* ii, p. 70.
31. *Annual Report of South Indian Epigraphy*. 1937-38 No. 4.
32. *Madras Epigraphy Report for 1913-14*, No. 277 of 1913.
33. Mookerji, R. K. *Local Government in ancient India*, p. 284.

THE MAHALANOBIS COMMITTEE REPORT—AN APPRAISAL

By Mrs. MANORMA HUKKU, M.A., (Econ ; & Phil.),

It has been stressed, since the advent of economic planning in the country, that the objective of planned development is not only to increase production and attain higher levels of living, but also to secure a social and economic order based on the values of freedom and democracy. Taking into account the experience of the first two Plans and the social and economic considerations which have been accepted by the Government, the Third Five Year Plan was formulated, inter alia, to bring about a reduction of inequalities in income and wealth and a more even distribution of economic power.

The problem of reducing disparities in income and wealth has always attracted the attention of the Government. Measures have been taken during the past decade by the Government to reduce the economic and social disparities. The achievements of the first two Five Year Plans have been somewhat satisfactory inasmuch as there has been an increase of 42 per cent in the National Income. Despite this increase it has been the common feeling that we are not heading towards the attainment of the cherished objective of reducing the disparities of income and wealth and that the concentration of economic power in fewer hands persists. The problem has been discussed at length, with deep concern, within and outside the Parliament, by social reformers, practical economists, politicians and the common man alike. Looking to the intensity of the problem the Planning Commission appointed

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Committee on 13th Oct. 1960 under the Chairship of Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis, to enquire the distribution of additional income generated in the first two plans and to study the concentration of wealth and economic power. The Committee has now submitted the part I of its report, which was submitted to the Lok Sabha 29th April 1964.

In the opinion of the Committee there does appear to be any significant change in the overall distribution of income. The Committee having probed into the cause has stated in its report that, "despite all countervailing measures, the concentration of economic power in the Private Sector is more than which could be justified as necessary on functional grounds." Though it is quite reasonable to believe that the private sector should also prosper along with the public sector and the latter should give a fair share to the former rather than ousting it, yet it is felt that the concentration of economic power in few hands in the private sector is an evil which may go on multiplying from year to year. The evil of concentration of economic power cannot be discarded altogether on economic grounds especially in the context of our scarce resources and the imperative need of the most economic utilisation of those resources. On purely economic grounds the concentration of economic power or the growth of big business makes the attainment of the economies of large scale possible. In many industries any attempt to reduce the degree of concentration by breaking down economic size units into a larger number of uneconomic size units would lead to waste. Though the Committee has recommended the appointment of another committee to study this matter in detail, it has suggested that instead of the break up of the units into smaller ones it would be better to adopt a policy of regulation, countinuous vigilancy and, possibly nationalization, which will be to prevent the anti-social consequences of these units. These suggestions do not seem to be effective. Experience during the last decade has evidenced concentration of economic power in the private sector despite the various regulations and restrictions. As regards nationalization it can be regarded as a general policy and a cure for all evils in the economic system of a democratic country.

There are great variations in the distribution of national income. According to the findings of the Committee the lowest ten per cent of the population had only 1.3 per cent of the share of aggregate household income after tax while the top 10 per cent had the share of 40.4 per cent. It has further been observed that the top 10 per cent of households account for 23 to 28 per cent of income while the bottom 20 per cent account for 7.5. to 8 per cent of income. These figures specify the extent of inequalities of income. The National income during the first decade of economic planning has increased by 42 per cent mostly increasing the income of an already rich minority while there has been little improvement in the income of the poor masses. Optimists may feel happy about an increase of 16 per cent in the per capita income during the said period. This is an illusion if we take into consideration the extent of rise in the general level of prices. It is not simply the nominal income that counts but an increase in the real income is necessary for raising the standard of living of the masses, It is often said emphatically that economic growth can be attained only through sacrifice. The principle of the sacrifice should be uniform for the rich and the poor alike. The economic growth of the country has enhanced the enjoyment of the luxurious life for the rich while the poor cannot earn even the bare livelihood. What is the use of putting before ourselves the ideal of Socialistic Pattern of Society or democratic socialism when, in practice, we are sticking to the age-old capitalism? We can as well call our economy a "Capitalistic Pattern of Society" where the inequalities of income and concentration of economic power obstinately continue to grow.

It is mentioned in the report that ours is not the only country that has great inequalities of income. There are many other developed and under-developed countries which suffer from this evil. There is hardly any justification to feel gratified about the existence of this evil in other countries also. We should not look to them for any moral support because it is only our country which is wedded to the doctrine of Democratic Socialism. It has been observed by the Committee that inequalities of income are greater in the urban sector than in the rural sector, and that the increase in the inequality of urban income and its reduction in the rural sector seem to neutralize each other. Consequently there appear to be no change in the inequality of income. We should not combine both the urban and the rural

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sectors for observation because industrialization and rapid growth are predominant in only the urban sector. Moreover there is not only an unequal distribution of income but the distribution of wealth is also unequal. It is but natural as the latter is the outcome of the former. A fair distribution of incomes shall ultimately lead to an equal distribution of wealth.

The picture is not as dark as may seem from all that has been said. The problem is not without a cure and the evil is being attacked from many angles simultaneously. The budget for the current year caters for reducing the inequality of incomes. Income tax on lower brackets has been reduced and that on the higher ones has been increased. This measure provides relief to a smaller section of the society. A greater number of people would have been benefited if the burden of indirect taxes were reduced. It is true that the rich shall be paying more in terms of direct taxes but then they are also getting the lion's share of the increased national income. It, therefore, shows little scope for the reduction of disparity of incomes. The rationalization of Capital gains Tax, increase in the Estate Duty, Gift Tax and the reimposition of Expenditure Tax are some of the steps towards the reduction of unequal distribution of wealth. It is heartening to note that the Monopolies Inquiry Commission has already been constituted under the Chairmanship of Justice K. C. Das Gupta to inquire into the extent and effect of concentration of economic power in private hands and to suggest such legislative and other measures that might be considered necessary in the light of such inquiry. As already stated, the rise in per capita income has been simply nominal because of rising prices. Measures to control prices have also been adopted though they have yet not been effective. Every possible attempt is being made to increase the industrial and agricultural production. Subsidies to the industries, price policy, buffer stock operations, and opening of fair price shops, etc. are some of the attempts made by the Government to curb inflation and to increase the real worth of the meager earnings of the masses. The Central Government is also considering the case of increasing the dearness allowance and the wages of Government employees, earning low incomes, for giving them some relief against the rising level of prices. As all these measures shall mostly benefit the people in the low-income group, it shall be a step towards reducing the disparity of incomes. The entire problem necessitates a re-assessment in the proper perspective. Every study is handicapped by the absence of reliable and relevant statistical data. Moreover, the findings of the various Committees lose their significance because of delay. The Mahalanobis Committee has taken about three and a half years in sumbitting only the part I of its report. The Monopoly Commission which has recently been constituted should expedite its study and make recommendations in time so that necessary steps may be taken to mitigate this economic evil.

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UNIQUE NEPAL

BY PROF. K. R. R. SASTRY

ATIONS between *Bharat* and Nepal are inter-ed historically, culturally and geographically. orically, Nepal has been an elder brother in duration of independence ; in strides of indus-ization, India is in the position of an elder ther. What struck me after a ten-days stay at hmandu and interviews with a few statesmen e, are the *unique* characteristics of Nepal.

If Nepal is noted for its Pasupathinath and inath, it is equally famous for having bini, the birthplace of Buddha, within her tory. It is a unique centre where Hinduism Buddhism thrive in mutual respect.

At Lalitpur (Patan) near Kathmandu above Krishna image in the next higher circumam-tion is a fine image of Kailasapathy. Never h a reconciling pose have I found any shrine dia. It is at once a reconciler of Saivism and hnavism.

The sight that I experienced during Navara-of Sakti-worship I could never forget. No in the Amber City near Jaipur I have found *prasad* of red flowing through offer of one to Kali but such a flow of red blood offered g Navarathri, I have not seen anywhere else. hefly Nepalese men and women enjoy the rathri as a national festival.

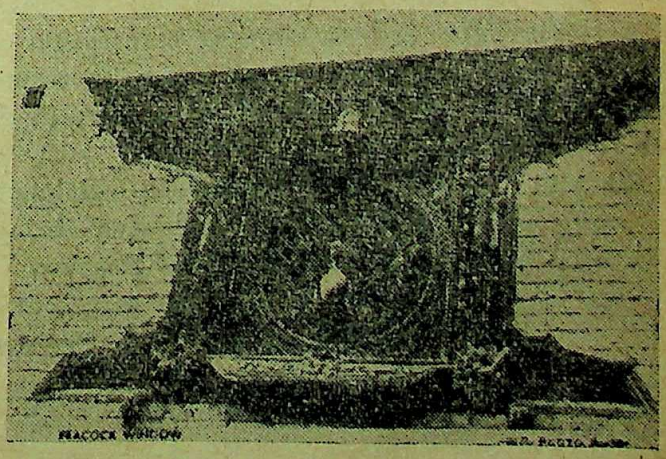
Village Woman

The Bhaktapur Palace is in every sense a aesthetic paradise, "It is classical without too highbrow." (*Biography of King* ndra Y. G. Krishnamurthy p. 93). This palace in Bhaktapur, six miles east of ndu was founded in 889 A.D. The *Durga Sapta Sati* frieze engraved in stone, eighteen shades of BHAIRAV emotion carved in wood and sculptural detail and tension in the image *Unmatha Varahi* hit the stream of awareness-technique. The technique here as in the Vaishnavi image emphasises an attitude of inner probing. The news of these incomparable pieces has not yet leaked out to the art world.

The Malla Kings were the votaries of *Shakti;* no wonder their experiences are found conveyed in art forms. In poignance, grace and aspiring Tantric mood, there is none more striking than the image of *Unmatha Varahi.* "Measuring over 4 feet with a smooth and radiant surface almost unknown to modern sculpture, tusks and eyes giving a hint of its earth-shaking power, every inch of its crown carved with ravishing designs, *Varahi* breathes the sublime touch of a true sculptor's chisel" (Y.G.K.).

Within the courtyard our heart verily becomes a vast amphiteatre of the *Spirit.* There is a mysterious waterhole in the yard. A yogi as Naresh Mulla could make the rills murmur out. For weird *tantric* symbols it is hard to beat picturesque Nepal. A frog riding a lion, a mouse on the back of a tiger and both frog and mouse teasing an elephant—hundreds like that not merely confuse us but I did not want to come out of the courtyard.

The magnificent peacock window at the Mohant's mansion at Bhaktapur is a unique piece of wood carving. I do not know if wood carving anywhere in India has attained this standard and its intricate perfection.



Peacock Window

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Tantric Mudras Galore

In the Kumari Chowk on the top frieze there are fortynine images. The middle pier has twenty-five images and the base has thirtythree. South India is noted for master sculptors in stone ; but they could not emulate these *tantric* mudras.

The conception of nine goddesses is not merely warm and sensitive. It is best depicted only here. *Brahmi, Maheswari, Kaumari, Vaishnavi, Varahi, Narasimhi, Indrani, Chamunda* and *Mahalakshmi*. Durga is the total effect of these nine manifestations. As E. A. Powell expresses it "In the forgotten valley artists, priests and master craftsmen have been at work unceasingly for generations beyond reckoning".

Pasupathinath with its *Panch Muki Brahma* has hoary associations with Adi Sankara and H. M. King Mahendra of Nepal assured me that the best priest here is from the Sringeri Mutt.

Nepal has produced a Buddha, but the Nepali has not sheathed his *Kukri*, the curved little sword.

Near Muktinath at an altitude of 18,000 feet and in the water beds of Kali Gandaki around Muktichetra there is a large deposit of black ammonite fossils known as thrice sacred *Saligrams* worshipped as sacred symbols of Vishnu in every Hindu home as part of the *Panchayatana* Puja.

If the Srikrishna Temple at Patan is known for its engravings of the Mahabaratha scene, Nepal has also Janakpur in South-east Kathmandu valley, the birth-place of Sita, the heroine of the Ramayana.

Bronze craftsmanship is to be found in Royal statues. The masterpiece is certainly the golden door of Bhaktapur which displays a marvellous quality of technical skill and harmonious beauty.

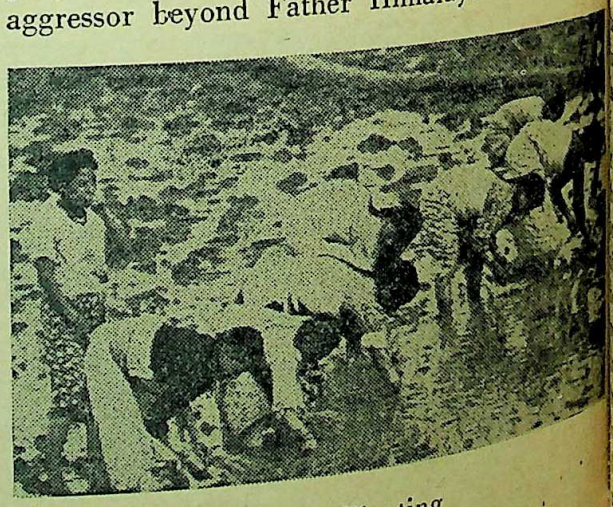
Nepal is verily a treasure-house of rare manuscripts. The earliest Sanskrit manuscript of Narada Smriti was from Nepal and Jolly translated in the *Sacred Books of the East*, (Vol. XXXIII). Astoundingly interesting is a rare manuscript on *Yoga Tarangini*—a dialogue between Kumbhakarna and Lakshmana being translated by King Mahendra, the scholar-poet of Nepal. *Sangeeta Sura Sangraha* composed to the command of Jagajoti Mulla is also being translated by the King. It opens with an impressive invocation. The milky way is the stage curtain ; lightning is the illumination ; the sky is the stage and thunder is the drum. The stars are the decorations and the sun and the moon are the cymbals. The Goddess Gouri is the Dancer.

Kathmandu was the centre of Asian fashion in the fourth century A.D. In the Gupta period, the reigning beauty was a Lichchavya, a Nepalese princess. So a work as *Hayamekhala* contains indigenous recipes for preserving beauty, effective slimming, costume jewellery and fashion in fabrics.

It would be surprising if a work as *Yavana Jatakam* (12th century A.D.) a great work on Astrology containing horoscopes of emperors, kings, statesmen and dacoits (!) is not found in this ancient Himalayan bowl.

Enough has been stated illustratively about the art, sculpture and manuscripts of Nepal, the only Hindu independent kingdom where cow slaughter is unlawful. Unique in many respects, Nepal's lesson to India is in her interwoven reconciliation of Hinduism and Buddhisim and of Saivism and Vaishnavism.

The more we are *brotherly* with Nepal as cultural, historical and geographical ties, bind us indissolubly, the more can we maintain our integrity, faced as we are by a ruthless yellow aggressor beyond Father Himalayas.



Rice Planting

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THE POETRY OF SHAKESPEARE—HOW IT STRIKES AN INDIAN ADMIRER

By Prof. DEBIPRASAD BHATTACHARYYA

is interesting to speculate how, after the lapse four hundred years, the world would have eived him if Shakespeare wrote his plays in se instead of verse. One thing, however, is ain, and that is that the world in that case ld not have celebrated his fourth birth tenary; even if it did, he could never have used such spontaneous and unprecedented thusiasm all over the world. He would still be emembered and admired, it is true, as a shrewd erver of human nature, an excellent humorist d a comic dramatist of genius. His great edies, however, which are his supreme gift mankind, would, I am sure, be dismissed, with ething like horror, as fantastic and monstrous drama and his *King Lear* as the work of a man. He would still be credited, no doubt, profound insight into the dark recesses of human soul, but then, even from that point view his supremacy would be successfully lenged by the great masters of prose fiction of last century.

All this, I fear, may appear irrelevant and ciful, and yet I think the point is worth mak- because although we, his Indian admirers, e had the supreme good fortune, due to a ky accident of history, of reading Shakespeare the original, our reaction to him would not, am afraid, have been very different from what s had he chosen prose as his medium. I say because Shakespeare is regarded by us as marily a dramatist who, however, often couched noble thoughts in beautiful verse. If this is w Shakespeare is conceived by us who have d him in the original, what would be his fate countries where he is accessible only in nslation? Voltaire, for example, as everybody ows, never thought much of him, and Tolstoy ught *King Lear* horrible. This is not a estion merely of temperament; a great deal of s curious insensitiveness, on the part of men o were by no means incapable of appreciating eatness, is attributable to the fact that their quaintance with Shakespeare's work was confined to translation. It was unfortunate, because no other great poet of the world is so utterly untranslatable.

Shakespeare is commonly thought a great dramatist who expressed himself in verse. I am not sure whether it would not be better for the understanding of him if we regarded him as a greeat poet who chose drama as his medium. It is not an accident that his masterpiece, from the purely dramatic point of view, is also his greatest poem. It is also a remarkable fact that of all his great tragedies Macbeth contains the least admixture of prose.

I am also not sure whether it would not be truer to describe Shakespeare's plays as dramatic poems rather than as poetic drama. Take for example his *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. This delightfuul sylvan comedy of Shakepeare's early phase has considerable dramatic merit and yet what lingers in our memory is its incomparable lyrical charm. A striking illustration of how poetry can redeem a play is *Troilus and Cressida*. Considered as drama, it is frankly disappointing and extremely puzzling; what makes it still enjoyable is its admirable poetry. *Romeo and Juliet* cannot, of course, challenge comparison with its great tragic successors; yet it is almost as satisfying a work of art; it is, above all, the entrancing music of its verse that makes it such a marvel of romantic enchantment. *Antony and Cleopatra* is not, on the whole, as great as *Macbeth* or *King Lear*; it lacks the symbolic depth and tragic grandeur of either (though I think it is a finer play than *Hamlet*.). What makes it such an astonishing creation is the incomparable liveliness and movement of its blank verse, as bold, as full of infinite variety as the amazing heroine of the play. What I think saves *Othello* from lapsing into a tragedy of intrigue is the fact that the hero of the play is, with all his serious intellectual limitations, a supreme poet.

Shakespeare's prose, considering the fact that English prose at that time was not yet mature, much less mature than French prose, is excellent

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and remarkably modern ; it has not yet received the attention it deserves. And yet I often find myself wondering, I must confess, why a man whose very breath was poetry, whose whole being was permeated through and through with the quintessence of poetry, should have resorted to prose so often. To me personally, to return, after a particularly long-drown-out prose dialogue in Shakespeare, even if it is witty and brilliant, to his verse is always an intense relief. It is only with an effort of will that I can bring myself to groan through the interminable verbal quibble and logic-chopping of his earlier comedies ; it is only the prospect of meeting poetry again that sustains me during these tedious moments. I do not mean to say that Shakespeare took to prose when his inspiration was at a low ebb ; in fact some of the supreme triumphs of his dramatic genius, like the Falstaff scenes in *Henry IV* are in prose. In some cases, like the delightful rustic scenes in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, the use of verse, I admit, would be utterly out of place. And yet I cannot help wishing that a poet who could make Juliet's nurse speak in verse with such brilliant success, who could put poetry in the mouth of a scoundrel like Iago, might have dispensed with prose more often than he did. Shakespeare himself has shown, in the wonderful first scene of *Hamlet*, how a brief, brusque and thoroughly businesslike conversation can be conducted in verse with triumphant success. There have been poets, great poets, who, like Milton, could write great poetry on great, exalted themes; Shakespeare himself has done that over and over again. But for a great dramatic poet that is not enough. A great dramatic poet, unlike an epic poet, must be able to express, convincingly, plausibly and beautifully, moments of comparatively little dramatic tension in verse without resorting to prose or lapsing into pedestrian verse. Shakespeare possessed this power, the rarest and most difficult of all faculties in a dramatic poet, in a supreme measure ; it is this divine gift which more than anything else, makes the appearance of Shakespeare on the stage of world literature such an astounding phenomenon. Like a divine alchemist he could transmute the most prosaic and utterly intractable material into the golden splendour of poetry. Considering the enormous output of his poetical production and his often-heard carelessness as an artist, it is amazing how rarely his verse is inelegant, uninteresting or tiresome. How refreshing, how readable Shakespeare is, even at his worst!

What makes Shakespeare, unlike most of his Elizabethan fellow dramatists so intensely interesting even when the drama is at a low tension, are his diction, rhythm and imagery.

To take his diction first. That a poet who never knew what a university was like, who, according to Ben Johnson "knew little Latin and less Greek" should have used what is, at least in European literature, both ancient and modern, the largest vocabulary ever used by any poet, will remain a mystery till the end of time. Milton, who is unquestionably the most learned of all English poets, used about eight thousand words; Shakespeare, twenty thousand. This is one of the reasons why Shakespeare remains, with all his tremendous popularity, the most difficult author of the world. The strange thing is that even this copious, almost inexhaustible repository sometimes failed to supply the demand. It was when Shakespeare had to work at high tension. Then it is that we watch, breathless and aghast, the greatest master of language the world has seen, fiercely ransacking this enormous storehouse. It is not the smiling, aloof and serene Shakespeare of Matthew Arnold, that we are watching then; it is the terrifying spectacle of Shakespeare who has summoned all his resources, girded up his loins, and then plunged headlong into the roaring waves, the passion of an *Othello* or the raving frenzy of a *King Lear*.

Nothing is so illuminating, in discussing a great poet, as to contrast him with another great poet who is very different. Such a poet is Racine, Shakespeare's greatest tragic successor in European literature, and almost as great a master of dramatic verse. I have always been surprised at the Englishman's curious insensibility to the charm of Racine. At the same time it is understandable, even natural for a compariot of Shakespeare who is used to the superb irregularities of the British dramatist to find Racine monotonous if his ears are not tuned to the music of French verse. The main reason is, of course, the metre ; the French Alexandrine which Racine brought to perfection is, after the variety and richness of the blank verse of Shakespeare's mature poetry, a dull affair. But there is another reason for this comparative monotony (with all its music and consummate metrical virtuosity) of Racine's verse : his vocabulary, which is, com-

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to Shakespeare's, very limited indeed. Let give an example from my own experience. I ven to know English much better than French, yet in reading Racine it is rarely that I find essary to look up the dictionary, while in ing Shakespeare, I am scarcely halfway ugh a moderately long speech when suddenly ble upon a word, a total stranger whom I for the first time in my life and perhaps for last; for the last because it is extremely un- that I shall ever have the pleasure of ing it again, even in Shakespeare. Even a ry glance at a Shakespeare glossary will show ores of such words, words, namely, that occur once in the thirty-odd plays of this in- bly prolific writer. The result is a perpetual rise; the reader or the spectator is kept in tual suspense by not merely what is going happen next, but also, and equally, by what ing to be the next word; we can often ipate the next event, but never the next Shakespeare is the supreme example of the sh idiom, and yet his diction is never inevi- and natural in the sense in which Racine's

Critics have emphasised the thoroughly sh character of Shakespeare's genius. In they are right, provided, however, this shness of Shakespeare is not meant to nderise his vocabulary. What we actually in his diction is not an overwhelming pre- rance of the Anglo-Saxon element but that te and difficult balance between the Teutonic the Latin elements to which, more than to ing else, the English language owes its ness and variety. We must not forget that the who wrote "After life's fretful fever, he sleeps is the same man who wrote, in the same "Multitudinous seas incarnadine"; that, nt thee from felicity awhile" is as great as, "Ripeness is all."

Shakespeare has often been called rhetorical, ally his early verse. Rhetoric, unfortunately, ome out of fashion in our age; it has be- a term of reproach. If rhetoric is some- too crude for our modern taste we had leave Shakespeare alone. Some of the passages, even in his later works, are highly rical. It is a mistake, I think, to suppose that kespeare, as his poetry became maturer, doned his earlier rhetorical manner for a direct and natural style. What are Othello's great speeches, including his famous dying speech, but brilliant rhetorical utterance? Shakespeare's poetry is never, as Dante's often is, the poetry of plain statement; his poetry is always figurative; it suggests rather than states. The naturalness of Shakespeare's mature poetry, like the naturalness of anything Shakespearian, except his English idiom, is an illusion. That an author so highly individual and original should give such an overwhelming impression of naturalness is one of the ultimate paradoxes of genius. The progress was not from the rhetorical to the simple and natural diction; his really significant development, from the technical point of view, lay in perfecting his instrument, and the instrument was blank verse. This development, which is of the greatest interest from the point of view of the music of poetry, is not in the direction of greater simplicity; it consists essentially in an increase in the subtlety and complexity of rhythm.

Shakespeare achieves this rhythmic subtlety not merely by the mechanical Miltonic device of sliding the caesura backwards and forwards; it depends mainly on what Dr. F. R. Leavis defines, with his characteristic felicity and precision, as "the play of the natural sense movement and intonation against the verse structure." This subtle counterpoint between speech movement and verse rhythm is what we miss in Miltonic blank verse. In *Richard III* it is hardly perceptible; in *Hamlet* it is distinctly audible; and in *Antony and Cleopatra* this contrapuntal melody reaches the highest point of complexity. In the blank verse of *Antony and Cleopatra* Shakespeare forged a dramatic instrument of incomparable power; it is, as the quotation that follows shows, a unique combination of strength and suppleness, of statuesque grandeur and exquisite delicacy of movement.

For his bounty
There was no winter in't, an autumn 'twas
That grew the more by reaping; his delights
Were dolphin-like, they show'd his back above
The element they lived in; in his livery
Walked crowns and crownets, realms and islands were
As plates dropp'd from his pocket.

Finally I pass on to Shakespeare's imagery. This is not the place to discuss so vast a subject; what I propose to do in what follows is to point

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out how his imagery strikingly illustrates the sheer *dramatic* power of poetry. The drama of Shakespeare is not the drama of men and women alone; behind this human drama there is enacted another drama, quite as exciting and as fascinating, the drama in which the dramatis personae are not human beings, but images and words. An image in Shakespeare is itself a drama, intense and vivid; it is, so to speak, a play within a play. What Dr. Leavis calls "Shakespeare's marvellous faculty of intense local realization" is best exemplified by a passage like the following; it is the famous address to sleep by King Henry IV in *Henry IV Part II.*

Wilt thou upon the high and giddy mast
Seal up the ship-boy's eyes, and rock his brains
In cradle of the rude imperious surge,
And in the visitation of the winds,
Who take the ruffian billows by the top,
Curling their monstrous heads, and hanging them
With deaf'ning clamour in the slippery clouds,
That with the hurly death itself awakes?

This is the poetry of Shakespeare, Shakespeare at the height of his power, and Shakespeare at the height of his power is perhaps the most terrifying spectacle in literature. The drama of *Henry IV* has for a moment stopped; we catch our breath and watch another drama, the drama of "the rude imperious surge," the "winds" and the "ruffian billows"—clashing with deaf'ning clamour. And yet the main drama has not stopped; the image admirably reflects the state of mind of the speaker, tormented by the unspeakable terror of sleeplessness. This is Shakespeare's real miracle as a dramatist: "intense local realization" so far from being incompatible with the general design of the whole, always, in a mysterious way, enhances it; it is never a mere beautiful irrelevance. He always combines, as no other dramatic poet of the world has been able to do, the poetry of detail with what T. S. Eliot has called poetry of design.

It was T. S. Eliot again who said that great drama is always poetic and that great poetry is always dramatic. Whether or not this is a universal truth, I do not know. What I do know is that it is certainly true of Shakespeare. Shakespeare has taught mankind one thing, if nothing else, and for that at least we should be grateful to him. And it is this: he has opened our eyes, and our ears, as nobody else has done, to the power, the tremendous dramatic power, of poetry, of above all, great poetry such as his, which he has given us so often, so generously and in such divine abundance.

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HE ESTIMATES COMMITTEE AND THE PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC ENTERPRISE IN INDIA

By G. RAM REDDY, M.Sc., (Econ) London

ENTLY the Government of India announced that Committee on Public Enterprise would be inted.[1] This Committee will take over from Estimates Committee and also from the Public unts Committee the work relating to Public prise. In this paper it is proposed to examine eed, character and scope of the Committee.

The Committee owes its origin, as in Britain,[2] he desire of Members of Parliament to secure e form of closer relationship between iament and Public Enterprise. The Members ed to have a method by which they could inform themselves about Public Enterprise out acquiring responsibilities of Ministers or aching on the independence of these enter- es. The conflict between accountability and omy of Public Enterprise has been resolved he creation of a Parliamentary Committee.

In Britain there was a controversy regard- the appointment of a Parliamentary mittee. Arguments for and against were put ard. Ultimately government decided to int a Parliamentary Committee on Nationa- Industries. The terms of reference of the 1955 mittee were narrow and the Committee felt restricted to do any useful work. The terms ference of the new Committee (1956) were ed. The Committee was authorised "to ine the reports and accounts of the Nationa- Industries." Doubts were expressed by the bers on the ground that the terms of re- ce were too wide ; it would interfere with proper chain of responsibility ; would create bureaucracy and would expose the commer- activities of Public Enterprise. In his reply Butler expressed the hope that "the Committee ld not tresspass upon the authority of these es respectively responsible, namely in the one the Corporations themselves, and in the the Ministers of the Crown." It was left to Committee and the Chairman to use discretion develop "case law." The Committee has pro- five reports since then. All of them are ed by the Commentators on Public Enter-

The situation in India is different. From the beginning the Estimates Committee, the Public Accounts Committee and the Comptroller and Auditor General have been dealing with the Public Enterprises. Although the Estimates Committee has been very active in this sphere, opinions are conflicting about its functioning. Some writers point out that the Estimates Committee has been doing fairly good work.[4] But the general feeling is that the Estimates Committee's work has not been satisfactory. It adopts the same attitude towards Public Enterprise which is adopted towards the Government Departments.

The Estimates Committee has produced several reports on the public undertakings some of which are of "general nature" and others relate to particular undertakings. Its recommendations cover a wide range *e.g.* it says that there should be a cadre of capable men drawn from business, commerce, industry and trade to whom Public Enterprise should be entrusted and this should be in the nature of an All India Service designated as "Indian Commercial and Industrial Services." A report (Eighth) on the D.V.C. says that the corporation should be asked to plan their requirements of stores and supplies in advance to determine which of them should be purchased through the Director General, Supplies and Disposals.

Recently a sub-committee of the Estimates Committee was also appointed to look after Public Enterprise. The appointment has weakened the case for a separate committee on Public Enterprise to some extent.

The Members of Parliament were not satisfied with the accountability of Public Enterprise to Parliament. They felt that it was defective in several respects. This feeling was based on the ground that Parliament was not properly fed about Public Enterprise. The Estimates Committee was overburdened with work, it was doing too many things at a time. Since the Estimates Committee deals with the Government Departments it has no opportunity to appreciate the problems of public undertakings—particularly

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when there has been a large growth in the public Enterprise. The pattern of Public Enterprise is quite different from the Government Departments and this special characteristic is not understood by the Estimates Committee. The functioning of the Estimates Committee is also not satisfactory. It gives contradictory advices ;[5] deals with the problems in a cursory manner and sometimes goes into the day to day administrative problems. It is also pointed out that the Estimates Committee expresses opinions on even technical matters. Some writers hold it guilty of arrogating itself certain powers which do not properly belong to it.[6]

Some of these criticisms could have been met by the appointment of a special sub-committee of Estimates Committee to be incharge of Public Enterprise matters. But the Public Enterprise in India have assumed a vital role and probably for this reason it is felt that it is not proper to keep them in the hands of Estimates Committee for whom Public Enterprise are one of the several functions. Only a separate committee would do the job. Hence the demand for a separate committee.

The demand for a separate committee on Public Enterprise was made as early as in 1953. In the Lok Sabha several MPs pleaded for the creation of a separate committee. Appreciating the anxiety of the mmbers of Parliament, late Mr. Mavalankar wrote to the Prime Minister that something had to be done. He said that "there was a general feeling that a Standing Parliamentary Committee might be appointed to see from time to time how these corporations etc., were working and to make suggestions for improvement."[7] Mr. C. D. were working and to make suggestions Deshmukh speaking for the government felt that it was better to wait and see. Again a demand for its creation was made in Parliament in 1956 debate on the L.I.C.[8] At that time Mr. C. D. Deshmukh said "that he was in favour of it, for such a committee could do some kind of achievement audit." In 1958 the L.I.C. episode sparked off the controversy once again and it revealed that the parliamentary control was in adequate. The appointment of V. K. Krishna Menon Committee on the State undertakings was indicative of the urgency. The committee favoured the appointment of a separate committee for Public Enterprise.[9]

The Government announced its willingness to appoint a committee on Public Enterprise. Its appointment is a culmination of the efforts mentioned in the preceding paragraphs. The decision of a Government for its appointment assumes that the new committee would be better than Public Accounts Committee and the Estimates Committee. This assumption is probably based on :

a. That the Committee may be composed of business and other elements who know something about the State undertaking. But this is a questionable assumption, for the Estimates Committee and the Public Accounts Committe might attract the best members and this committee might not be able to do the same.[10]

b. The Committee on Public Enterprise would adopt a broader approach than the Public Accounts Committee and the Estimates Committee. It can examine the background of the cases of Public Enterprise. But this will very easily lead the committee into the day to day administrative problems.

If the Committee on Public Enterprise is to function successfully it should borrow good traditions of the Estimates Committee and improve upon them. It should avoid the mistakes of the Estimates Committee, *e.g.* it expresses views on technical matters.[11] The new committee must also meet the criticism levelled against the Estimates Committee failing which it would become a pale shadow of the latter. Some of the important criticisms against the new committee would be :

a. Sub-Committee of the Estimates Committee is doing useful work and the experience gained by it would be lost if a new committee is appointed.[12]

b. By creating a new committee it is not certain that it will be able to examine the working of more enterprises than what the Estimates Committee has already been doing.

c. A new Committee wholly dealing with Public Enterprise is more likely to interfere in the day to day affairs of Public Enterprise than the Estimates Committee.

d. Even the special committee will need an expert staff to assist it. In the absence of it, the Committee is not likely to fare

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any better than the Estimates Committee. If expert staff is given to the Estimates Committee that itself will function effectively.

e. The financial matters of Public Enterprise are so greatly mixed with those of departments that it would not be possible for the new committee to deal with them. It would not be able to examine the Departmental Secretaries as Chief witnesses. Moreover the Civil Servants are closely associated with the boards of Public Enterprise.[13]

There is no reason why the experience of the mates Committee or its sub-committee is to be sidered lost; it can pass to the latter. As ards criticism (b) and (c) it may be stated the purpose is not to examine more enter- es but the type and quality of examination. experience of the British Committee on tionalised Industries shows that the special mittee on Public Enterprise need not go into to day administrative matters. The Indian mittee may also adopt that convention. The ian Committee on Public Enterprise can learn h from the experience of its counterpart in ain. The criticism of financial matters is also convincing, for gradually the aim should be separate the finances of Public Enterprise departments and make the officers of Public erprise responsible for them and not the servants.

Methods and principles of the new mittee's work should also be different. If new committee merely implies a transfer of work of the Estimates Committee and without ange in the principles of work, no qualitative rovement in parliamentary control will occur. The Committee on Public Enterprise can ieve positive results only when it gains the fidence of the Boards of Public Enterprise. It uld try to understand the peculiar problems each industry. The Committee should not give impression that it is suspicious of the Boards it is a sword of democles hanging over their ds. This is essential to avoid the fear complex the Boards and also playing for safety. The ards should be made to believe that in the ition" which they take in the interest of lic Enterprise they would not be let down or ised by the committee.

At the same time the committee should not hesitate to express its views and point out their mistakes. Autonomy does not mean that the Boards are immune from criticism. As the Menon Committee put it "there cannot be any fettering of its judgment and expression of its views in good parliamentary traditions."

The Committee should keep Parliament informed of important developments in Public Enterprise and should interpret the policies of the Public Enterprise to it. There is no harm if it becomes a kind of honest broker occasionally between Public Enterprise and Parliament and make them understand each other. Through its work the committee should reduce the burden of Parliament regarding Public Enterprise by giving purposeful information.

The Committee at the same time should not interfere with Ministerial responsibility. Its function is not either to manage or administer the enterprises but only to see that they are properly functioning.

The committee should also refrain from the temptation of going into details and expressing opinions on technical matters for which job it is not competent. Such matters should be left to the experts.

Since the Committee on Public Enterprise is similar to the British Committee on the Nationalised Industries, it can learn much from the latter's experience and practice. The latter has set up healthy traditions some of which can be transplanted on the Indian soil without any climatic difficulties. In a recent article[14] on the Select Committee on the Nationalised Industries Sir Toby Low, former Chairman of the Committee, describes how the Committee has worked and what difficulties it faced. For the successful working of the committee "careful leadership," comes from its Chairman. Much depends upon the role of the Chairman. There are dangers if the committee falls into less able hands.[15] The main object of the inquiry of the Committee is to find out whether the industry is effectively managed. How to judge the efficiency of an industry? Here they had to be very careful whether to compare the performance of an industry with earlier years or should it be compared with private and foreign firms. One thing was clear that they should compare the like with the like. Another test of efficiency is the profitability of the enterprise. But prices in Public Enterprise are controlled in one way or another and "tended

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to be artificial." The committee tried to look at all factors that go to make up efficiency in management.

The British Committee and its Chairman are assisted in cross-examining the witnesses by the Clerks of the House of Commons. These Clerks are not experts, but they "do have trained minds." The Chairman of the Committee at times felt the need for a professional accountant and a trained economist to put his "nose on the right scent." But later they decided that there was no use in introducing a new machinery between Parliament and Nationalised Industries. The expert assistance could be got informally from outsiders. They thought that it was important that the Nationalised Industries had full confidence in the Committee's staff. Instead they asked for an additional clerk. After this the Committee worked on the Railways and the Gas Industries with the help of the Clerks, and Sir Toby says "I did not during either of these inquiries feel the need for an expert staff assistance." This is an eloquent tribute to the Clerks of the House of Commons.

It is the experience of Sir Toby Low that there is no mystery in working out "what were the essentials in each of these industries," regarding their efficient functioning; with few exceptions the same points arose and they tried to examine the working of the Industries in that light. They are:

1. Attitude of the Board whether they were carrying out a public service or doing a commercial job.
2. Degree of Ministerial interference—its direct and indirect effects on the decisions of the enterprise.
3. Continuance of un-economic services.
4. Control of capital investment.

This is the main work of the Committee. Almost all the above points are worth remembering for the Indian Committee. They only point on which it may have to follow a different course is that of expert assistance to it. The British Committee has decided against expert assistance but the Indian Committee may feel the need for it, because the Public Enterprises are many and varied in this country. In the fields of technology, accounting, economics and administrative assistance is required. In the Indian Parliament 80 per cent of the member represent rural consituencies and they probably are not in a position to understand the problems of industrial enterprises. Even in Britain writers like Robson feel that the Select Committee should be assisted by an Audit Commission. In India the assistance could be given by setting up an Efficiency Audit Bureau or by building up a Secretariat of the Committee with experts from all the fields. There are advantages and disadvantages of these. But the best solution would be for the committee to suggest what kind of help it needs and ask for assistance on that basis. The British Committee takes up only one or two industries every time for detailed study because the number of enterprises in that country is limited. In India Public Enterprises are larger in number. Therefore, the Committee has to take up several enterprises, every year for study. Here the best course to follow would be to divide the industries into some categories such as defence industries, commercial undertakings, financial undertakings etc. and appoint sub-committees for each category.

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1. Mr. Kanungo in the Lok Sabha on September 21, 1963.
2. Sir Toby Low, Article on "Select Committee on Nationalised Industries in Public Administration," Vol. 40, Spring, 1962, pp. 1-15.
3. W. A. Robson—*Nationalised Industry and Public Ownership*, pp. 198-202.
4. H. C. Dasappa: Parliamentary control and Accountability of Public Undertakings—*Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. VII, No. 2, April-June, 1961-62, p. 140.
5. A participant in the Seminar on Administrative problems of State Enterprises in India—*Indian Institute of Public Administration*, p. 10.
6. A. K. Chanda: *Indian Administration*, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1958, p. 193.
7. Quoted in the Menon Committee Report "Parliamentary Supervision over State Undertakings"; a Report, 1959.
8. Mr. Ashok Mehta, during the debate in the Lok Sabha on the L.I.C. in 1956. He said that such a committee would answer or challenge the government on Public Enterprise, would make thorough enquiry into Public Enterprise. There should be a Standing Committee ". . . . members of unit Standing Committee or Select Committee or Statutory Committee—whatever it is—will be in a position to come here and challenge the government on various important points with the requisite information and knowledge—*Lok Sabha Debates 1956*, Vol. V, part 2.
9. Congress Party in Parliament: Parliamentary Supervision over State Undertakings: A Report 1959, pp. 38-39.

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Prof. V. V. Ramanadham's Report of of Public Enterprise in India, Sponsored P. C. Plg. Commnn, 1961.

For a detail study of this see *Ibid*— on the Estimates Committee the D.V.C. study, pp. 289-291.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 297.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 297.
14. Sir Toby Low—*Select Committee on Nationalised Industries Public Administration*, Vol. 40, Spring 1962, pp, 1-15.
15. *Ibid.*

THE PROBLEM OF SLUMS AND SLUM CLEARANCE IN CALCUTTA

By SOM NATH CHATTERJEE, M.A.

(I)

TTA Slum Clearance Bill 1957 has defined as "any land containing a collection of used or intended to be used for human ation" where HUT means any structure, no ential part of which, excluding the walls height of 18" above the door or floor is constructed of masonry, reinforced rete, ferro-concrete, cemented brick, steel, or other metal or any combination of these ials, but includes any building constructed in or corrugated iron sheet "if the State rnment is satisfied that in any area (a) ts used or intended to be used for human ation are unfit for such purpose, or (b) unhealthy or unhygenic condition thereof or huts therein is dangerous or notorious to health or to the health of the inhabitants area."

It is evident that the above definition only es Kutcha and semi-kutcha structures. But iews of the Indian Conference of Social held in Bombay from 14th to 20th May were otherwise. There Mr. P. R. Nayak, observed: "A slum may be defined as a ng or an area which is unfit for human ation; by reason of serious deficiencies in nature of the living accommodation or of the ron ment." To the reader, Mr. Nayak's tion will be more appealing.

Calcutta is known as the City of Palaces. It is an irony that in this very City of Job more people are living in Kutcha and Kutcha houses than in Pucca ones, that about three-fourths of the city families live in over-crowded conditions and the problem of providing privacy for the family members is a serious one for not an insignificant section.

Slums of Calcutta must be discussed on two ground: (1) Nature of construction of the houses and (2) the extent of availability of the bare amenties of life like bath room, privy, water closet etc. On the basis of an actual survey—Socio-economic Survey of Calcutta by Dr. S. N. Sen (1954-55 to 1957-58)—the following conclusions have also been drawn: (a) on the basis of the second criterion above, barring about 10 to 12 per cent of the sample households, all others cannot enjoy the ordinary amenities of life; (b) from the first criterion that all Kutcha or semi-Kutcha structures are to be regarded as Bustees—28 per cent of the households containing roughly 27 per cent of the sample population live in Bustees. (c) On the whole, about 25 per cent to 26 per cent of the households (roughly a quarter of the total population of Calcutta) live in Bustees. In this calculation, nature of the structure and nature of the available essential amenities are not lost sigh of.

Condition of Bustees

About the general picture of the slums of Calcutta, one can do no better than to quote the description given by the Royal Commission on Indian Labour, p. 271. According to this Commission, in slum areas houses are built close together, eave touching eave and frequently back to back in order to make use of all the available

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spaces. Indeed. space is so valuable that in place of streets and roads, narrow winding lanes provide the only approach to the houses. Neglect of sanitation is often evidenced by heaps of rotting grabage and pools of sewage, whilst the absence of latrines enhances the general pollution of air and soil. Houses, many without plinths, windows and adequate ventilation, usually consist of a single room, the only opening being a door often too low to enter without stooping. For some privacy, old Kerosene tins and gunny bags are used to form screens which further restrict the entrance of light and air.

The Staff Reporter's account of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* dated the 12th July 1962 as quoted below completes the picture of the slums :

> "I am just describing the condition of a bustee situated at the junction of Hem Chandra Street and Watgunge St. in Kidderpur area. In that bustee, the number of dwellers is considerably large but there is only one latrine for the common use. The inhabitants including women and children have to stand in a queue before that latrine for their turn to have the opportunity to use it. This sort of unhealthy way of living is nothing but a scandal of the city. Foul smell is constantly polluting the surroundings but the unfortunate bustee-people are compelled to stand before the service-privy . . . . The life of the bustee has become more unbearable for the acute scarcity of water . . . ."

Yes, Calcutta is the city of paradoxes. That is why on a large number of roads palatial buildings and abominable bustees coexist side by side. And sometimes the bustee-dwellers happen to be the domestic staff serving these palaces !

London, New York and Calcutta Compared

Slums are not new words in the dictionary of large cities. But history teaches us that in almost all the cities where slums grew up, extensive demolition was carried on to remedy the evil. In England, Glasgow showed the way : in 1866, her Improvement Trust demolished 88 acres of slum property. Birmingham followed the steps of Glasgow in 1875. Even U.S.A. is also not no exception. Looking at the latest modern apartment house development in New York, one is struck by a curious fact. The aesthetic pleasure is gained almost entirely from the contrast between the great white buildings and their surroundings—the 19th century slums and the industrial blight.

Unlike the West, Calcutta's problems is quite different. Her areas are so badly let out that the wisest course is to pull them down and rebuild them. Yet in practice that is impossible. For example, the whole of North Calcutta cannot be pulled or razed down though this area positively cry out for such treatmennt. Razing the slums down to the ground without caring to provide alternative accommodation like England is an inhuman act because that makes men and women shelterless, tears them off from home comforts. Not only that. Without alternative accommodation these displaced persons just move off a little bit and create again new slums : thus old slums are only replaced by new ones. Naturally, less drastic remedies are to be adopted here. For example, the Calcutta Corporation can compel the individual houses to remedy sanitary defects and abate overcrowding.

Again, unlike the East-end of London, bustee areas of Calcutta are not concentrated in separate regions. The tragedy is that Calcutta has grown up practically in haphazard manner and then when affairs were found to be intolerable, sporadic improvements wer made.

Rehousing, the only Need

The need of the hour is not only to raze the slums down but also to rehouse the resident families. It is a fact that 70 per cent to 80 per cent of the families in Calcutta needs rehousing. It is interesting to record here that the Construction Board, West Bengal and Calcutta Improvement Trust estimated roughly Rs. 6000/- as construction cost of an one-roomed tenement in multi-storied buildings. The families, however, being of various sizes, all the slum-dwellers cannot possibly be accommodated in one roomed tenements. But assuming all of them will be satisfied with single room accommodation, then the cost alone for accommodation will be Rs. 135 crores. It may be noted that this sum will excluude further expenses involving compensations of different categories that will have to be paid before slum-clearance and subsequent costs of rehabilitation.

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(II)

Dr. S. N. Sen's Socio-Economic Survey

Dr. S. N. Sen of Calcutta University made socio-economic survey of Calcutta between 54-55 and 1957-58. The results of his survey indispensable for our discussion. According this survey, about a quarter of this City's ulation live in slums and so schemes of slum ance would involve the construction of new ses for about 8.8 lakh to 9 lakh people, 6.5 h being adults and 2.3 to 2.5 lakh children young persons. Dr. Sen agrues that estimating cost of one-roomed tenement with the usual nities in a multistoried building at Rs. 6,000|-, total expenditure for housing these 9 lakh ple will amount to Rs. 190 crores. This sum, ever, excludes the cost of the land.

Another important factor we must not forget. jority of the slum-dwellers of low-income group der to stay near thir places of work to save nsport charges, time and discomforts. So if aim to clear the slums by providing alter- e accommodation as near as possible to the ing slums, in that case the cost of land would very high because of soaring land prices in city. Dr. Sen further reminds us about the ment of suitable compensation to the existing owners. Finally he observes :

"Thus the total amount of investment necessary for these schemes would be a very large sum, varying between Rs. 250 crores to 300 crores. The sum involved is about 3 to 4 times the present annual interest charges on this sum, if borrowed from the market at the current market rates, would absorb about 10 per cent of the revenues of this State."

The financial problem becomes more acute en the question of fixing rents of these new ses comes in. Generally, the slum-dwellers pay een Rs. 9|- to 10|- as rent whereas a rent of 20|- would yield only 4 per cent return on sum invested in each new house. To solve problem, to fix the rents within the paying acity of the slum-dwellers, all that is needed to subsidise it heavily by the State. This sub- y and the annual interest charges on the loan uld involve a sum of not less than Rs. 16 crores, an amount being more than one-sixth of the revenue of the West Bengal Government.

Towards the Solution

The questions that remain unanswered in above discussions are : "What is to be done ? How the operation of slum clearance will be carried on ?" We all admit that slum clearance is to be tackled as a part of the bigger problem of housing. Housing again depends on the availability of building spaces, resources, income and culture of the slum-dwellers.

Yet something has to be done : Kipiling's remark of the "City of chances, chance directed and chance rected" has got to be disproved.

Suggestions of Mr. C. H. Bompass, I.C.S.

Discussing the subject of 'The task before the City builders," what Mr. C. H. Bompass, I.C.S., observed before the Social Study Society of Calcutta in September 1912 about Calcutta's improvement is still applicable today. He argued :

> "The tasks before the Improvement Trust are manifold and to which shall we turn first ? . . . . For some purpose when we talk of Calcutta we mean old Calcutta and in particular old Calcutta, north of Park Street : when we talk of congestion, of the solid masses of masonry buildings preventing proper conservancy, of the want of roads suited to the modern traffic, we think of north Calcutta proper. If we consider the future and to make provisions for the future, we cannot be bound by the partly official boundary of Corporation jurisdiction. We must look on Calcutta and its surrounding municipalities as a unit."

According to Mr. Bompass, Calcutta is always growing and, while considering the future we must take into account Greater Calcutta with all the suburban municipalities as the unit. "The Greatest drawack," warns Mr. Bompass, "it that there is no relation at all between the Street Planning in the City proper and the suburbs : There is not a single adequate road which starts in the centre of the city and runs out in the surrounding areas. This defect in the planning has been caused due to the lack of authorities with

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sufficiently large territorial jurisdiction. The necessity for an authority to deal with the growing cities and their surroundings as well has always been forcibly felt in London and other growing cities. Such a centralized authority like that in London to tackle all the problems of ever-growing Calcutta and her suburbs is the crying need of the day—specially to clear the slums.

Example of Chicago

Here I cannot help quoting an American authority. From the *Local Planning Administration* by the International City Managers' Association, U.S.A., we learn that in the "City Beautiful Campaign (1893) of U.S.A., the most spectacular accomplishments occurred in Chicago where Daniel Burnham's plan for a mounmental waterfront and architecturally impressive streets and avenues led to vast improvements. It was during this period that Daniel Burnhan uttered his famous challenge :

> "Make no little plans ; they have no magic to stir men's blood and probably themselves will not be realised. Make big plans; aim high and work, remembering that a noble, logical diagram once recorded will never die, but long after we are gone will be a living thing, asserting itself with even-growing insistency. Remember that our sons and grandsons are going to do things that would stagger us. Let your watchword be order and your beacon your beauty."

We must pay respect to Mr. Daniel Burnham: we must make out a Master Plan for Calcutta's slum clearance.

Transport Facility

With the growth of a city, its business tends to grow at one or more centres. But it is impossible for all workers to live at these centres and so they have to be transported from and to their homes everyday. The quicker the journey, the farther they can afford to go. This is, however, not the case of Calcutta. Here slums grow by the side of factories because of the want of quick transport facilities. But we must bear in mind that the extension of a ciy means cheap rents and cheap living because the rate of rent is made high due to the excessive competition for land. Thus the extension of a city and the quickest means of its transport from one end to the other not only solve the problem of slums but also reduces the cost of living. So, in Calcutta roads must be provided linking directly the suburbs to serve the present needs as well as the future. "These roads should be so made as to run through and open out the worst plague spots, the insanitary and congested areas of the town." This is a policy which was followed in Birmingham and Bombay.

Lessons of England

England's example to solve the housing problem must be an eye-opener to us. The Garden Suburb Movement of England dealt with the problem of inflated site values, tenant co-partnership, subsidized transport and commercial ownership of land. The lessons of England we must not forget. "Here the Improvement Trust or C.M.P.O. should directly devote its funds to the reduction of inflated site values so that rehousing schemes—a crying need to rehabilitate the slum-dwellers—should be remunerative on a basis of 'house valuation.' "

In London, when a dwelling house is demolished by a public authority, Parliament compels it to rehouse the displaced population and charge a rent within their means. This lesson again we must apply in case of our slum-dwellers also.

Again, in London the County Council may either construct the dwellings itself or may sell or lease the land to a third party willing to comply with parliamentary regulations. But in parting with the land saddled with these requirements, the County Council naturally receives a much smaller price because of certain restrictions. We must pay serious attention to this aspect also.

(III)

From the last two chapters, the readers will find that slums are cancerous sores in the anatomy of civic administration and solution of this problem depends on multiple factors. I suggest below some more remedies to make the city clean and free from slums.

Aesthetic Factor

The aesthetic factor should also be considered. In America and Europe this is always carefully

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into account. In Calcutta the slums grow in mushroom fashion because there is no "make-a-city-beautiful-campaign." All we can hope is that the Calcutta Metropolitan Planning Organization (CMPO) will kindly bear in mind the fact that in the West no public building—not to speak of slums—can be erected, no street alterations made when the public vehemently opposes such construction from aesthetic sense. There, enormous sums are cheerfully spent to make the city beautiful, to remove the slums. Unfortunately, we have no such feeling : His Majesty's Government in the past never took any steps to develop the spirit of civic sense and beauty amongst us, a feeling so vital to check the growth of any other slums. Mr. Bompass is, of course, very optimistic in this aspect. He prophesies :

> "But one may hope that a generation will arise here imbued with a desire not only for a Calcutta which is sanitary and which is convenient but also for a city that shall be beautiful and grand, the worth capital of a province or a nation which aspires to be something great in the future."

Suburban Municipalities

For removing the slums, for making the city clean and beautiful, development of suburban municipalities should be emphasized so that people can be dispersed in suburban areas and overcrowding avoided. Recent railway electrification also stresses this point. This need is not only to create suitable living conditions for these suburban people but also to link them up with the centre of Calcutta by the quickest means of rapid traffic routes. At present the conditions in suburban municipalities are very very sad. It is hoped that the CMPO will create equal opportunities for all under which all the necessities and amenities of healthy municipal service will be available in the suburbs. It is hoped that the CMPO will take the role of a centralized authority for controlling all the municipalities under the Greater Calcutta project.

United Effort

Slum clearance will not be possible unless it is supplemented by a policy of dispersal and decentralization to attract people out of Calcutta. This again depends on the united efforts of town, planners, economists, sociologists, public health authorities, representatives of chambers of commerce, trade unions, engineers etc. and the neighbouring municipalities. Indeed, Mr. J. W. Dark has rightly commented : "Housing diverted from town and regional planning is at best a folly, at worst a harmless fraud upon the long suffering public."

Removal of slums depends on so many factors : (1) improvement of some of the slums, (2) prevention of new slums, (3) demolition of worst slums, (4) creating additional housing adcommodation and (5) rehousing and rehabilitating displaced slum-dwellers. Because of the five-fold difficulties, many slums are going to have a prolonged existence. As such, it is much more humane to improve at least their sanitary conditions to reduce the ravages of epidemics.

Slum clearance is sometimes opposed for want of cheap alternative accommodation as also under the pressure of vested interests. Here also schemes for low cost housing and socio-economic development to defeat conservation and backward influences are only answers.

Future Needs

Any ideal scheme of slum clearance cannot be complete unless it visualizes the future needs as housing implies long terms investment. Our schemes will only then be ideal when we will foresee our needs in the social and economic sense in advance for the next 30 to 40 years and adjust our present projects with the same.

Sharing of Costs

It is impossible for the State to bear solely the cost of slum clearance. As such, other resources must be found. The following steps, if taken, will relieve the pressure on the State to a considerable extent :

(1) Employers should be encouraged to arrange suitable housing conditions for their own workers. Slum clearance is essentially a part of labour welfare. It is worth recording here that housing facilities as provided at present by industrial units for their workers are of no significance at all. Naturally any large scale programme carried on by private industrialists for their staff welfare will reduce the strain to a great extent.

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(2) If loans with terms of long repayment and land at reasonable rates are provided for the earners of steady incomes—specially of low and middle income groups—then they would be in a position to build their homes individually or on co-operative basis.

(3) Housing societies should also be formed to launch the project of large-scale housing on a co-operative non-profit making basis. These societies will grant loans at very low rate of interest and supply building materials at reasonable rates.

(4) Building costs should be brought down by making constant research on housing and production materials.

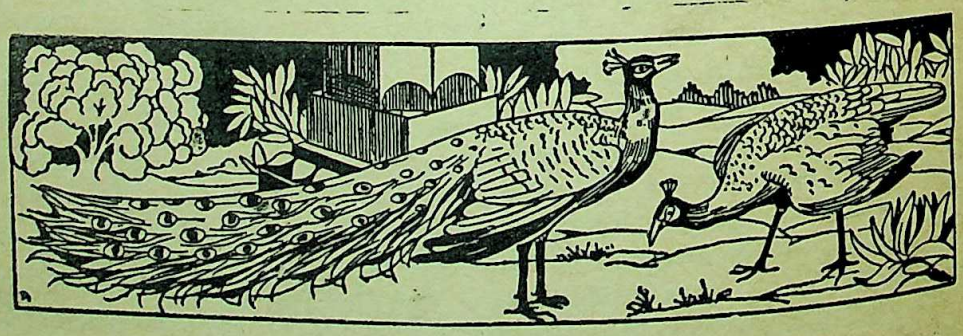
(5) Enterpreneurs may be encouraged to build houses for low-income groups by providing subsidies to them. This will bring down the market rents.

To conclude, the famous saying of Martin Luther must be a warning to us. He once observed: "The prosperity of a country depends not on the abundance of its revenues, nor the strength of its fortifications, nor on the beauty of public buildings ; but it consists in its cultivated citizens, in its men of education, enlightenment and character. Here are to be found its truest interest, its chief strength, its real power." Surely all these prosperities—"cultivated citizens, men of education, enlightenment and character"—we cannot expect from the slum dwellers. Hence, the emergency to remove the slums to reach the goal of our socialistic pattern of society.

Certainly the City of Job Charnock has its glories, yes, even its virtues. But she must also be the symbol of the common man. Rosseau's violent dislike of Paris that "I saw nothing but dirty and stinking little streets, ugly black houses, an atmosphere of fiith and poverty etc." is equally true of present Calcutta. We must, therefore, follow the steps of William Morris who hoped actually to destory the city and rebuild it and so sang this immortal song :

"Forget six countries overhung with smoke,
Forget the snorting steam and piston stroke,
Forget the spreading of the hideouus town ;
Think rather of the pack-horse on the down.
And dream of London, small and white and clean,
The clear Thames bordered by its gardens green."

Let us dream of Calcutta, white and clean and free of her hideous town or slums. Let us hope in the years to come we shall see a tremendous change in Calcutta's town planning that will go in fact hand in hand with suburban development. Let us further hope that the distinguishing feature of Calcutta's new development under C.M.P.O. will be based on an emphasis on ensemble and humanism.



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BOOK REVIEWS

BETRAYAL OF TIBET : By Mr. Justice J. Mitter, Allied Publishers Private Ltd., Calcutta, ...y 8 vo. Pp. 192 (inclusive of Bibliography ...d Indices) ; Price Rs. 21 :

This is not, as the author says in his preface, ...another book on Tibet. It is a well reasoned ...fairly authenticated repudiation of China's ...ms of suzerainty over this unfortunate country ...h India under Nehru, then the sole arbiter of ...'s foreign policy, both endorsed and con...ed. How fictitious and untenable were China's ...ms to suzerainty over Tibet was, has been ...ly proved by the author by a mass of ...ticated materials rooted in the history of ...ancient Tibetan race and in the history of ...Tibetan relations.

Eminent ethnologists and anthropologists have ...conclusively proved that the Tibetan people, ...ally, are distinct and separate from any of the ...-Mongolian races that constituted the peoples ...e Chinese empire. Politically also, the Tibetans ...for all practical purposes, been independent ...Chinese imperial domination. One of the ...usive evidences of the fact is to be found in ...host of treaties and diplomatic relations that ...always been concluded and maintained by ...Tibetan Government from time to time at ...own discretion independently of any Chinese ...ention or control. One of the latest ...nces of this indisputable act would be found ...Tibet's steadfast refusal to permit China to ...a part of the strategic supply road through ...into Burma and India on the occasion of ...Sino-Japanese war. It is significant that ...ly and diplomatic pursuasions by both ...in and the U.S.A. were unable to induce the ...tan Government to shift from the position ...rict political and military neutrality that ...were determined to observe in this behalf. ...more conclusive evidence of Tibet's complete ...endence of Chinese overlordship could one ...for?

The beginnings of Indo-Tibetan political ...ions may be said to have been laid on the ...sion of the Younghusband Mission to Lhasa ...904 when the Lhasa Convention was jointly ...ed by Tibet and the British India Govern...ment without any reference to the Chinese Central ...ment or their representative or Amban in ...This was evidence enough of Tibet's complete independence of Chinese suzerainty and an acknowledgment of the formers' competence to enter into treaty obligations with foreign powers on her own rights and solely at her own discretion. Then, again, on the occasion of the famous Simla Conference in 1914, the British Indian and Tibetan Governments signed and ratified a further treaty convention notwithstanding China's refusal to be a party to its terms. It may be recalled that China's refusal to ratify the treaty was based upon her failure to agree on the Sino-Tibetan boundary otherwise agreed upon by India and Tibet. As a result the Tibetan Government, later in the year, formally stopped all trade between the two countries which was followed by certain acts of retaliation by China against Tibetan residents in the frontier regions. Contemporary newspaper reports and comments reveal that the British foreign office took very serious exception to these acts of retaliation and warnings were issued to the Chinese Government by the Foreign Secretary, Sir Edward Grey, that the British Government "will not tolerate this any more than (they) will tolerate China ruling in absolute sovereignty at Lhasa." British reaction to the Chinese threat upon Tibet was predicated upon the fact that "She could no consent to this in the case of a State enjoying *independent* treaty relations with her."

Innumerable other instances from Tibetan history of recent decades have been cited by the author in evidence of the fact that Tibet has always, since 1914 at least when the Simla Conference was concluded, continued to enjoy a status of complete sovereign independence free from all Chinese intervention and control. In none of the negotiations between Tibet and India held to settle minor boundary disputes between the two countries that arose from time to time, was China ever represented which should be accepted as confirmation of the fact that Tibet's has been recognized as a sovereign independent status and that she was fully competent to regulate her own foreign relations without reference to any other paramount power. Even Chinese visitors to Tibet had generally to enter the country through India with the help of proper transit visas granted by the Government of India with the consent of the representatives of the Tibetan Government.

It is on this background that the history of

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subsequent developments in Tibet anent Chinese aggression will have to be viewed if a proper understanding of the series of events and situations that eventually led to India's humiliation and considerable loss of territorial integrity, has to be arrived at. In a statement to a press conference in November 1954, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru was stated to have claimed that he happened to be "rather well acquainted with China's history of the past thousand years." In a statement to the Lok Sabha later in 1959, Shri Nehru stated that . . . . "the fact is and it is a major fact of the middle of the 20th century—that China has become a great power—united and strong. By that (he) did not imply that because China was a great power, India must be *afraid of China* (italics mine) or submit to China . . . ." Much earlier, on the occasion of his visit to the U.S.A. in 1949, Shri Nehru was reported to have held forth at the Institute of Pacific Relations in New York that : "we are neither blind to reality nor do we propose to acquiesce in any challenge to man's freedom from whatever quarter it may come. Where freedom is menaced or justice threatened or where aggression takes place, *we cannot be and shall not be neutral.*" Even much earlier, long before Independence and on the eve of the Second World War, Shri Nehru averred—"During the Czechoslovak crisis what I saw of Franco-British Statesmanship in Prague . . . . in London and Paris and in Geneva . . . . amazed and disgusted me. *Appeasement* seemed a feeble would for it. There was behind it not only fear of Hitler but a sneaking admiration for him."

In spite of these forceful assertions and criticisms when the Government of India under Nehru had to actually face responsibilities on its own, much the same things, which he so vitriolically criticises, would seem to have been occuring here. When the Chinese invaded Tibet only a year later, all that was considered necessary in that context was to send a "note" deploring (but significantly not protesting against) the invasion. The Chinese reply was peremptory and curt to the point of rudeness which, in so many words, merely meant that it was China's own concern and none of India's business who, she accused, must have been influenced by foreign influences hostile to China and Tibet. A reply from India to China merely made the point that all that India desired was that "Chinese suzerainty and Tibetan autonomy should be reconciled by peaceful negotiations" and that India's sole interest in the matter was that of a friendly neighbour. A further Chinese note dated November, 1950, reiterated that Tibet was China's domestic concern and the former did not appreciate what was described as India's interference into China's sovereign rights. Under instructions from the Government of India Ambassador Pannikkar exchanged several notes of protest which ultimately "recognized Chinese *sovereignty* over Tibet and disclaimed all desire to intervene in its affairs." So the high-sounding principles vented in New York only a year earlier were buried lock-stock-and-barrel in Peking.

If this was not betrayal of the most brazen order one does not know what the word really means. The fact that India, notwithstanding Chinese displeasure and even threats, eventually gave asylun to the Dalai Lama and large hoardes Tibetan refugees later, could not in any way detract from this essential fact of betrayal. India had neither any moral nor any other kind of right and justification for bartering away the basic freedoms of a friendly and unoffending neighbouring country. Her only justification, perhaps, was her own self interest in trying to keep on the right side of a newly resurgent and mighty power which is not merely the strongest military power in Asia but one of the strongest in the modern world. And if that were acknowledged, the fact that it was appeasement of the meanest kind could not also be repudiated.

But appeasement is very like yielding to blackmail and it is an indisputable fact of life that the demands of the blackmailer know no end. Little may have Shri Nehru visualized that the seeds of appeasement of Chinese avarice that he and his Government had so thoughtlessly sown *vis-a-vis* Tibet would. not long afterwards, recoil upon themselves with violent impact and humiliate them before all the world. India, despite her the then Prime Minister's assertions to the contrary, had not a word of even the mildest protest to utter when Hungary was raped but paradoxically waxed sanctimoniously virtuous when the Suez incident occured. One does not try to extenuate Anthony Eden's policies on the Suez but one cannot also equally uphold the rape of Hungary! She becomes virtually an unwilling but frankly acquiescent party to the rape of Tibet, but expects the democratic world to come to her rescue when her own territories are over-run by her one-time accomplice. Can national humiliation descend to any lower depths?

India, and perhaps, the world at large, have been virtually ignorant of Sino-Tibetan history and the role of India in recent developments in these mysterious regions beyond the Himalayas. Mr. Justice J. P. Mitter's book should give them an objective and integrated picture of the whole story. The Allied Publishers deserve to be congratulated for presenting this to the public.

Karuna K. Nandi

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Indian Periodicals

Problems of National Integration

Shri Nirmal Kumar Bose, Director General, an Anthropological Survey, writing under the e caption in *Science and Culture* presents, in usual lucid style, one of the most insidious blems facing the nation today, which would rve to be carefully studied :

Introduction

The problem of national integration has ned great importance since the attainment of endence in 1947. A social scientist feels inter- d in it for two reasons. He may try to dis- r the causes of separatism which thwart the th of national solidarity ; and if the causes been rightly diagnosed, he may venture to gest suitable remedies. In other words, his ion may be diagnostic or therapeutical. Right diagnosis is necessary ; but one who ccessful in this, may or may not be right in sting remedies. It is with this note of warn- that we shall approach our present task with amount of hesitation and caution.

A Survey

Several years ago, the Anthropological y of India undertook a study of tensions g Hindus and Muslims in a place near ata. The results were published in the ey's *Memoirs* and part of it was also ted in Gardner Murphy's book entitled, *In Minds of Man*. For the last two years or so, y has undertaken a survey of stereotypes g inhabitants of states in the neighbourhood est Bengal. The object is to find out, for nce, what different kinds of people think t speakers of the Bengali, Bihari or tribal ages with whom they happen to come in act.

The final results are not yet ready ; yet as analysis progresses, it is becoming apparent there exists a certain amount of ill-feeling st speakers of, the Bengali language in n. This feeling is, however, unequally dis- ted among various segments of the ulation. Among the highest professional groups, it is comparatively feeble ; but lower down, it occurs in a more unrepressed form. Among the peasantry, again, who are in actual competition with Bengali-speaking immigrant peasants from outside, the feeling seems to exist in an attenuated state.

A hypothesis has been suggested that provincialism based on linguistic difference varies in proportion to the actual or potential competition for jobs between communities easily distinguishable by such difference. It has, however, been discovered that students in Assam who have passed through the High School or obtained degrees are hardly endangered by competition from outside. For the time being, the State Government is able to find employment for them by an open or tacit protection again the latter. The question therefore remains as to why provincial feelings, as revealed by an analysis of stereotypes, in harshest among a segment which is in actual enjoyment of discriminatory patronage as 'sons of the soil,' and therefore need not be afraid of competition from 'outsiders.'

There is moreover another fact which deserves consideration. Bengali-speakers monopolized certain professions during British rule to which the western-educated Assamese are now aspirants. But there are other avenues of employment like trade and commerce, work in the plantations or mines, or even in the fields and farms where 'outsiders' are more numerous than 'sons of the soil.' But a feeling of hostility is absent in these spheres in contrast to the situation in respect of Bengali-speakers who usually manned professional services under Government. This may be construed to prove that the cause of 'provincialism' lies in the existence of potential competition for desirable jobs. This explanation does not, however, appear to be wholly satisfactory. For it exists even when there is no cause for frustration through large-scale unemployment.

Another possible explanation is likely in relation to the observed fact. Among the segment which exercises a sharp feeling of hostility against Bengali-speakers, there is present at the same time a second equally powerful emotion. This is in relation to something which might be designated as 'Assamese nationalism.' Educated speakers of

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the Assamese language evince a strong patriotic sentiment in relation to Assam. There is also an attempt to prove that the present 'undeveloped' condition of Assam is not so much due to any weakness of the Assamese themselves as to the conspiracy of those speakers of the Bengali language who have hitherto usurped positions of power.

'Nationalism' is a feeling which thrives best when it is nurtured in a climate of resentment against another community which is regarded as superior, even if it be in a limited number of ways. A nationalist exercises an ambivalent attitude in respect of one whom he admires for certain qualities and also hates for other reasons. He tries at the same time to fortify his position by deriving glory from a past which is idealized.

Something like this seems to be taking place in Assam. Assamese 'nationalism' is in an early stage of growth; and the feeling of hostility towards 'outsiders' is only a lefthanded manner of registering one's loyalty and love for the motherland, which is Assam.

It is therefore not enough to say that provincialism is a straightforward growth of actual or potential threat to employment or possession of economic power among the 'middle classes.' It is partly so; the rest is the demand for the dissolution of local, parochialties, which is slowly, but unmistakably taking pace as a result of the growth of nationalist sentiment.

Provincialism in General

Nationalism in India is an affair of recent growth. It arose in the second half of the 19th and first quarter of the 20th century principally in opposition to British rule. The heart of revolutionaries was aglow with a feeling of patriotism; and a part of that glow also spread among other segments of the population.

But the British quite India after the second World War even before all Indians had become welded into a nation through a long-drawn war of independence. There was not enough social and political integration. The results has been that now that India is faced by the task of economic and social reorganization and collective action becomes necessary, a thousand smaller interests like caste or small regional and sectional interests are being discovered along which cementation more readily takes place. Indirectly, this tends to re-emphasize existing distinctions and comes in the way of a new integration which is needed in order to give effect to the new schemes of social co-operation.

All over india there is thus an abundance of small eddies of local nationalism; sometimes they are centred upon differences of language, as in the case of Gujart *versus* Maharashtra, or Andhra Pradesh *versus* Tamil Nad. Sometimes cultural differences are emphasized and uniformities ignored, as in the case of Dravidian South *versus* Aryan North. Sometimes differences of language, culture and economy are pooled together to serve as grist in the mill, as in the case of tribal folk in Middle and East India, when they are eager to sink local differences, even if they are large, in order to offer combined opposition to those who come from 'outside' into their 'homeland.'

Existing Remedies

If the above analysis of the inner meaning of 'provincialism' is correct, then the therapeutic measures arising out of it are also likely to be different from remedies which are in vogue at present.

If 'provincialism' is the result of an immature state of social progress by modernization it need not necessarily be regarded as a reprehensible thing. There are many who wish to promote an all-India feeling of nationalism, and who advise people of smaller vision to 'forget' petty differences, and dedicate themselves to the service of a common motherland. Some hold that if there were a common national language, freer inter-communication, and a realization of the dangers by which India is threatened today, then national integration will take place more rapidly than otherwise. If integration is weak at the economic or political level, then it has to be strengthened at the 'emotional' level by conscious endeavour.

Such measures are undoubtedly useful; but they do not seem to yield the anticipated results. Let us examine one or two of the suggested steps already taken. There is an argument that if Hindi (or Hindi plus English) were adopted as a common medium for higher education all over India, it would help a student to join any university and secure employment anywhere in India. Today English is used as a common medium in most universities. Yet no exchange of teachers or of students is possible under the existing organization of our universities. The question of employment is, in addition, becoming saddled more and more by questions as to whether a person is a 'son of the soil' or whether his 'mother-tongue' is identical with that of those whom he wishes to serve. The point is that a mechanical framework of unity does not by itself automatically produce emotional integration unless

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ditions for promoting it are built up at the ne time.

The worst manifestation of provincial anta-nism has often taken place among English-ucated young men rather than among the ducated, although the latter might have been fted as a tool to support the claims of the ucated minority. This was particularly in dence during the Hindu-Muslim antagonism ire partition, as much as it is in the provin-l conflicts which have succeeded it after ependence.

The phenomenon of narrow sectional loyal-s in conflict with one another seems to arise, we have suggested already, from the incom-e integration and modernization which has en place in unequal measures in different parts India. The sooner such growths are allowed to k themselves out the better perhaps for ia as a whole. For the latter growth will be-e possible only if smaller, narrower sectional rests are abandoned. And that is a gain in f. Local patriotism thus becomes a 'pro-sive' force where people are sunk in the well still smaller interests of a divisive nature.

The dangers of encouraging such a develop-t are also clear. They might endanger the wth of an all-India feeling of nationalism. haps this is the reason why our Prime Minister stantly reminds us that all India must combine a joint endeavour in order to make our elopmental plans a success. Any sectional erest, any local patriotism is, therefore, in the me Minister's opinion, a crime against Indian y. True, he does not say so openly ; but he s angry satires and invective against casteism, nism and the like. He feels particularly dis-ed when a language group like Andhra or a gious group like the Sikhs, or a tribal group e the Nagas demands separation. He feels erable even while conceding these demands ; his advice of his exhortation does not seem e effective, for 'separatism' seems to grow in ne instead.

Therapeutic Measures

One step taken by the USSR with regard to nistically and culturally discrete communities to allow considerable freedom in the matter language or of culture of an ornamental nature. when it comes to economic enterprise, such ps are not allowed to function separately. nomic plans are drawn up in common and ed by representatives of all states at the n level alone. A small degree of choice is at the local level ; but this does not endanger the broad framework which is forged by all the states of the Union in common.

Conditions of administration are different in India. The states have been allotted a measure of independence under the Constitution which does not prevent them from obstructing national plans, if they are so inclined.

If that is so, and if we presume that it would be hard to reduce the degree of provincial autonomy except when India is threatened by external aggression, then it would at least be wise to recognize why provincialisms arise, and take necessary steps so that good may come out of it, and the evil minimized, so that a larger sense of unity may slowly take the place of promoted local differences.

Of course, we assume that such measures are possible and practicable.

Let us suggest that the economic freedom of the states should be curtailed and common plans are forged for all India by the states working together. Once it is organizationally possible to forge such plans, the freedom of states should also be curtailed so that no obstruction can be created against measures which all have adopted in common.

Let us also suggest that the cultural distinctivenesses of the present states should be encouraged ; and, at the same time, *adequate steps are also taken for their dissemination in other parts of India.* Interchange should be promoted rather than discouraged, so that if a North Indian, for example, wishes to learn a South Indian language and seeks a job there, he should be welcomed rather than discourage. If a climate of local cultural growth is thus built up, and adequate steps taken for its diffusion all over India, instead of a desire to wall it up, then much of the harm which may possibly arise out of local patriotism, which is already in evidence today, is likely to disappear.

Positive steps have also to be taken for the removal of educational backwardness wherever it is present. Let us examine how this can be done without causing permanent injury.

If a country's sportsmen have not attained a high standard, it is not usual to demand that the standard of international sports should be lowered so that backward may also secure a place. Instead of that, the sportsmen of that country put in more work in order to attain higher standard.

But now that the Central and State Governments of India are becoming the largest employers, it appears that, at least at the state level, sandards of efficiency are sometimes lowered in order to 'protect' the interests of the 'sons of the soil' although the rest of the sons of the soil have to

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pay a higher price for indifferent services rendered.

But here, things should be as they are already in the world of international sports. If a community lags behind, every endeavour should be made to make education more efficient, social reconstruction more effective and rapid ; and there should be a consistent desire not to lower standards by any means whatsoever.

What is thus suggested is that so long as economic and political authority are held in common, it should be the Indian nation's special responsibility to equalize conditions of growth all over the land so that none lags behind, but no one is also encouraged to bask under the sunshine of special treatment.

A Gandhian Formula

The programme outlined above calls for a strengthening of central authority, attended by a relation in some spheres of local cultural initiative in the states.

There is also an alternative way. This may be designated as the Gandhian way. Like any other Hindu, Gandhi was not afraid of the existence of many faiths, nor of the existence of many languages in a country like India. His only fear was that if the State became all-powerful, and eclipsed men's voluntary organizations, it might tend to serve the interests of the 'classes' instead of the 'masses.' Then India would go astray. So his first recommendation was that the work of life should be conducted through voluntary organizations as far as practicable. Government should be called into aid only where necessary. Moreover, the State, whether provincial or federal, should make it its primary interest to promote the interest of the 'masses.'

In his political idealism, he held that only those who contributed by 'manual labour' to the service of the State should have the right to vote. All interests should subserve the interests of labouring humanity. If 'class' interests were not capable of the required revision, they must go under.

Gandhi's hope was that if by intensive education and organization the State and voluntary organizations could be so built up as to promote this supreme task by mutual assistance, then the family of man would be born with a new sense of unity, and all sectional interests would progressively disappear.

But perhaps, situated as we are in India today, we are far from that ideal. Yet it is perhaps not wrong to look up to the pole star even while we are treading firmly upon the earth on which we live.

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Foreign Periodicals

Garbage in the Air

Norman Cousins writing editorially in **Saturday Review** under the above ction, has something to say which would em to be especially apposite in the context the widening areas of urban concen- tions in India today :

Fifteen years ago or so, if you did a of flying either in commercial or private nes, you began to notice the change in atmosphere over the world's large cities. grayish murk was settling over the tropolitan centers, marking them off m the surrounding countryside. Year by r, since then, the murk has been inten- ing. It is now more black than gray. d it is reaching out from the large cities a brackish fog over large areas of ntryside.

Hundreds of millions of people through- the world have to consult their memo- s for a notion of what clear light really or clean air, for that matter. The sun es through, but it is filtered light and the real thing. Only rarely, after sus- ed rains and strong winds, is it possible most city-dwellers to know how blue a e sky can be, or to experience the sens- n of fresh air.

A decade ago, the existence of an at- spheric pall over Los Angeles first ssed itself upon the national conscious- s. There, a combination of wind rents, natural overcast or haze, indus- al smoke, and the gases of combustion ines produced a hazardous and ugly centration, causing eyes to smart and gs to protest. "Smog" it was called, and was supposed to be a geographical pheno- n. Since that time, however, city after in the world has come under heavy ospheric pollution. Wherever you fly in world today—Madrid, London, Frank- t, Bangkok, Tokyo, Manila—you can ntify large cities from the air not by r towers but by a thick black veil. Not il you are fairly close can you begin to etrate the curtain and discern a specific configuration. Your inevitable reaction is one of disbelief that human beings could exist in the center of such atmospheric contamination. And from the perspective afforded you by the cockpit of your plane, you find it even more incomprehensible that people don't even seem aware of the steadily increasing assault on their environment.

Of all the cities, none seems to be under more of a filth fog than New York. Some of the sources of the pollution are clearly visible. Industrial plants between Newark and Jersey City throw up huge plumes of smoke that fan out and descend on New York. Even worse are the tall smokestacks of the power companies and New York City's own garbage incinerator inside Manhattan itself. Seen from the air, these chimneys in action look as though they were designed to protect the city against air attack by laying down a massive smoke-screen. Meanwhile, heavy smoke from thousands of smaller chimneys—from hotels, apartment houses, and office buildings—pump hundreds of tons of soot into the Manhattan air. All this, of course, is in addition to the choking gaseous emanations from buses, cabs, and cars. The same city trucks that spray and clean the streets give off heavy emanations of foul exhaust. Gutters are clean but lungs are filling up. Statues from Egypt or Greece, transplanted to New York parks, show more effects of erosion in a few years than took place over centuries in their original homes. The stone sides of new buildings, after only a year or two of exposure to New York's soot and gases, become heavily streaked. This is the same grisly grime that now coats over the once-pink tissue of the human respiratory tract.

New York City has ordinances against chimney smoke, but enforcement has become a joke. Indeed, the city itself is among the worse offenders. It operates a large incinerator on the East River Drive, pumping garbage smoke over a large part of the

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metropolitan area. What makes the situation in New York paradoxical and ludicrous is that city officials wage a widespread educational campaign to persuade people not to litter the street with candy wrappers or cigarette boxes. The city itself adds to the poisonous garbage that litters the air.

The nation is alarmed, and properly so, about the steep rise in the incidence of cancer. A report issued by the U.S. Surgeon General has linked cigarette smoking to this increase. Is there no connection between malignancy and air contamination, much of it from smoke and fumes? Is it unreasonable to expect that the U.S. Surgeon General should also undertake a report on air pollution?

The problem of impure air is not an isolated one. It is related to the larger problem of environmental poisoning now so characteristic of contemporary living. Brooks and streams are being contaminated by the widespread use of detergents, the chemical composition of which does not permit water to become purified through nature's replenishing chain. Our rivers are infected by poisons from insecticides, killing millions of fish. Even greater numbers of birds have been affected. Meanwhile, the nation itself is being despoiled at a fearsome rate. A million acres are taken out of cultivation each year for new superhighways. Another million acres are being claimed by expanding cities. Asphalt, cement, and black hydrocarbons now become the main features of the human environment.

Any verdict on man—modern man—is bound to show him as incredibly inventive but just as disdainful of the connection between cause and effect. He has devised ways of turning wheels faster and doing things more efficiently than they have ever been done before, but he has given only the most superficial attention to the cheapening of human life that sometimes results from the process. Most astounding of all is the importance he attaches to individual cleanliness even as he creates a total environment of poison and filth. Parents teach their children to clean their fingernails but are apparently unworried about the dangerous layers of dirt that get into their bodies. Vast enterprises are developed to kill off body odors and make the human being a sweet-smelling delight. But what about the horrendous odors and poisonous gases that emanate from the backs of buses, trucks, and cars? How is it that the passion for daily baths and deodorants has not been extended to the environment itself?

Even if environmental fouling were not a health hazard and were solely a matter of natural disfiguration, it would warrant a torrential outpouring of human anger. No man need apologize because his sense of beauty and wonder is assailed. A considerable portion of beauty is disappearing from the world. If the process is to be stopped, indignation in appropriate depth and quantity will have to be registered.

One man in the United States Congress, Senator Abraham Ribicoff, of Connecticut, has taken leadership in the fight against stenches, poisons, and pollution. If enough people make known to him their concern and support, he may get somewhere. Without public backing, his cause may wither.

It is perhaps significant that the expedition to the moon, now in preparation, will sterilize and sanitize every object, however small, carried by our space ships. The purpose is to avoid contaminating the moon. This is a commendable purpose. Perhaps a bit of the same intensity of effort and expenditure might be directed to getting rid of some of the colossal contamination now burdening the earth.

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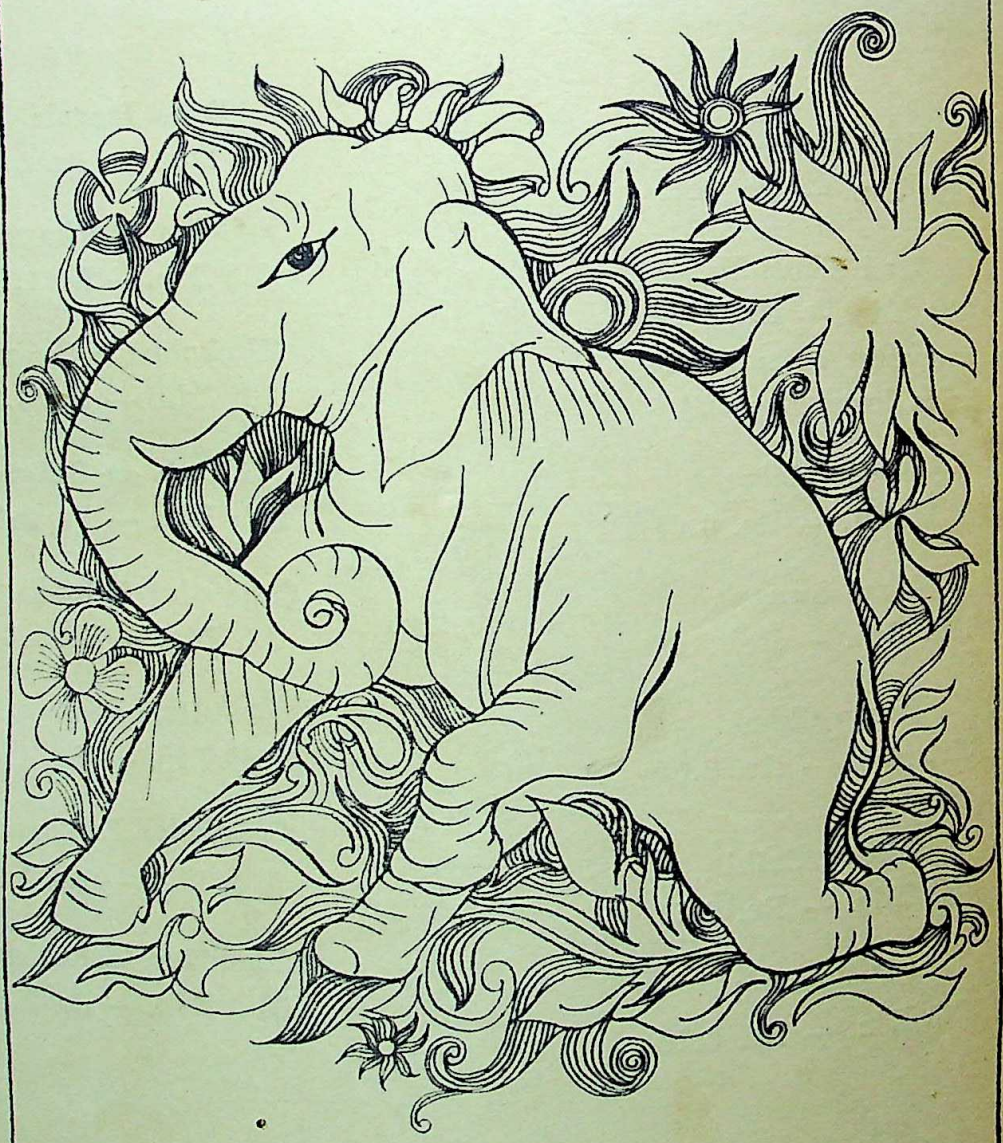

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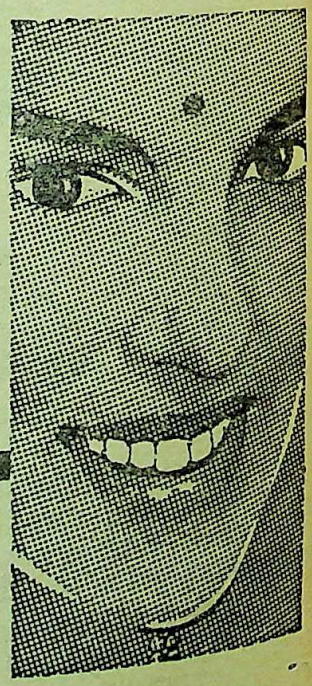

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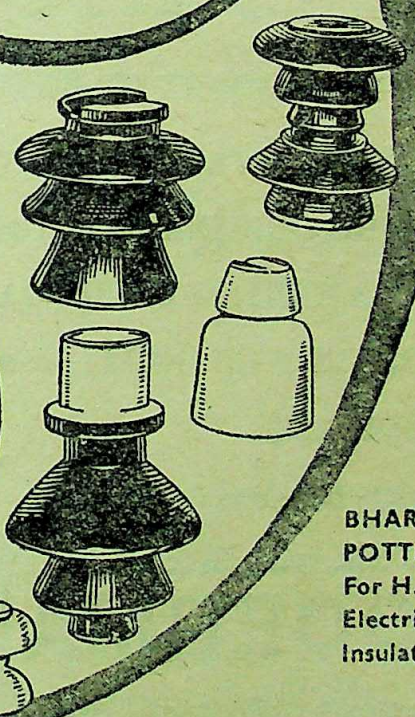

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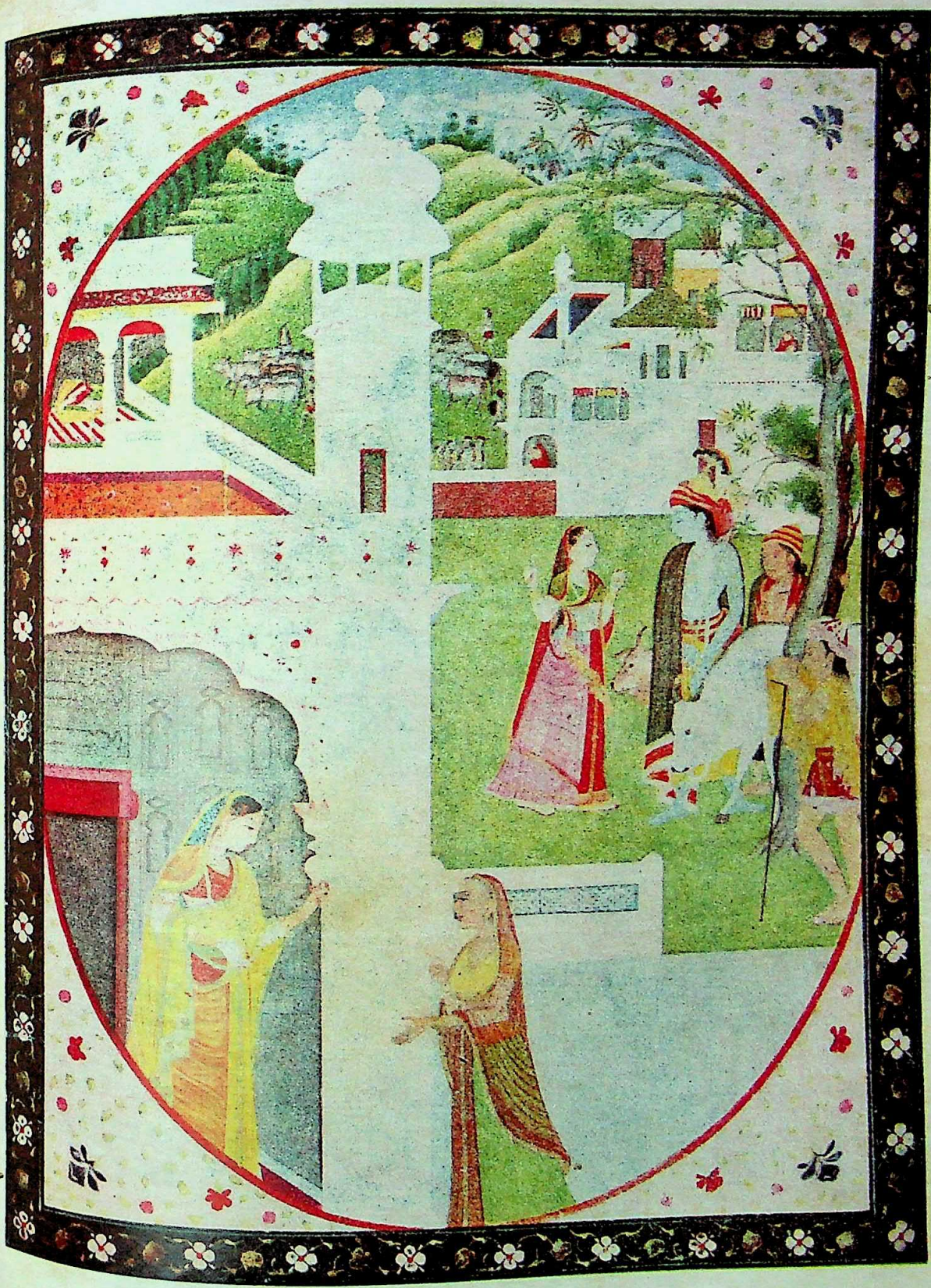

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THE MODERN REVIEW

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NOTES

The World

History is, indeed, a complex tissue, with facts and fiction as warp and weft, woven to suit the purpose of the historian or to serve the behests of those who are placed in positions of puwer by those inexorable forces that rule the destinies of nations. The threads that are woven into the fabric of history are spun and twisted by those very same forces, whose action sometimes seems to be beyond the understanding of the wisest of men.

The history of the Post-Second World War period is as yet very much in its fomative stage. This war to end all World Wars—like the 1914-18 World War, has brought in along its train a chain of old and new enmities which have rekindled old feuds and hatreds and reawakened old lusts for power and world supremacy. Out of the witche's cauldron that simmered over these fires. emerged Stalinism which, in its turn, procreated a new China where all old traditions and ancient moral values were scrapped in order to form a Red China whose sole objective was World Domination. The reaction to Stalinism and the China of Mao Tse-Tung was equally strong. Under the leadership of the U. S. A. a number of big and small states entered into treaties and alliances to form a formidable barrier to the expansionist policies of the Communist Bloc. An attempt was made to divide up the free world into two warlike components, opposed to each other. Those who did not want to get involved in this jousting for power were faced with internal disruption engineered by Stalinism's fifth columns and with open condemnation from fanatical anti-Communists who labelled non-alignment "immoral !"

Stalin died in 1953, but his heritage of hatreds, class-war and world domination through internal disruption, remained. But slowly, over the years, as world tensions started mounting to a climax, realization of the impending doom of civilization through the universal destruction of life by nuclear warfare, began to dawn over the minds of those who were competing in this mad race to destruction.

Many critical situations have developed during the years Stalin was leading the Communist World and in the years that have passed since then. But through all those the relative positions of the main claimants to world leadership remmined fairly constant until two years back. From about that time the leaders of Red China have tried to throw the leader of the Soviets off the saddle and to

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assume leadership of the Communist World. The treacherous assault on the borders of friendly India, preceded by the occupation of Indian territories in the Aksai Chin sector of the Indo-Tibetan frontier, was just one significant phase of it. There were acrimonious exchanges of notes of protest and counter protest over the Sino-Soviet borders in Centrel Asia, and cracks—which developed into wide rifts—appeared in the solidarity of the Communist World.

Meanwhile tensions eased between Moscow and Washington, much to the rage and chagrin of Pekin and simultaneously the individual states in both the Blocs developed tendencies to go in divergent paths, each according to his own bent. The monolithic structure of world Communism, that had assumed such gigantic and menacing proportions during the dictatorial regime of Stalin, showed schismatic tendencies immediately after the de-Stalinization measures initiated by Khrushchev after the death of Stalin in 1953. The figure of Mao Tse-Tung stood out in the Far-East as a separate entity with its own particular satellites in North Korea, North Vietnam and later on in Albania. Similarly in the Western Bloc, American leadership was disowned and later on challenged by France under De-Gaulle and, to a lesser extent by Britain—particularly in the matter of trade and commerce.

The forces poised in an unstable equlibrium against each other "in this communist bid for world domination, were dominated during the Post-Stalin period by Khrushchev and Mao Tse-Tung on the one side and on the other by President Eisenhower and, later, Kennedy of the U. S. A, with their treaty and alliance organizations of NATO, SEATO, CENTO, etc. Outside the orbits of these two power Blocs, there were a number of uninvolved states which preferred to remain neutral or, according to the latest terminology, non-aligned. The most prominent figures in the last group were Prime Minister Nehru—to whom the credit of formulating the outlines of the tenets of mutual understanding should belong—President Tito and President Nasser, as the prime movers.

The World tensions, which had mounted to alrming peaks during the Korean War, Berlin air-lift, Berlin wall and Cuban missile episodes, gradually eased after the *detente* following the acceptance of the terms and the signing of the Test-ban Treaty by the Soviets. The armed confrontation as between the rival Blocs gradually assumed the more or less normal aspects of international power politics with its negotiable elements of diplomatic give and take. Red China of Mao Tse-Tung, however, maintained a hostile attitude, which was strengtherned by the diplomatic advances of the French Foreign Office and the commercial ventures of Britain in China, which are as yet in the primary stage. Red China had repudiated the nuclear Test-ban Treaty and had confirmed her adherence to the creed of World domination through war, by her treacherous and unprovoked assault on the northern frontiers of friendly India. The peaceful co-existence formula devised by the Soviet Chief, Khrushchev, was rediculed by the Chinese aad an ideological war ensued which had widened to a gulf of hate.

Then followed a series of events which can only he termed as unpredictable quirks of fate which bring in changes in the course of history. Firstly, there was the assasination of President John Kennedy on Nov. 22, 1963 under circumstances that would never be fully cleared up, though the Warren

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Commission has produced a voluminious report, which demonstrates the comprehensive nature of the judicial procedure in this inquiry and comes to a definite conclusion—with certain gaps. This savage act of a man who has been pictured in the Warren report as the human equivalent of a lone rabid dog, has removed from the Cavalcade of history a figure that was shaping for a place in the Valhalla of the truly great. Democracy has suffered a cruel blow through the passing of this man, who combined the strength and vigour of youth with the mature processes of intellect and logical thought to a most extraordinary degree. His successor has shown considerable ability in carrying on, despite the internal situation in the U.S.A being complicated beyond measure through the unleashing of primeval passions and prejudices by the passing of the Civil Rights Bill into law, and the international affars of the World being tangled by the disruptive forces let loose by Red China. To cap all, the Presidential elections are imminent, the campaign against Lyndon Jonhns, the present incumbent, being carried on in a fashion that can only be called crude and savage to the extreme. It is only to be hoped that the picture of the U.S. Common Citizen, as portrayed in the weekly news magazines and some dailies that come to India, is as distorted as are some other news and comments written with a slant—contained therein.

Then followed the serious illness of Nehru, followed by his sudden death at the end of May of this year. The treachery of China had given a rude and violent shock to his faith in the essential goodness of Mau, and the insidious propaganda carried on against him by China on the one hand and the conservative press in Britain together with a similar compaign in the major portion of the U. S. press, had made deep inroads on his mental and physical poise. The end came very suddenly and though the question of succession to office and the consequent reshaping of the Cabinet did not cause any upheavals—much to the disappointment of the enemies on our frontiers and our detractors in the British and U.S. press—the present set-up has yet to prove its ability and efficiency through the passing of test of circumstances that have been bedevilling it from the start, and before.

Then came the fall of the British Conservative Party from power after thirteen years through the general elections in mid-October. The Labour Party has a precarious majority of four, but is determined to see it through and to carry on with the programme as announced before the election.

Almost immediately ofter that came the fall of Khrushchev from the position of supreme control he had assumed over the Soviets. And a day after that the World came to know that Red China had exploded what has been termed "a crude nuclear device" in the U.S. press !

In less than a year from that fateful 22nd of November of last year, three Titans have passed out of the world stage, leaving only the malign and menacing figure of Mao Tse-Tung to loom over the World's destiny. And the news of the Presidential Election results—though yet to come at the time of writing these—are also due by the first week of November. And then there in the so-called elections in Pakistan between November 1 to 15th to choose 80000 "electors" who will pick Pakistan's next President !

The tenuous thread holding up the international relations in balance is indeed being

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subjected to a whole series of violent jerks within a year from November 22 of last year. It is indeed a year of extreme tension and as yet the outcome is uncertain to say the least. The exit of Nikita Khrushchev and the nuclear explosion by Red China are violent jolts in particular, the resultant raections to which are not likely to be measurable for some considerable time to come.

Speculation is rife all over the World regarding the causes that led to the eviction of Khrushchev from the commanding and exalted station in the political set-up of the Soviets that he had occupied virtually from the death of Stalin : There is also a considerable amount of conjectural statements put forward by outsiders regarding the course to be followed by the Soviets in World affairs under the new direction. It is obvious that the World will never know the full details about the overthrow of the leader of the Soviets and that only time will determine the course of the Soviet's political machine. For the time being the present incumbents, who have divided up the dual executive functions of Khrushchev, have assured the World that no drastic new departures are in the offing and that the international policies laid down by Khrushchev being all formulated by their assent also—ince they were all colleagues in office with him—there cannot be any deviation in that. The World has to accept that statement and wait to see whether the new authority in the Soviets can retain their seats firmly in their positions of power.

The A-bomb explosion in China is quite another matter and we hope our powers-that-be are not trying deliberately to shut their eyes to the portents. Brave statements and a declaration of faith in the matter of the use of atomic power, are all very well—and certainly desirable at the moment. But we have had a bitter lesson on the folly of relying too much on moral force and the power of peace and neglecting almost to a criminal degree our duties to be prepared to defend our rights by armed force against treacherous aggressors who regard moral values or principles as follies and place all their faith in armed might. This lesson is too recent and we cannot afford to forget what it has taught us about the methods and motives followed by the dictators of Red China—particularly about their treachery and lust for world domination through the use of armed might.

The deposition of Khrushchev has deprived India of a friend who took quick and hard decisions in our favour, in times of great emergency and in the furtherance of our industrialization programmes. Shrimati Indira Gandhi has been assured by the high authorities in Moscow that this policy of friendship and helpful assistance towards India shall remain unaltered on the part of the Soviets. We can only hope that in the years to come there shall not arise any circumstance that may lead to a change in that attitude. In any case we cannot ever forget the deep debts that his ready and friendly assistance to us in the matter of supplies of war equipment of vital importance which we were unable to procure from any of the Western powers, have laid upon us.

In this very same month of October there was a conference of non-aligned states of the world at Cairo. This conference and the proceedings therein have been viewed from different angles and in different lights by the great quasi-great and not-so-great men of the world of politics and of the erstwhile "fourth estate." The International edition of *The New York Times* of October 11, gave

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an editorial commentary in a characteristic fashion, high-lighting a minor episode in order to splash ridicule over an affair which went against its conservative grain. The editorial started off as follows :—

Three Kings, five Princes, 19 Presidents, nine Premiers and other representatives and observers from a total of 57 nations sat down last week in the main assembly hall of Cairo University for the opening of a conference of non-aligned states.

Not far away, in the Al Oyuba Hotel, a Premier who had been refused admission to the conference hall, Moise Tshombe of the Congo, stole the show. As he sat watching the proceedings on television, a virtual prisoner in his hotel room of the United Arab Republic, what should be done with him became a main point at issue at the conference.

The non-aligned group of nations, by its own definiation, consists of countries not tied to any Western or Eastern military alliance. It includes, however, two states with communist regimes, Yugoslavia and Cuba, and because many of its members are former colonies and, therefore, vigorously anti-imperialist, they tend to follow an anti-Western line on many issues. Last week the U. S. was frequently assailed for its policies in Cuba, Vietnam and the Congo, the most virulent attack coming from President Sukarno of Indonesia.

The emergence of many new nations in the last few years has resulted in a doubling of the group's membership since the previous, and first, non-aligned summit conference at Belgrade in 1961. The role it expects to play in world affairs has not yet become clear. As a forum for the emergent nations, it duplicates the U. N. General Assembly and the U. N. World Trade and Development Conference ; in both, these nations have the predominant voice. The possibilities for a role as a "third force" have been narrowed since cracks in the Western alliance and an open split in the Communist movement have led to confusion over the boundaries of the neutral ground between them.

All other discussions, however, took second place last week to the controversy over Mr. Tshombe. Most of the non-aligned nations suspect the Congolese Premier of being a tool of Western imperialism. The African nations also resent the fact that their conciliation commission to the Congo has not produced any results, while Mr. Tshombe's mercenaries appear to be steadily winning back territory earlier lost to the rebels. Therefore, they had told Congolese President Kasavuvu that Mr. Tshombe's presence at the conference would be "inopportune" and asked him to send someone else. They said that this "should in no way be interpreted as an attempt at interfering in the internal affairs of the Congo."

The special report, however, was more factual and although the viewpoint was American as was natural, the summing-up was fairly level and comprehensive. Some excerpts from the report are given below :—

"CAIRO, Oct. 10—The leaders of the non-aligned world gathered in Cairo this week only to discover that non-alignment has fallen on hard times just as some of their most cherished dreams were beginning to come true.

"That hardy band of neutralists who organized the first non-aligned conference noted with satisfaction that, in the words of President Gamal Abdel Nasser of the United Arab Republic, they no longer lived under the "shadow of danger" that menaced their very existence at Belgrade three years ago.

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Since then the glacial confrontation over Berlin has begun to melt, nuclear weapons are no longer tested in the skies over Siberia and Nevada and the hot line now runs from Washington to Moscow to prevent war by miscalculation.

Not only has the cold war eased, but there has also been erosion in both the Eastern and Western alliances and an increase in the number of countries finding shelter under the umbrella of non-alignment.

Such a flowering of the mood of peaceful coexistence in three short years should have warmed the hearts of the chief patrons of the non-aligned world—Marshal Tito, Mr. Nasser, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandararnike of Ceylon, Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri of India, Jawaharlal Nehru's heir.

But at the same time these developments robbed the mixed company of 57 neutralist nations that met here of a sense of urgency and a sense of direction and let loose dangerous centrifugal forces among them.

For the leaders, now called "moderates,"of non-alignment found here on the banks of the Nile that if Washington has its de Gaulle and Moscow its Mao Tse-tung, then non-alignment has its Sukarno.

Indeed, Marshal Tito was reported to have become so irritated with the Sukarno militancy at one point that he called the Indonesian President an 'Oriental Goldwater.'

In the end the moderates succeeded in writing the key portions of the final conference communique, as they seemed bound to do at a meeting that had to find a common denominator between such diverse countries as Saudi Arabia and Cuba, Guinea and Libya, Cambodia and Ethiopia, Burma and Burundi.

But the split in the non-aligned world is every bit as fundamental as those within the Eastern and Western block and promises to plague the leaders of the "third force" just as seriously in months to come.

Indeed, Algeria, already sensing pressures from Peking militants, has decided it would be wise to fend off holding the African-Asian conference, to be attended by Peking, on her soil next March and suggested moving it to Kenya.

The generally anti-Western complexion of many speeches reflected to a certain extent the failure of Marshal Tito's campaign to expand the non-aligned group beyond its traditional African-Asian base and make it more truly worldwide.

Only Finland among the European neutrals came. Pro-Western Latin-American countries generally remained aloof and those that sent observers played only limited roles."

* * *

"Western diplomate have taken comfort from some of these planks, especially the one on disarmament, as well as the implied criticism of Communist China in the non-aligned powers' demand for all countries to adhere to the nuclear Test-ban Treaty. Many delegations also had words of praise for both the United States and the Soviet Union for the Test-ban Treaty.

But Washington will obviously find it uncomfortable to have the United States and the Western European allies generally played off against Communist China while the Soviet Union escapes criticism altogether.

It is traditional among the neutrals here to be 'more neutral' toward Moscow than the West, largely because of their colonialist past and the fact that they have lingering disputes with the British and Portuguese, especially in Africa and the Middle East.

But to this traditional outlook neutrals have added wide-spread criticism of the United States for its Cuba policy and its involvement in Vietnam and the Congo, especially its retaliation against North Vietnam after the Gulf of Tonkin incidents.

By contrast Moscow has managed to tread lightly among the 57 nations represented here. Clearly the Russians have been the major beneficiaries of the Chinese-Soviet dispute and the relaxation of the cold war as far as their image among the world of the non-aligned is concerned."

Fiftyeight nations were in the list of the non-aligned. Malayasia could not be included because of the British ties that are still there. Congo, which was included, could not attend because the President insisted on sending his "Strong man", Premier Tsombe, despite a clear statement that he was *persona non-grata* with a large number of Amrican states. Nine

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American states sent observers only and Poland also sent an observer. Forty-seven other States, twenty-eight of them African, actively participated in the Conference.

What has been the outcome of this conference? Time alone will provide a fuller answer, but for the present this conference has given each participant a glimpse into the mental, political and economic set-up of the World outside the Power Blocs. For the last few centuries almost all Asia and Africa has suffered from deep ignorance about the outside world. We only saw the highly distorted and tinted pictures that the Western observers deigned to supply us with, and needless to say those pictures were drawn to suit the particular nefarious purpose of the nation to which the observer belonged. The Belgrade Conference and this Conference at Cairo has gone a long way towards correcting the second-hand impressions that all the participants had about each other. The more so because there were Western experts in diplomatic manoeuvres present to apply special torques, strains or "considerations" to influence or prejudice the minds of those at the Conference. Conferences of this type very seldom result in anything beyond development of skills in observatiou where others are concerned, and these skills are gained only a little at a time as even "Great" powers are now reafizing through painful experiences.

In the world within the two Power Blocs and their spheres of influence not much has happened either way to indicate any significant change. The Berlin wall has now been made slightly surmountable and thousands of families on either side are now being permitted to contact for a while their kith and kin. In Cyprus the situation is very slightly more relaxed and the mediator has hopes of arriving at a permanent solution. The British Queen's visit to Canada has proved beyond doubt that there are schismatic forces working on the minds of the french Canadians of Quebec, but the position as yet has not come to the brink of a precipice as reported in some papers prior to the visit. Similarly President de Gaulle's tour of the Latin Americas has given results that can be called "Big" at the best.

There is still considerable stress in the Indo-Chinese area, where three states are still within the orbit of Chinese expansionism —indirectly advanced. In Cambodia the Chief Executive, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, has taken some military aid from the Soviets, according to the latest reports. In Laos there is the same uneasy peace with occasional bursts of a shooting war. The Pathet Lao forces are not on the aggressive as determinedly as before and some ground has been recovered from them by the neutralist and rightist forces. The position is not quite clear, but it does seem that the Pathet Lao has some fresh handicaps put on its forces. The Americans claim that their aerial strafing of the supply routes and strongholds of the leftist Pathet Lao forces has had some effect.

In the shooting war in South Vietnam the initiative still remains with the Viet-Cong it seems. The Goveanment forces, despite very substantial support from the U.S. advisory forces and despite massive aid in war material, does not seem to bo able to obtain the upper hand auywhere along the straggling front.

Indonesia has again started the "confrontation" campaign though the Cairo Conference in general, disapproved of the methods employed by President Sukarno. Malayasia has mildly countered by showering leaflets over certain parts of Indonesia.

The India Ceylon Agreement

The end of October saw the settlement of one of the most deeply tangled problems that has been holding up the flow of goodwill between India and some of its friendly neighbours. The problem of "State-less people", that is people of Indian origin who have migrated to Ceylon, has been impairing good relations between the two countries for about a quarter of a century. There are some 975000 persons answering to the above description at present in Ceylon and no real answer to the intricate question of their nationality has been found uptil the recent accord. The problem has been solved at last, thanks to the tact and sincerity displayed by the two heads of State who have been tackling it with zest and determination for the

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last few days, tempered a with seemingly inexhaustible flow of goodwill on both sides. It is certainly a magnificent achievement of the Shastri Government and much is due to the extra-ordinarily balanced temperament and an endless fund of tact possessed by our Prime Minister. Mrs. Bandarnaike the Prime Minister of Ceylon, has displayed a great deal of patience and a considerable amount of the spirit of give and take during the negotiations.

The main points as given in the *Statesman* are as follows :—

The letters exchanged between the two Prime Ministers have laid down the main points of agreement which are as follows :

1. The declared objective of this agreement is that all persons of Indian origin in Ceylon who have not been recognized either as citizens of Ceylon or as citizens of India should become citizens either of Ceylon or of India.

2. The number of such persons is approximately 975,000 as of date. This figure does not include illicit immigrants and Indian passport holders.

3. Altogether 300,000 of these persons together with the natural increase in that number will be granted Ceylonese citizenship by the Government of Ceylon ; the Government of India will accept 525,000 of these persons together with the natural increase in that number. The Government of India will confer citizenship on these persons.

4. The status and future of the remaining 150,000 of these persons will be the subject-matter of a separate agreement between the two Governments.

5. The Government of India will accept persons to be repatriated within a period of 15 years from the date of this agreement according to a programme as evenly phased as possible.

6. The grant of Ceylonese citizenship under paragraph 3 and the process of repatriation under paragraph 5 shall both be phased over the period of 15 years and shall, as far as possible, keep pace with each other in proportion to the relative numbers to be granted citizenship and to be repatriated respectively.

7. The Government of Ceylon will grant to the persons to be repatriated to India, during the period of their residence if Ceylon, the same facilities as are enjoyed by citizens of other States (except facilities for remittances) and normal facilities for their continued residence, including free visas. The Government of Ceylon agrees that such of these persons as are gainfully employed on the date of this agreement shall continue in their employment until the date of their repatriation in accordance with the requirements of the phased programme or until they attain the age of 55 years, whichever is earlier.

8. Subject to the exchange control regulations for the time being in force which will not be discriminatory against the persons to be repatriated to India, the Government of Ceylon agrees to permit these persons to repatriate, at the time of their final departure to India, all their assets, including their provident fund and gratuity amounts. The Government of Ceylon agrees that the maximum amount of assets which any family shall be permitted to repatriate shall not be reduced to less than Rs. 4,000.

9. Two registers will be prepared as early as possible, one containing the names of persons who will be granted Ceylonese citizenship, the other containing the names of persons to be repatriated to India. The completion of these registers is not, however, a condition precedent to the commencement of the grant of Ceylonese citizenship and the process of repatriation.

10. This agreement shall come into force with effect from the date hereof and the two Governments shall proceed with all despatch to implement this agreement and, to that end, the officials of the two Governments shall meet as soon as possible to establish joint machinery and to formulate the appropriate procedures for the implementation of this agreement."

The most remarkable feature of the negotiations were the repeated postponement of the departure of the Ceylonese delegation. Mrs. Bandaranaike, the leader of that delegation made it clear to the world by those gestures that she was determined to arrive at an amicable settlement of this problem and

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that she was willing to explore every avenue and all the various solutions offered in good faith by the other side.

Our Prime Minister was backed by the continuing goodwill and strong moral support given by the Congress President, Sri Kamaraja. Our felicitations are offered to both.

The Orissa Disturbances

Sanity seems to be dawning on the minds of the student community in Orissa following a move by the guardians of Ravenshaw College students, which was reported in the newspapers of 30th October last. The report said:

'A Government Press Note issued from Bhubaneswar today said the Government would give 'full and sympathetic consideration' to the proposals contained in a resolution passed last night by guardians of Ravenshaw College students, at a meeting held under the chairmanship af the principal of the college.

The guardians in their resolution appealed to the Government to take immediate steps to restore normalcy and for this purpose, they suggested that the Government gave an assurance to institute a judicial inquiry into the 'recent incidents' in the State."

We have no doubt that if proper publicity is given to the Government's attitude then the students will calm down. Due precautions and stern measuers if necessary must be taken against those who have been inciting the students to open the gates for mob violence, looting and arson by hooligans. Nowhere in the world is the general run of students remarkable for clarity of thougt or judgement. Hasty action, taken at the instance of "advisors" without consideration and without any thought regarding consequences, is the usual order of the day where student movements or agitations are concerned. It is this matter of "advice" and "guidance" that weighs most in all such cases. The following extracts from the Statesman of 30th and 31st October show how this "advice" has proceeded in Orissa and who are the advisors :—

"In the two months of student unrest, culminating with the raid on the Orissa Assembly, the fact that has prominently emerged is that the Chief Minister, even at the cost of disagreeing with some of his colleagues, was responsible for the police not adopting the usual stern methods of dealing with violators of law and order. He is, however, today the man most condemned by the agitators. Apart from slogans and placcards denoucing him, his effigy has been burnt at several places. All this because of some alleged police excesses in meeting disturbances arising out of a quarrel between a student and a radio dealer at the end of September in Cuttack.

As a result of shooting by the police, who are still hesitant to act quickly and drastically, three people have been killed and about 12 injured so far.

Today, a mob was fired on at Jaipur Road in Cuttack district after a police outpost had been attacked and seriously damaged. Other places where the police fired on Wednesday and Thursday were Bhubaneswar, Berhampore, Bhawanipatna and Jagatsinghpur.

The agitation has assumed new dimensions. It has ceased to be a student movement and has become a belligerent political campaign. So far actively supported by the Samyukta Socialist Party, the movement has now been joined by Communists.

According to informed sources, in the initial stages of the agitation there were many unseen hands behind the disturbances, some of them being those of dissident Congressmen. It is stated that cases were prepared for the arrest of two or three prominent men among the latter, but the Chief Minister restrained the police."

If and when the Judicial Enquiry or a Commission to go into this matter is instituted, we hope a thorough enquiry into this matter of incitement of students to indulge in these outrageous movements would be made. Those who try to serve their own politicai ends or to carry on with their private vendettas by these methods are criminals of the worst type, and some measures should be taken to curb such anti-social behaviour on their part through drastic action.

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Current Affairs

By KARUNA K. NANDI

N. D C. and the Fourth Plan

The meeting of the National Development Council which has just concluded its consideration of the Fourth Plan Draft Memorandum formulated by the Planning Commission in New Delhi would not, on a close examination of its proceedings, appear to have yielded much in the nature of a realistic, integrated and a purposive national approach to the prioirties, techniques and the potentialities of the comming Plan whose size, in terms of estmated outlays, has only been generally confirmed at anywhere between Rs. 21,500 and Rs. 22,500 crores depending upon availability of resources. The size of the Plan, now accepted as more or less final, would thus appear to be larger, as pointed out by Shri Ashok Mehta, Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, than the combined size of the first three Plans. According to the Memorandum circulated by the Planning Commission, the projected over-all growth rate during the Plan period has been envisaged at 6 per cent per annum, while the rate of growth in the agricultural sector has been targetted for at 5 per cent annually. It is well to remember in this context that the achievements of the first two Plans, as calculated by the Planning Commission, in terms of the growth of the national income, has been assessed at 18 per cent and 21·5 per cent respectively and that although the Third Plan has a target for an over-all annual 6 per cent growth rate over the Plan pleriod in this respect, the order of actual performance has now been assessed at 2·6 per cent (the first year of the Plan) in 1961-62 2·4 per cent in 1962-63 and just about 4 per cent during the two following years. Even assuming that there was a fresh upward spurt in performances in this behalf and the growth rate was to rise to as high a level as 6 per cent (the over-all annual growth rate as originally assumed in the Plan) during the last year of the current Plan, the gross growth over the entire Plan period would not be likely to exceed just about 60 per cent of the original target. In other words, the current Plan would be likely to close with the national income at a level not higher than about Rs. 17,900 crores per annum (the Planning Commission's revised estimates of the level of the national income at the end of the Second Plan, it should be pointed out, was placed at Rs. 15,050 crores at 1956-57 prices) instead of Rs. 19,500 crores as originally envisaged.

This, more or less, is a realistic picture of the background on which the Fourth Plan contours had to be drawn. The Memorandum now said to have been accepted as the basis for the Fourth Plan outlays and targets would, thus, seem to largely ignore the failures of the current Plan and the inevitable pressures that they have generated. It is small consolation that Shri Ashok Mehta has pledged that there would be no more deficit financing resorted to for the Fourth Plan. While not denying that deficit finance has certain inherent inflationary potentials which may impinge upon the price structure with pretty corroding effect if sufficiently realistic precautionary measures are not adopted and applied, we do not accept the contention that deficit financing must necessarily generate inflationary pressures of a corresponding measure, just as we do not accept the contention preferred by certain leaders of the ruling party in the country that a rapid rate of economic growth would be bound to occasion a measure

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untoward pressures upon the price level. The technique of deficit financing was, for the first time, as far as we know, applied by the late Sir Stafford Cripps immediately after World War II when he was Chancellor of the Exchequer in the then British Cabinet, with a view to financing post-war reconstruction. This is a method of financing capital projects and care has to be taken that the money so released is tied down rigidly to the project for which it is intended and is not allowed to inflate demand. It is necessary, in order to ensure that the money flowing from deficit financing is rigidly circumscribed within the boundaries of the specific purposes for which it is created and also that the yield from the project in the shape of revenue surpluses over a pre-determined period would be ample enough to fully cover the credits so created. Deficit financing is, in effect, nothing more nor less than an *advance draft* on future development yields and if the requisite precautions were taken and effectively applied—it is conceded that it is not very easy to do so—inflation need not necessarily be an unavoidable corollary of the process.

What, really, has been the matter with the economy, is a progressively widening gap between demand and supply, a process which has been in evidence even as early as during the earlier half of the Second Plan and which has been assuming a progressively accelerating tempo during the current Plan. That planning in the manner in which it has, so far, been resorted to in this country, has played a major role in this destructive process is a fact which cannot be repudiated by any means. The progressively widening lag between investment and *implementation* and which has now been proved to have been of a devastating order, has created corresponding lags between demand and supply with their inevitable reactions on the price level. It has been estimated by a Working Groups of the Planning Commission that investments in the Third Plan would comprise roughly 93 per cent of the original allocations by the end of the Plan period. We have endeavoured to domonstrate that a realistic assessment of the Third Plan prospects yields the conclusion that the optimum growth rate during the Plan period could not be expected, by any manner of means, to exceed a 19 per cent increase of the national income over the entire Plan period against the 30 per cent originally envisaged in the Plan or about 60 per cent only of the original target. In other words by actually investing 93 per cent of the capital originally estimated to yield 30 per cent increase in the annual national income, we can now expect only a 19 per cent yield. Proportionally against the investment undertaken, the yield should have been an increase of the national income by 27·9 per cent. The inflationary potential of such an order of management of the Planning process should be quite obsvious. There are other factors involved in the various aspects of Plan implementation which also have demonstrably contributed to this widening gap between demand and supply and its inevitably inflationary results.

It would, of course, be unfair as well as incorrect to make planning alone responsible for the present situation. The Government, by their reckless policy of proliferating non-productive departments under them and, generally, by inflating the cost of administration far beyond the levels at which the economy could, without untoward consequences, sustain its burdens, has also been playing a major and a very substantial role. In addition there is that very large credit sector of what has been euphemistically described as *unaccounted money* which,

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taking advantage of the widening gap between supply and demand, has been creating deliberately engineered speculative pressures upon scarce essential consumables, thereby very substantially intensifying the already subsisting (and progressively increasing) inflationary pressures upon the economy. These are factors which, although they cannot be said to flow directly from the planning process as such have, nevertheless, been of undeniable importance in dislocating or, at least,, holding up Plan implementation. The Fourth Plan Memorandum as it has been formulated by the Planning Commission, would seem to have very largely ignored, if not quite repudiated the impact of these various factors in the process of Plan development.

There would, thus, seem to be an aura of unreality about the projected size and process of the large new Plan for the Fourth Plan period. Shri Ashok Mehta insists that what has been envisaged is the absolute minimum that would enable the Country to proceed towards a self-sustaining growth rate in the forseeable future. The Union Finance Minister who, until only recently, has been definitely lukewarm in his support to a large Fourth Plan (lonly a few short weeks ago he was reported to have pleaded for a Fourth Plan size of not larger than Rs. 18,000 crores !) has now been almost fulsome in his support to the Fourth Plan Memorandum which he was reported to have described as being "almost co-extensive with flexibility." On grounds of basic economic considerations there should not, normally, be any substantiable objection to a large Plan. In fact, it must be conceded that a large Plan is inescapable if the national economy has to be carried forward to a self-sustaining level—the "take-off" stage, as it were, at which it will be able, of its own volition, to generate the resources for a progressive rate of self-accelerating and spontaneous future development. That, obviously, is the only way in which the basic objectives of Planning could possibly be achieved. It is necessary, however, to take note at the same time of the paralyzing effects of infructuous investments which inevitably contributes to the inflationary pressures in the economy. That Second Plan outlays in some measure, and especially Third Plan outlays in a very much larger measure, have been demonstrably infructuous in the measure that they have failed to produce the estimated yields, is a fact which cannot be denied. In planning for the next five-year period it is not merely essential that investments envisaged are properly streamlined to yield the estimated returns within the time-period scheduled, it is equally necessary that the short-falls of the preceding periods are adequately covered so that the back-log of previous Plan periods may not create road-blocks in the way of the current Plan development.

Here the question of balanced priorities is of the utmost importance. Details, at this stage, are lacking so far as this is concerned, except that the appropriate emphasis which, unfortunately was lacking in the Third Plan, would now be laid upon agricultural priorties. In the industrial sector also large gaps in co-ordination between industry, power, transport, etc., and, especially as between basic heavy and producer and consumer industries, has been all two obvious to need underlining. Lack of adequate attention to these very important details inevitably contribute to a situation in which large blocks of investments are rendered infructuous and inoperative and the total effect is of a lack of balance in the developmental process which enables a large measure of the additional incomes generated

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be sieved up at the higher levels to add to already heavy concentration of economic wer at selected and microscopically small ses of the community. It is all too obvious t one of the principal objectives of nning, that of narrowing down the wide parities in economic levels of the commu- y has, so far, proved a disastrous failure.

Planning to be wholesome and realistic, st take note of these and a number of other tors too obvious to need mention here, it has to achieve its declared objectives of elling up the economy to a stage where levels iving would be commensurate with modern ndards aud at which present wide disparities ld be very substantially narrowed down. is this sense of realism which appeared to to be absent in the discussions at the ting of the National Development Council. e only realistic note on the basic purposes Planning and the myriad problems that ld be likely to derail or, at least, vitiate processes, appears to have been struck by Prime Minister in his speech which seemed merely to have made a sustainable assess- t of the problems and purposes of Planning which, by mplication at least, seemed to prehend the basic need of balance in the elopmental process and call for a read- ment of policies which would enable such lance to be ensured. Certain very impor- decisions emerged, presumably as the lt of his assessment of current needs, not least of which was the need to associate ialists in various fields of learning and ravour in the counsels of the Planninn mission to enable both immediate and term policies in planning to be enunciated would ensure progress in an unbroked . The Prime Minister's insistence that the same time it has become essential for public sector to enter into certain fields essential consumer production to enable common man" to have his supplies in nably requisite quantities and at prices rning to the levels of purchasing power is portant deviation from previously spelled ies in this behalf and must be regarded very welcome trend of thinking.

In contrast, the attitudes and stances of States' Chief Ministers must be regarded th reactionary and fissiparous. Their principal preoccupation at the meeting seemed to have centred around two matters ; first, to pursuade the Centre to increase their respective Plan allocations from the Centre and, secondly, to demand a measure of autonomy in both formulating, as well as implementing, the plans for their respective states without interference or even intervention from the Centre. It is tragic that these States should have been burdened with Chief Ministers, in whom wide powers of discretion and unilateral action already vests in rather large measures at a crucial time like this, who do not seem to have even a rudimentary comprehansion of the essential bases and requisites of development planning. Planning, they do not seem to realise, is indivisible and must comprehend within its scope the entire nation in all its various fields of economic activity. The basic technique of planning is the optimum and the most economical exploitation of resources for cohesive and balanced development. The process must necessarily be concentric and authority, both for formulating and implementing the plan must, consequently, be centralized. Even as it is, there is not enough centralization informing development-planning with the obvious consequence that the results of planning has, so far, remained largely eccentric and ill-balanced. To enable planning to reach that level of effectiveness and balanced dynamics, the entire nation and its total economy must be treated as one and an indivisible whole. The States can and must play thier part in the process, first in lending their counsel and support to the basic work of formulating an integrated and well-balanced Plan and, secondly, by honestly and effectively implementing the part allocated to them in the total effort. It is this sense of intergation that seemed to have been woefully lacking at the N.D.C. meeting and which may auger ill for the success of the coming Plan in the same manner as the current Plan has been burdened with disastrous short-falls and failures.

No reasonable person, we would conclude, can have a serious quarrel with a large Fourth Plan. In fact, it muat he conceded, that a large Plan is essential to the achievement of the declared objectives of planning. Past short-falls and failures in the process have admittedly, created a situation of crisis in the

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economy and the planning process alike. The remedy, surely, is not to attenuate the size of the Plan, but to deal effectively and even ruthlessly with those factors which have been releasing forces inimical to planinng and wholesome development. Some of the measures necessary to do so, at least over limited periods of time, would have to be administrative and political in nature. The Ordinance that is shortly to be promulgated to deal with anti-social speculators in and hoarders of essential commodities is a necessary measure in the right direction. Effective measures need also to be devised and applied to unearth "unaccounted money" and freeze it to the Exchequer. There should be no softness or even hesitation in doing so. And equally necessary is the need for stringent economy in Government expenditure. Without these measures,—all of them applied simultaneously and effectively and ruthlessly implemented without fear or favour—it will be impossible to bring down the preseant very large demand to the level where it would balance with supply. Only then could the climate be generated in which the very large Fourth Plan (as envisaged) could be implemented without further confusing the present very confused and inimical situation. Vision in very large measure and courage will be required to do so. The Prime Minister has already given indications of a dynamic vision; one can only hope that his leadership will also be able to generate the courage which is now called for to make it realistic and effective.

Food Shortage & Rationing

The continuing crisis in food prices appears to have left the Government, both at the Centre aud in the States in a state of considerable dither and uncertainly. Earlier in the year the Centre announced its decision to enter into the foodgrains trade and also to nationalise, at least partly, the food processing industries like rice mills. The States did not appear to have been over-disposed to participate and, shortly afterwards, a structural change in the earliar decisions was reported ta have been contemplated. It was announced, for instance, that the proposed State Tradiug corporation in foodgrains would cover not the whole of the foodgrains trade in the conntry, but only a small part of it,—the proportion was tentatively fixed at about 25 perc ent—as the Government had not the resources, it was frankly admitted by the Union Food and Agriculture Minister, to do so. So far as the proposal to nationalize the rice mills was concerned, it was also announced that while the States would appropriate the entire production of some mills at a pre-determined price, they would not to be brought under public sector management as such, but that some large, new and highly mechanized rice mills would be started under public sector management and ownership in course of time. These tatter measures, it was announced, together with statutory rationing in urban complexes, would be brought into operation with effect from the new year. It was tentatively assured that the Centre will assume the responsibility of covering the shortages of deficit States with a view to enabling the latter to successfully implement the proposal for statutory rationing in the urban areas.

Latest information in this connection, however, seems to indicate that the States are not over-enthusiastic about assuming the burdens of statutory rationing in their regions, especially in view of the fact that the Centre has, in the meanwhile, expressed its inability to cover deficits. What the whole thnig now seems to boil down to is that within the recently announced ceiling and floor prices of foodgrains, the States would have to procure their own supplies within and without the States to cover the needs of rationing. Whether such procurement, especially from surplus States, would be on a Government to Government basis or will be through private trade account, does not seem to be very clear. West Bengal, for instance, has been obliged, over the past three years, to import some 300,000 tonnes of rice annually on an average from Orissa, but the whole of it has been routed through private trade accounts which, visibly, has been responsible for a considerable measure of confusion in respect of both supply and price. The price of Orissa rice in West Bengal has been high and it has been alleged that not the whole of the rice thus procured has been brought either to the open market or into Government godowns. It is not quite clear why Orissa rice is not being procured on a Government to Government basis, nor if the whole or any predetermined portion of it was intended for the free (?) market to be handled by the private sector trade or how much of it was intended for

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vernment godowns. The fact, however, ains, that there has been a great deal of fusion in this matter. The wheat zones, ich against insistent demands from deficit tes, the Centre appear still to be reluctant wholly abolish or even materially modify, s added a further element of confusion in e foodgrains supply crisis.

Statutory rationing, as tentattvely decided be launched in selected unban areas with cified minimum populations, while leaving rest of the country uncovered, is another ision indexing the Government's lack of fidence in their own resources. But this l system of dealing with the supply crisis y, it is apprehended, create additional ents of confusion and failures in the cess. For one thing, it may not be entirely sible to effectively cordon off and seal the oned areas. We have seen, during the r years of the last war, how this cordon und rationed areas has been broken through ost from the very beginning, where demand he unofficial free market has always been ressive, and thus reducing the regions on perimeter and just outside the rationed es to a state of abject helppessness, which tually culminated a raging and devasta- famine in which more than 3 million vation deaths have been confirmed. There hardly any guarantee that the experiences 1943 may not again be repeated. The ess changes in Government's dicisions policies on food over the last few months ld appear to index the confusion in their king on the basic character of the present s and their inability, in consequence, to e at firm decisions which they feel dent enough to be able to fully imple- t to obviate its rigours. The fixation of tory price levels for rice and a number of les of food in West Bengal over the last eral mounths, is a clear indication of the r state of confution of the Government's king and their abject helplessness to tively implement their own decision. fied rationing has been introduced in tta's metropolitan area and in the conti- s regions which have been officially noti- as industrial areas where people have been of obtaining a minimum supply of rice, and sugar at fixed prices. But in the extensive subarban complex around the metropolitan city where concentrations of large urbanized populations have been very heavy, the Government evaded all responsibility for maintaining basic supplies at statutary prices by simply declaring these areas as agricultural areas although agriculture in these regions has been practically entirely defunct for many years. In these regions at the few modified rationing shops that have been opened not merely a reduced per capita norm of supply has been adopted, but also people beyond a cartain minimum earning level are wholly denied any rice ration. The result is that within a few hundred yards of the rationed areas retail shops have been selling rice quite openly and without fear at prices approximately one hundred per cent higher than the statutory ceiling. There is neither any means, nor apparently any effort to curb this raging black market. No one is interested in that counsel of perfection sanctimoniously dispensed by the Government that people should refuse to buy at anything above the statutary price. Newspapers are daily reporting the prices at which rice and several other essential articles of food are being sold which are far above the statutory levels fixed by Government and the latter seem to be as helpless lookers-on as the buyers themselves.

The trouble seems to be that the Government, like most of our so-called expert economists who advise Government, do not seem to have any realistic appreciation of the basic nature of the problems that have occasioned the continuing food crisis. They have been endeavouring to delude the people and, perhaps, also themselves with the argument that the rate of increase in food production over the last four years, especialy during the current Plan period, has fallen short of the rate of increase in the net population. Food shortage has, therefore, been an inescapable consequence. Factual assessment of the present gross food production in the country—as we endeavoured to demonstrade in these columns some time ago—would, however, disclose that if all kinds of foodgrains of both the fiuer and coarser varieties were pressed to the people's consumption, there should be no basic shortage even without the imports which would just cover our consump-

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tion requirements and those of seed grains, although there would be no comfortable surplus. With the change in the economic climate, especially with the trends of incraeasing urbanization that have lately been in evidence, the pattern of consumption bas also changed correspondingly and the demand for the finer grains like rice and wheat has been continuously on the increase. But, of our total production of food cereals, rice and wheat comprise less than 56 per cent and with the increasing pressure of demand for these particular grains, a climate of general food shortage has supervened with its inevitable impact on other articles of food as well. This has been especially so in the more urbanized areas. But the problem is not quite so simple as it would seem to be on the surface. With the trends of increasing urbanization that has been inflnencing the entire country, the use of finer foodgrains has acquired a prestige value even with those who have been habitually used to the consumption of the coarser varieties. It is the Government's responsibility to stem this increasing tide in the present crisis. Processing of the coarser grains may be one of the expedients towards this end.

Shortage, therefore, is materially confined to certain varieties of foodgrains. Its main facet is a crisis of price rather than one, basically, of supply. Various factors, other than merely the food supply situation, have contributed to and have been aggravating the crisis. The basic factor in this connection is one of exploding demand far beyond the capacity of the economy. The Government should know very well what has been causing this widening imbalance between demand and supply as much as they should have known that such a situation would be bound to unleash unscrupulous speculative forces which would exploit the situation of marginal supplies for profiteering gains. There are ample funds in the market in the "unaccounted" credit sector and about which the Union Finance Minister speaks so often (but to demobilize which he seems to be utterly helpless with all the fiscal and administraative weapons at his disposal) to finance these anti-social speculative activities. But they are apparently helpless to do anything to curb these. What the West Bengal Government has been trying to do with mustard oil prices—even apart from rice and wheat prices—is a glaring illustration of how they have allowed themselves to be used by these speculators to the detriment of the people. Mustard oil was selling retail at Rs. 2.50 per kg. upto end of March this year. At the beginning of April the price shot up to Rs. 2·90 and on to Rs. 3·25 by the beginning of May. Government intervend to impose a statutory ceiling of Rs. 2·50, later raising it to Rs. 2·90 The trade was not willing to deal at this price and, in the meanwhile, raised the price unofficially to Rs. 3·90. Government revised the price again and raised it to Rs. 3·25, but supplies disappeared altogether, mills having suspended production. Today, in spite of the statutory ceiling, mustard oil is openly selling at anywhere between Rs. 4·50 and Rs. 6 per kg. Could there be any more glaring mockery of Government than this ?

We should not, therefore, be blamed if we apprehend that the manner in which Government now seem to intend to introduce state trading and statutory rationing, the inevitable result would be to lead to a far worse muddle of an already deeply muddled situation. If the Government are unable to assume the responsibilities of wholesale take over of the foodgrains trade and blanket statutory rationing—which they are obviously unable to even contemplate—far better that they let well alone and allowed the present crisis to evolve its own solutions without intervention from them. They would do a far greater service to the nation and to the economy as a whole if they were to concentrate all their resources upon effectively demobilizing "uuaccounted" money—freeze it to the Exchequer in faet—on the one hand and bring all their power and ingenuity, both fiscally and administratively to curb the exploding demand with a view to holding the price line within circumscribed limits. It may be a worse folly than even complete inaction to launch upon a half-hogging system of partial state trading in foodgrains and statutory rationing covering only a microscopic section of the community. The Union Finance Minister claims to be both an ingenuous and a courageous person. It should not be beyond him to revise the entire taxation structure and, by a well conceived system of direct taxation, mop up the inflationary potentials of the economy to bring down the level of demand to reconcile it to the state of actual supply.

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RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE : A DOYEN AMONG JOURNALISTS

By Late SURESH CHANDRA DEB

The following short biographical sketch of the founder editor of the *Modern Review* by a veteran old journalist who has since himself passed into the great Beyond, and first published fourteen years ago, should still be of interest to our readers in this, the birth centenary year of the late Ramananda Chatterjee.—Editor, *Modern Review.*

Today September 30, 1950 marks the 8th h Anniversary of the late Ramananda tterjee, Founder-Editor, *Modern Review*, the rnationally reputed monthly of Calcutta. ut 40 years back young St. Nihal Singh, n a young free-Lance journalist in Britain, te in William Stead's *Review of Reviews*, an ticle describing the rise of a new figure in the blic life of India. At this distance I can but ll that the writer confined himself to drawing the picture of a journalist who had been eloping into a statesman, a statesman in a subject untry, who was more a constructive critic of men d matters in India than the destroyer of the ges introduced by British missionaries and ministrators. This man was Ramananda atterjee, founder-editor of the *Prabasi*, a ngalee-Language monthly and of the *Modern* iew. It was in April-May, 1901, that the abasi made its appearance ; it was in January, 07 that the *Modern Review* saw the light of . And during this brief period, the two papers came, in the hands of the editor, vehicles of the ost thoughts and highest sentiments, instruents in his hands to smite the evil-doer, to lead the hand an awakened people consciously reing to the shame and ignominy of political ection. The article in the *Review of Reviews* a testimony to the development of Indian tionalism of which Ramananda Chatterjee tained for about 40 years a moulder and terpreter. He left the field of his mundane tities on September 30, 1943. It is meet and per, therefore, that his life and work should commemorated so that the present generation y know and realize the value and worth of the inheritance of high thoughts and noble deeds which they have acquired.

Born in May/June 1865, Ramananda Chatterjee grew during times where Indians had been slowly recovering from the influence of Western ideals and practices, from the thraldom of cultural superiority accepted with uncritical enthusiasm by their predecessors who had been known in history as "Young Bengal" and "Young Bombay". In his biography of Ramananda written by his daughter, Mrs. Shanta Nag, we have a description of these early years of his life when they learnt to appreciate the lines of Rangalal Bandhopadhyaya—

"who likes to live bereft of freedom—
who likes to live ?
"who can willingly put on the fetters
of slavery—who can willingly ?

It was the time of Keshab Chandra Sen, the Brahmo leader who, by the inspiration of his conduct, of his eloquence, had been sowing seeds of a new consciousness of a better life amongst the modern educated Indians. Ramananda has said that Romesh Chandra Dutt's novels on the decline of Rajput Chivalry, on the rise of the Marattas, were formative influences on his generation, that in his youth they used to imbibe from the *Arya Darshan* of Jogendra Vidyabhusan the inspriation of the life of Mazzini, of Todds' "Rajasthan" and other patriotic themes serially being published in that monthly.

When he came to Calcutta in 1883 from his native town of Bankura to prosecute studies in College, he found Surendra Nath Banerjea and Ananda Mohan Basu enthroned in the hearts of the rising generation. The inspiration of their life

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flowed from the Nationalism of which Raja Ram Mohan Roy had been the prophet, reform in society, reform in the State were the objectives of our national endeavour, the Brahmo Samaj under the leadership of Keshab Chandra Sen and Shib Nath Sastri and the Indian Association under Surendra Nath Banerjea and Ananda Mohan Basu became centres of all that was dynamic and forward looking in the country and province. This climate of throught nurtured in Ramananda Chatterjee a spirit of quiet devotion to the highest interests of his people which found expression in service to the disease-stricken, to the poor and the lowly.

And since those years till 1943 his life and thought were moved on the plane from which the thought of self had been eleminated by conscious effort made under the Great Task-master's eyes. An academic career promising the highest material rewards which human nature generally hankers after was left unexploited, he refused a Government scholarship that would have helped him equip himself with greater distinction in Britain. Instead he turned back on these and chose for his life's vocation the education of youth. But he was called to a wider field of instructing public opinion on the duties and responsibilities of citizens of a free country. This impulse was the dynamo of the journalistic enterprise with which he got connected. In 1888 he graduated from the City College standing first class first; he was immediately appointed lecturer in English in this College, and in 1889 we find him editor of *Dharma-Bandhu*—a monthly which did not confine itself to spiritual and religous topics alone but also discussed social and politico economic matters such as leprosy, obscenity, the "coolie question" etc.

This gave a new direction to his life's work. He became a valued writer of the *Sanjeebani* (1890), of the *Indian Messenger*, organ of the sadharan Brahmo Samaj, of the *Indian Mirror* started by Keshab Chandra Sen and edited by Narendra Nath Sen one of the founding-members of the Indian National Congress. The "Dassashram" a social service institution, started in 1891, something like a servant of the people society of which Ramananda Chatterjee was president, felt the need of a mouth-piece. The *Dassi* was the outcome organised under his editorship. When he left Calcutta for Allahabad as principal of the Kayastha Pathshala in September 1895, he continued editing the paper. He resigned the charge in 1896. The next year in December 1897 the *Pradip* by Baikunta Nath Das started with Ramananda Chatterjee as editor. It was an illustrated Bengal. Rabindranath gave voice to this feeling when he said: "when Ramananda Babu edited the *Pradip* and later founded the *Prabasi* his courage and capacity created wonder. Fairly voluminous, beautifully illustrated, enlivened by the variety of topics discussed—it was hard to believe that such superb things could be produced and made popular in Bengal."

This compliment paid to Ramananda Chatterjee shall ever remain a memento of the work that he did as fashioner and guide of public opinion in India, as the upholder of India's human activity in science, in arts, in scholarship. Though not a graduate of science, Ramananda Chatterjee was a votary of Acharya Jagadis Chandra Basu and Prafulla Chandra Ray. And let Abanindra Nath Tagore speak of the debt that the modern school of Art in Bengal and India owed to the editor of the *Prabasi* and *Modern Review*: "Ramananda Babu created among the public the demand for Indian art products . . . . We painted the pictures and left to him the succeeding steps for popularising these; he went about hinting out men who could help; how even the poor man's house in India and outside could be made beautiful by these, we could not do it, it was his hand that upheld our cause."

And of Ramananda Chatterjee's work as a journalist, as editor of *Prabasi* and *Modern Review* who can speak with more insight and brilliance than Sister Nivedita of Ramkrishna-Vivekananda, the Irish woman dedicated to the service of Indian Renaissance!:

"The pain in India's heart, the agony of her soul needed an outlet. The man who could give it vent could not be immured in a Government office. This man coud not be allowed to remain satisfied with expressing the feelings and sentiments of Bengal; he must speak for the whole of India; he cannot forget the world. He belonged to Bengal; he belonged to India; he belonged to universal humanity."

With these words I recall to the present generation the greatness of the work that Ramananda Chatterjee did for India.

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GITANJALI (THE ENGLISH VERSION) : A STUDY

By Prof. VAJJHALA GOPALAM

The English version of Gitanjali consists one hundred and three songs while the inal edition in Bengali has one hundred fifty-nine songs. But the English ver- is not an abridged edition of the origi- poem. The hundred and three songs of English version are culled by the poet m his Gitanjali and the great collections songs that he produced before its compo- on. Only fifty-one songs of the original em are included in the English version the remaining fifty-two are picked from other compositions, seventeen from imalya, sixteen from Naivedya, eleven m Kheya, three from Sisu, and one from h of Chaitali, Smaran, Kalpana, Utsarga Achalayatan. We should, however, be- e of considering the English version of anjali as an anthology. Songs from erent compositions are put together, but ose study of the songs, as they are strung their order, shows that they are not de- ed pieces. They stand as the compon- parts of one poem in which the stream thought flows from one song into another the end is reached. The poet has arrang- them with such subtlety of design that make the poem a piece of artistic work- ship. The poem is the story of a pil- s progress, developed by regular es, till the pilgrim obtains his leave to this world.

All through the journey of his life the rim sings songs in adoration of the Lord. is a fervent devotee, but his songs are merely devotional in their content. They cate the path of deliverance by which bhakta journeyed till he received his mons. They teach a noble philosophy ife. Much of it is the philosophy of the nishads and the **Gita**, but Tagore does confine himself to Hindu philosophy. He ed a philosophy of his own which is up of the tenets of the world's great hers, like Buddha, Jesus Christ and hammed besides the Hindu teachers. The English version of Gitanjali is the epitome of Tagore's philosophy.

But it is no philosophical treatise. The poet presents his philosophy in the story of the devotee who aspires for union with the Lord and who by gradual stages becomes worthy of the lord's acceptance. He describes the long and arduous journey which the devotee has to make before he receives his summons. He shows how the man who, in the early stages, spent days and nights yearning to see the Lord, at last declares that he has caught sight of Him that is formless. Finally, he presents the picture of the devotee, deeply engaged in his speculations. Experience in the journey of his life has made the devotee ripe with wisdom. He is full of noble sentiment and descants on the proper way of life in this world and the Lord's ways to mortals. The essential interest of Gitanjali lies in the transformation of the bhakta into a **Jnanin** who perceives the Lord's immanence in all objects under creation.

In the introductory songs the poet touches upon the basic ideas of the philosophy which he expounds in the poem. The very first words which the devotee utters refer to the conception of the immortal life of the soul. He begins with expressing his supreme happiness that the Lord has made him endless. He touches upon the theory of the transmigration of the soul in the words that the frail vessel of his body has been emptied and filled again and again with fresh life. The idea of the Lord as the Maker is suggested in the devotee's expression of his conviction that he is made a singer and that he sings at the Lord's command. He next refers to the idea of the Lord as the creator of this glorious world. The Lord is described as the Master Singer, the light of whose music illumines the world, the life breath of whose music runs from sky to sky. The devotee is delighted to hear the music; his heart lies captive in the endless meshes of

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that music. He enjoys the eternal harmony of the world.

The bhakta who seeks deliverance has to pass through a process of purgation. Accordingly, he expresses his resolve to keep his body pure, to keep all untruths out from his thoughts and to drive all evils away from his heart. This is the starting point of the pilgrim's progress. He next expresses his cherished desire—a moment's indulgence to sit by the Lord's side. Away from the sight of the Lord's face his heart knows no rest nor respite. On a bright summer day when the bees are humming in the flowering grove he sits musing at his window, longing to sit face to face with the Lord. He has no other wish than to sing dedication of life in that silent and overflowing leisure. It is such moods that are propitious for visions, and the devotee often appears in such moods till he acquires knowledge of the Lord's immanence. He makes urgent appeals to the Lord that before the polluting effects of his earthly existence may debase him, before the little flower droops and drops into the dust, the flower may be plucked and used in His service.

The devotee knows that he has many failings, and to overcome them he lays down the code of conduct which should guide him in his life. He would cast aside all ornament and adopt a simple, unadorned style in his adoration of the Lord. Simple dress is the badge of humility. It is the dress proper for a bhakta. He would be simple in his expression, simple in his way of life. As princely robes are an impediment to a child in his play, all finery is an impediment to the person who would participate in the rough experiences of the common folk. The devotee would enter the great fair of common human life. Another principle which he lays down for his guidance is complete dependence on the Lord. He calls the man a fool who, in his self-conceit, believes that he can depend on his own strength. Self-surrender implies the banishment of desires. The devotee must be contented with what is offered by sacred love. He next holds up the ideals of unostentatiousness, humility and service to suffering humanity by the example of the Lord who has planted his feet among the poorest, the lowliest and the lost. The idea that the Lord keeps company with the companionless leads to the teaching that ignorant men keep chanting and singing and telling beads, that God is found not in the dark corner of the temple but under the open sky where the tiller is tilling the hard ground and where the path-maker is breaking stones. In the words of the devotee Tagore teaches that idolatrous worship of God is not the way that leads to deliverance. He looks with equal disapproval upon the **Sanyasin** and admonishes him, "Put off thy holy mantle.....Come out off thy meditations.....Meet Him and stand by Him in toil and in sweat of thy brow."

The devotee is well aware of the trials that he must face before he can reach his goal. He has but begun his journey, and he knows that the pilgrim has to espouse many false ideas, he must enter into many mistaken ways before he will be able to know the truth about the Lord. All his past life the devotee has been endeavouring to meet with the Lord, but he has not been able to see His face nor hear His voice. He thinks that it is because the lamp in his house has not been lit, and that until it is lit he cannot ask the Lord to come into his house. Further, he knows that he has yet to learn the lesson of contentment. His desires are many, and in his ignorance he has cried pitifully that they may be granted. The Lord has ever saved him from the perils of his desires by hard refusals. The recognition of this fact indicates the beginnings of purification in the devotee. His desires are not yet quelled, and the hour is yet to come when he will be worthy of the Lord's great gifts—the sky and the light, the body and the life and the mind. He has, however, the satisfaction that, day by day, the Lord has been making him worthy of his full acceptance.

He knows that it is the mission of his life to sing songs in adoration of the Lord. He prays the Lord to issue His command to him to sing. He looks upon the world as a festival and considers that he has received his invitation to the festival. He takes it

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a blessing conferred upon him. His eyes d ears have had their full enjoyment of e festival. At this feast it is his part to ng and he has done all he could in his ng. But the purpose of his life is not e mere enjoyment of the earthly feast nor e singing of songs. He has been waiting r the hour when he may stand in the Lord's esence and offer his silent salutation to m. For the achievement of his purpose e lives apart from worldly men. The owd wish to draw him into their company, t he shuns the company. In the spirit of e devoted mistress who keeps waiting for er lover's arrival, the devotee sits all alone his house on rainy days praying the Lord t to leave him wholly aside. And he sits ing on the far-away gloom of the sky in e hope of seeing the Lord's face. He is rtain that the morning will come when can hear the Lord's voice pouring down golden streams.

By slow and gradual stages the devotee ogresses towards his goal. The Lord es not make himself visible to his bhakta, t there are several occasions when e bhakta receives indications of the Lord's ming in his direction. He sits in languor, nstantly dreaming of the Lord's coming.

Once, as he is sitting sadly, he els a sweet trace of a strange fragnce in the south wind. That vague eetness makes his heart ache with long-g, but the longing is not fulfilled. Then mes a day when he feels a thrill passing ough the air with the notes of the Lord's r-away song floating from a distance. The akta is certain that in the deep shadows the rainy July the Lord walks silently, ding all watchers. One such morning hen a thick veil has been drawn over the e sky and the doors are all shut at every use, he believes that the Lord is the soli-y wayfarer in the deserted street. Unlike s neighbours he has kept his doors open, d he prays Him to enter his house. He ends sleepless nights, longing for the ord's coming. In this situation the devotee nceives himself as a Radha pining for her rishna, the divine lover. On a dark and rmy night when the sky is groaning like e in despair, she thinks that the Lord is on his journey of love. Ever and again she opens her door and looks out on the darkness in the hope that the Lover is threading his course to come to her. But the Lover does not make His appearance. The devotee complains that he is exhausted and prays that the veil of darkness may be drawn upon him and that his life may be renewed in another birth. When the day is done the Lord draws the veil of night upon it and renews the day in a fresher gladness of awakening. The devotee prays for a like favour to be conferred upon him.

A further stage in the pilgrim's progress is reached when he has a dream that the Lord came and sat silently by his side. In the dream he hears the Lord singing melodiously on his harp. Waking up, he grieves bitterly that he has missed the sight of the Lord and curses the sleep. He considers that death were better by far than such disappointment. He is lost in misery in the midst of which he feels a mysterious stir in him, but it is only as a flash of lightning which drags a deeper gloom on the sight. His heart is groping for the path to where the music of the night's dream calls him.

The devotee formulated a code of conduct for his guidance in life. But he finds that he has not adopted it in his practice. Self-examination is an important stage in the pilgrim's progress. Scrutinising his own conduct, he finds that he is under the grip of the trammels of life. He knows that they are mere vanities, and that they make a shroud of dust and death around him. But while he hates them he has not the heart to free himself of their hold. While he is ashamed of them he loves them secretly. He has been busy in building a great fortune. But it has proved to be a dungeon in which he is imprisoned. The imagery of the prisoner who has built his own dungeon is profoundly mystic in its meaning. It signifies that the wealth and power which a person strives hard to acquire make him blind to his true being. They draw his mind away from God. The Infinite in him tries in vain to escape from the debasing worldly influences. For at this stage of his life it is the finite in him

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that is predominating in its influence. And he realises that the finite is a shameless creature. It makes him greedy for wealth and power. He has amassed treasures under the false notion that they will make him invincible. Night and day he worked hard and stored up treasures. Too late, he has found that they are an unbreakable chain from which he cannot free himself.

Another lesson which the devotee has learnt by experience is that his earthly friends try by all means to hold him fast in their company. The Lord leaves man free to act as he chooses. He stands unseen and waits for the man to offer his love of his own accord. So long as the man is in the company of his worldly associates he cannot see the Lord.

Examining himself, the devotee has also found that in the beginning his desires seemed to be under his control. But in an unwary moment he fell under their influence, and they drove his thoughts of the Lord out of his mind. He has become the thrall of the shows of life.

Having suffered the fatal results of yielding to the frivolities of life, the devotee sings a song of self-surrender to the Lord, and prays that he may be put under the fetters of his love. He prays that he may have only that much of self as to name him his all and to offer his love to him every moment. Looking at the debased life of his country men he prays the Father that they may be rejuvinated with the higher ideals of life. In this famous song, taken from Naivedya, it is the noble patriot in Rabindranath Tagore who expresses his grief to see his brethren crouching timidly in fear of the foreign ruler, broken into factions by narrow-minded communal differences, and lost in the dreary desert of dead habit. And he prays that his country may awake into that heaven of freedom where tireless striving stretches its arms to perfection and where the mind is led forward into ever-widening thought and action.

At an earlier stage in the poem the devotee prayed that the veil of darkness might be drawn upon him. He then thought that his voyage had come to its end. He now admits that he had been mistaken in the thought. The Lord wants him to continue his work as a singer, when old words died out on his tongue the Lord inspired him with new melodies. His one prayer is that his heart may repeat without end that he wants Him and only Him. The spirit of devotion in him has grown in its intensity.

He recollects situations in the past when his heart became hard and parched up, when tumultuous work shut thoughts of the Lord out of his mind, and when desires blinded his mind with delusion and dust. He prays that in such situations the Lord may send a shower of mercy upon his parched heart and give him light to dispel the blinding desires. He feels that he is now passing through one such period, that his heart is burning with dire despair and prays for the cloud of the Lord's grace to descend upon him.

The song of self-surrender proves fruitful. The bhakta receives the Lord's promise to come to him; and he has day-dreams in which he sees the Lord. From dreams he progresses into day-dreams. He imagines himself as a ragged beggar maid who is a worshipper of the Lord and who secretly aspires for union with her kingly lover. He gives a picturesque description of a day-dream in which the maid saw the sudden splendour of the Lord's coming,—all the lights ablaze, and golden pennons flying over his car. She dreams that the Lord comes down from his seat, raises her from the dust, and much to the wonder of the onlookers, sets her at his side in the car. The devotee's ambition is realised, but only in a day-dream, and he bewails that he is wearing out his heart in vain longing. Time glides on and still there is no sound of the chariot wheels. The girl that the devotee conceives himself to be, has heard it whispered that the Lord would come and both of them would go sailing in a boat. She sits in expectation of the coming of the happy time. The Lord does not come, but the devotee waits hopefully. The hour of dire despair is gone.

In the present frame of his mind the devotee realises that the Lord had never left him alone. He discovers occasions in the past when, unknown to him, and unbidden,

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e Lord had entered his heart and pressed e signet of enternity upon many a fleeting ment of his life. Surveying his past, he scovers that in those days when he had en spending his time in trivialities he had eived the Lord's inspiring touch on many asions. But such occasions were transi- y and he failed to realise the divine in- ence in those moments. He is now con- ent that the happy moment will arrive en he will see the Lord. And he goes on ging that every moment and every age, ery day and every night he comes, comes, er comes. The Lord has not yet come to , but the devotee is sure that He is ever ming nearer and nearer to meet him. ny a morning and evening he thinks as he heard the Lord's footsteps. One day experiences a tremulous joy passing ough his heart and he feels in the air a nt smell of the Lord's sweet presence.

Once he spends a whole night waiting the lord's coming, but it proves to be in n. The disappointment does not, how- r, make him dejected. He hopes that e Lord will come in the morning. He es that he may be asleep at that time. he does not want to be roused by his ighbours. He is certain that the Lord self will touch him. His sleep waits for e Lord's touch to vanish. The devotee at s stage is a different man from what he been when he cursed the sleep in which dreamt that the Lord had come to him left him sleeping. He now considers e sleep as a precious gift and observes t his closed eyes would open their lids to the light of the lord's smile.

A further stage in the pilgrim's pro- ss is reached when, after eluding the kta for a long time, the Lord ful- His promise, and the devotee is bless- with visions of the Lord. There are des- ed six visions in which it is significant note that the devotee comes more and e closely into contact with the Lord in on after vision.

The first of the visions was on a day n the devotee parted company with his ldly associates after he travelled with n all the morning on the road. In the y nature lay spread out in all her gorgeousness, but the travellers paid no heed to the wealth that offered itself to them. Worldly-minded men have no eye for the beauteous sights of nature. The travellers were pre-occupied with their worldly thoughts. The devotee was tired when the sun rose to the mid-sky, gave up their company, and lay down on the mead where there was a sheet of water. The men laughed at him in scorn, but their mockery found no response in him. The repose of the sun-embroidered gloom slowly spread over his heart and he surrendered his mind to a maze of shadows and songs. The bhakta is presented in a situation proper for a vision. He fell into a slumber, and when he awoke and opened his eyes he saw the Lord standing by him, flooding his sleep with a smile.

The next vision was on a day when the bhakta was singing all alone in a corner of his cottage. The simple carol of this novice struck at the Lord's love. He came down from His throne, stood at his devotee's cottage door and received his humble offering of a flower. On another day as the poor bhakta was going a-begging from door to door in the village path, he was transported to delight to see the King of kings coming in his golden chariot. And he stood hoping to receive the king's gifts of boundless wealth. He was in utter confusion when the King held out his right hand and asked him for a gift. He gave the kingly beggar a little grain of corn that he had in his wallet. Returning home, he found in its place a little grain of gold and thus comes to learn how the Lord rewards his devotees for their humble offerings to him.

Each of the visions is full of mystic meaning. The fourth vision was on a dark night when the devotee and his friends lay down to sleep without paying any heed to the notice which they received that the King would come to them. When the sleepers were awakened by the sound of the King's drums they shuddered with fear for their past negligence. They were in a flutter, not knowing how to receive the King fittingly. A wise man among them allayed their fears by telling them that the King does not want pompous arrange-

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ments for His reception, that they may receive Him with empty hands. The King came and they spread a tattered piece of mat in the courtyard for his seating. The men understand that the King wanders in the dark chambers of this world amidst scenes of squalor and misery, that he wanders while thunder is roaring and the dark night is shuddering with lightning.

The element of symbolism is more marked in the accounts of the next vision. The devotee represents himself as a maiden who is a fervent worshipper of the Lord and whom the Lord has graced by sleeping in her house one night. Next morning after the Lord had left in the hope of finding a stray petal out of his rose wreath to preserve it as a token of His love, she was surprised to find that what the Lord left to her was His mighty sword, flashing as a flame, heavy as a bolt of thunder. The devotee muses in wonder at the Lord's gift to his worshipper. Soon the meaning of the gift dawns upon his mind. The Lord offers a sword to his devotees to cut asunder their earthly sense with one fierce flash.

In the sixth and last vision the Lord appeared to his bhakta in the guise of a thirsty traveller. The bhakta was standing alone by a well, lost in the midst of vague musings. The seeming traveller implored for water, and the bhakta poured from his jar on the man's joined palms. It is but a little act of kindness and of love, but it is such conduct that pleases the Lord most. The bhakta is happy to find that the Lord is pleased with his insignificant act of service to a fellow being.

The devotee has journeyed far by the path of deliverance. The next stage in the pilgrim's progress shows him enlightened. He becomes a **Jnanin** and perceives the immanence of the Lord in all created objects. The man who used to sit all alone, gazing on the far-away gloom of the sky and praying for the lord's coming, now rebukes the person who sits in languor and exhorts him to awake and enjoy the sight of the flower reigning in splendour among thorns. He declares that the Lord is sitting all alone in the country of virgin solitude, that all the life with which the world is throbbing is a joy to the Lord. He realises that his joy to see the wealth of nature is the Lord's joy manifested in him, that in his heart is the endless play of the Lord's delight. The Lord appears in the form of the beauteous sights of nature to captivate His devotee's heart. He is immanent in them and in the devotee. The devotee has reached that higher stage of knowledge which enables him to see that in him is the perfect union of two, the finite and the Infinite. The Upanishadic teaching of tat **twam asi** has dawned upon his mind.

The knowledge of the Lord's immanence kindles fresh feelings of joy in the devotee's heart when he looks at the glorious aspects of nature. At an earlier stage in the pilgrim's progress he said that the hour was yet to come when he would be worthy of the Lord's great gifts, foremost among which are mentioned the sky ond the light. He is now in raptures to see light, that prime gift of God. He exclaims in joy that it is world-filling, eye-kissing, and heart-sweetening. The song on light is pure poetry, surpassing Milton's famous invocation to light in the splendour of its imagery. Everywhere around him the devotee finds indications of the Lord's **lila**, and he declares that he would represent them all in his last song. In the devotee's words we hear Rabindranath expressing his ambition to compose a grand poem celebrating the Lord's joy as it appears in its manifold forms in the exuberance of nature, in the play of life and death which work as twin brothers, in the fury of the elemental forces in the world, and in the spirit of renunciation with which some persons throw everything they have upon the dust. The sweet aspects of nature are a special delight to the devotee and he considers them as the Lord's gifts to him. When the morning light comes flooding his eyes he takes it as the Lord's message to his heart, and he is filled with feelings of glad humility.

Dwelling upon the Lord's joy as it is manifested in all created beings, the devotee passes on to descriptions of joyous children. Tagore is noted for his love of children. He trteats the child as a Sat-

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Sadanandamurthi to whom life is the essence of undiluted delight. The first of the three songs describes the child, absolutely free from the travails of life, careless and innocent in his actions. The contrast between men who are motivated by greed for wealth in their actions and children who, oblivious of all desires, enjoy their existence is indicated in the simple but highly expressive words,—pearl fishers dive for pearls, merchants sail in their ships, while children gather pebbles and scatter them again. The next song presents the picture of a sweet baby gently sleeping, a smile flickering on its lips. The third song offers an illustrative explanation of the Lord's gifts to mankind. The Lord is the Universal Father. With the same affection that prompts a man to give sweet and pleasant things to his children, the Lord has given us the delightsome things of the world for our enjoyment.

The devotee, having seen the Form-Divine, sings no more songs of prayer that the Lord may come to him. His knowledge of the immanence of the Lord makes him profoundly speculative. The rest of the song comprises the Jnanin's speculations. They start with his reflections on the significance of the immanence. He considers that when a person acquires that knowledge he develops a feeling of universal brotherhood. The knowledge of the one in the many makes a brother of the stranger. Ignorant people believe that the Lord's grace is won by the performance of superstitious rites and have no thought of loving their fellow beings. The devotee saw a maiden carrying a lamp in her hand. He begged her to lend him her lamp. For his house was all dark and lonesome. But she would not oblige him. She floated her lamp on the stream in the evening and the lamp flame drifted uselessly in the tide.

The bhakta wishes to know what work the Lord intends him to do. In the bhakta's answer the poet expresses his own belief that he is intended to sing songs celebrating the eternal harmony of the world. It is the Lord who is producing the harmony, it is the Lord who is making him perceive the harmony, it is the Lord's joy that adds music to his songs. He concludes that the Lord takes pleasure in hearing songs of his own eternal harmony sung by His bhakta. Tagore composed hundreds of such songs, and the world has been ravished by their melody. The poet had a higher ambition. It was to portray the picture of an enchanting female character. The conception had been working in his mind. But he could see it only in the twilight of gleams and glimpses. The vision was always dimly floating in his imagination, but could never be captured. All great poets are haunted by such visions and Tagore had his own dreams.

The devotee is sublimely poetic in his speculations on the nature of the Lord as **Sarvantaryamin.** He looks upon the Lord as the sky and the nest as well, the creator and also the created. The poetic soul that is rich with colours and sounds and odours owes its essence to the Lord's love. The morning that comes with a golden light derives her beauty from the Lord. The evening that brings peace and tranquillity in her golden pitcher owes her serene influence to the Lord. As the sunbeam stands at his door the livelong day it moves the devotee to tears and sighs and songs. He sees that it is the spirit of the Lord that is animaing the whole world. It is the same spirit that is manifested in the devotee as well as in the numberless blades of grass and the tumultuous waves of leaves and flowers. It is the sptrit of the Lord that is rocked in the ocean-cradle of birth and death. The devotee is thrilled to delight as he observes how things are tossed and lost and broken in the whirl of the Lord's fearful joy. He perceives the **Nataraja's Cosmic Dance** in the rhythm with which all things rush on, seasons come dancing and pass away, and colours, tunes and perfumes pour in endless cascades. He realises that it is the Lord who severs Himself and appears in the myriad shapes of the world and that it is the Lord's self-separation that has taken body in him. It is, therefore, his firm faith that his songs flow under the Lord's inspiration, that it is the Lord who puts His enchantment upon his eyes and joyfully plays on the chords of his heart

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in varied cadence of pleasure and pain. He considers all the world as the web of the Lord's **maya** and observes that it is the illusory web that appears to him in evanescent hues of gold and silver, blue and green.

These speculations lead him to the conclusion that deliverance is not for him in renunciation. He feels the embrace of freedom in a thousand bonds of delight. He is no **Sanyasin** who would shut the doors of his senses. He would drink the wine of various colours and fragrance which the Lord pours for him. He looks upon the delights of sight and hearing and touch as the expression of the Lord's delight. He admits that they are an illusion, but he would enjoy the illusion. All his illusions will burn into illumination of joy.

So long as the devotee has his abode in this world he would certainly enjoy the festival of this world, but he knows that this world is only a place of sojourn for him. He has now a feeling that the period of his sojourn is drawing to its close. He hears a sad music calling him out into the dusk. He would go to the river at whose fording in a little boat, he believes, there is an unknown man playing upon his lute, and waiting to receive him for his voyage.

He has grown ripe with wisdom and enunciates sage views of life in this world. He teaches that while the Lord's gifts fulfil the needs of mortals, men's enjoyment of the gifts does not diminish their worth. They answer men's needs and ultimately, they serve the purpose of the Lord's worship. The devotee sees men tumultuous with toil and with struggle. He would not join the hurrying crowds, but with folded hands and humble heart he would keep standing face to face before the Lord. When his allotted work will be done in this world he will readily quit this abode and stand in all humility before the **Rajadhiraja** (King of Kings). Yet he is dissatisfied with his way of life. For he treats the Lord as his Father and bows before his feet, but fails to note that the Lord is his Brother among his brothers. He has failed to note that there is the Lord in all the men around him, that, consequently, **Manavaseva is Madhavaseva.** He holds that the true worshipper of the Lord is the person who plunges into the great waters of life.

He does not agree with people who speak of imperfection in this world. It is his view that unbroken perfection is over all.

Enlightenment has produced in the devotee utter contempt for life in the crowded markets of this world. He cares little for material gains. His one desire is to meet the Lord in his life, and if that desire is not fulfilled he would be steeped in sorrow in his dreams and in his wakeful hours. In his humility he feels that he is leading a useless life in this world. He is counting months and years, waiting for union with the Lord. But he would not be hasty to quit this world. What he desires is that he may not lead an empty life. If the Lord intends that he should continue his earthly existence for some time more, he prays that he may be made to do some work of noble note.

He has also to offer some great truths about the Lord's ways to mortals. In the past when he was idle, sometimes he grieved over lost time. But he has now understood that time is never lost. Man may spend his time in idleness, and he may leave his work incomplete. But it is brought to completion by the Lord. Hidden in the heart of things, the Lord is nourishing seeds into sprouts, buds into blossoms, and ripening flowers into fruitfulness. In the Lord's calendar time is endless. During the endless march of time, progress to perfection is slowly but surely achieved. Man may waste his time in frivolities, but it is never too late for him to follow the path of wisdom and surrender himself to the Lord.

These thoughts lead the devotee once again to reflections on the Lord's all-pervasiveness. He sees the Lord everywhere, around him. He realises that it is the Lord's self-separation that appears in all the world and gives birth to the countless shapes that appear in the infinite sky. It is the Lord's overspreading pain that produces the loves and desires, the sufferings and joys of human homes. In the words of the devotee, Tagore observes that it is this idea which lies at the core of all his poetry. Referring to the

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at men who were born in this world, did ir work and passed away, the devotee ds that their action was under the Lord's est. They came from the Lord's hall, ived their strength from Him and after y did their work they returned to Him. e world reaps the fruits of their achieve-ents.

The devotee has a foreboding that pilgrimmage is shortly to end, that th is at his door. The thought of his roaching death leads him to express his losophy of death. He looks upon death his door as the Lord's messenger. He is of elation that the Lord has sent His ssenger to him and observes that he will come and worship the messenger. For th is welcome to the devotee. He feels f he is standing on the brink of eternity prays the Lord to dip him into the ocean eternity. It is union with the Lord that s him the dip into the ocean.

He things that he has done his work in world and is now like a vessel that is pty of its contents. In a great song, ply mystic in its meaning, he describes self as a ruined temple whose bells are nt and whose lamp is unlit. Changing aphor, he represents himself as a **Vina** se strings are broken and which can no e sing praises of the Lord. He has been ing for the favour of union with the d, but the favour has been still refused. has spent the festival days in silence, for has become a ruined temple, a broken a. His place as a singer has been en by other masters of cunning art, cunning art does not make great poetry. e devotee is certain that when those ers leave this earth their songs will be ed into the holy stream of oblivion. has lost the power to sing aloud. If he s to sing he does it only in whispers, in murings of songs. He had sung many ng in which he dwelt upon the conflict een good and evil in the world. But s now an empty vessel, and he is happy the Lord is pleased to draw his heart on n. Thinkin' of his approaching death, has the satisfaction that he spent his life fully. When the Lord's messenger comes n, he will place before him all the sweet vintage of all his autumn days and summer nights; he is confident that he can give a good account of his performance as a singer in the past of his life.

The devotee considers death as the crowning point of life on the earth. The thought that death is near at hand puts him in a jubilant mood and he apostrophises it in highly poetic terms as the last fulfilment of life. During all his past life he has been looking eagerly for that fulfilment. He conceives himself as a bride, holding in her hand a garland for her bridegroom, waiting for the hour of union with the Lord. Death marks the happy hour of the bride's union with the Lord.

The devotee knows that the day is soon to come when he will leave this earth in silence. He knows, at the same time, that the death of an individual is of little consequence to the world. Stars will watch at night and morning rise as before and hours heave like sea waves casting up pleasures and pains. As the hour of his death is drawing near he is more enlightened than before, and by the light of death he has a fuller understanding of the glory of the Lord's creation. He sees the world with all its careless treasures and is filled with a profound sense that rare is its meanest of lives.

The pilgrim's progress comes to a termination when the devotee gets his leave to depart from this world. He has received his summons, and it has put him in a serenely happy frame of mind. In all humility he bows to his brothers and begs them to bid him farewell. His enlightenment makes him feel as if he has emerged out of darkness. He finds the sky flushed with the dawn and his path lying beautiful before him. To him death marks the dawning of a bright day. In preparation for union with the Lord he proposes to put on his wedding garland. He is far different in his spirit from the **Sanyasin** who travels in a red-brown dress. He holds a delightsome view of life in this world. And he is confident of a happier life in store for him. His mind is not clouded by doubts or fears about his future. He has a feeling of certainty that in the same way as the inscrutable without

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name and form had tended him in the form of his mother in this world, the Unknown will appear to him in his death also. So as he loves life in this world he will love death as well. He considers that the change from life to death is simply like the change which the child gets from the mother's right breast to the left. His life in this world has been full of delight to him, and it is his parting word that what he has seen is unsurpassable. He conceives the world as a play house of infinite forms and is thoroughly satisfied that he has had his play in it. What gives him greater satisfaction is that in this play house, he caught sight of the Lord and was thrilled by his touch.

Taking a retrospective view of his past life, he looks upon it as a play with the Lord. He has happy recollections of the days when the Lord used to call him from his sleep in the early morning and lead him from glade to glade. At such times the Lord used to sing songs to him, and though he never cared to know their meaning they filled him with such delight that his voice took up the tunes and his heart danced in their cadence.

In the retrospect he humbly admits that he could never escape unconquered. His life was a failure. He met with defeat in all his efforts. Defeat has taught him the lesson of humility. He observes that his pride will go to the wall and he will receive utter death at the Lord's feet. He does not regret that he has not been able to complete his work in this world. He knows that the work left undone by him will be instantly done by the Lord. Accordingly, he considers that humanity is engaged in a vain struggle for achievement. The devotee would be contented with his lot in life. He would silently put up with defeat and sit perfectly still where he is placed. Experience in life has made him a sadder and a wiser man. Formerly, he thought that he could not ask the Lord to come into his house, because the lamp was not lit. But he now says that if his lamps are blown out he will wait patiently to receive the Lord in the darkness. He describes himself as a weather-beaten boat. He would have no more sailing from harbour to harbour, no more of life's voyage. He is eager to die into the deathless, to obtain union with the Lord. The singer that he has been in this world, he aspires to tune his harp to the notes of forever when he will be granted admission into the Lord's audience hall. All his life-long it has been his endeavour as a singer to find the Lord. His songs guided him to the country of pleasure and pain; he studied the mystery of life in its bright and gloomy aspects. And at the end of his journey, the devotee is happy that his poetic faculty has brought him to the Lord's palace gate.

Remarking further on the nature of his work as a poet, he observes that his primary object in all his songs has been to present pictures of the Lord. People who could not understand their mystic meaning wanted him to explain his songs. But he expressed his inability to do so. His wistful reply to them was, "Ah! who knows what they mean!" He sang under the touch of inspiration. The secret gushed out from his heart. His songs are spontaneous poetry, not the product of cunning art. Such poetry has a vague suggestiveness and its meaning cannot be put into explicit terms. In the devotee's reply to his questioners we recognise the poet's hint to his readers that they are not to demand prosaic explanation of his songs.

Earlier in the poem, the devotee said that he was waiting for the hour when he might offer his silent salutation to the Lord. Now that he has seen the Formless, he closes the poem with a song of salutation in which he puts it that the adoration of the Lord is the alpha and the omega of his poetic compositions. He would spread out all his senses to appreciate the glory of the Lord's creation. His mind is laden with thoughts which crave for expression, and he would exert all the power of his mind in singing the glory of the Lord. His songs may be in diverse strains, but their ultimate purpose is the worship of the Lord. It is his final wish that his life may take its voyage to its eternal home where in all devoutness he may offer his salutation to the Lord.

The poem is profound philosophy presented in rich poetic garb. The devotee is the poet's mouth piece for the exposition of

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philosophy. He is conceived as a vessel deep emotions. His heart gives birth to erance ineffable. In the various situations which he appears he bursts into soul-ring songs. They are lyrical strains, the taneous outbursts of poetic fervour. The gs are also full of vivid imagery. The otee has the poet's love of colour. He kes colourful scenes of the situations in ch he finds himself during his life's jour-. The lyrical spirit in him glows more in-ely in the latter port of the poem where ppears as a Jnanin. When he gets know-ge of the immanence of the Lord, he is e to look **into** the world of man and of re. He is filled with poetic rapture to observe the glorious scenes of nature. In such moods of ecstasy his songs reach sublime poetic heights. Tagore has firm faith in the immanence of the Lord. To him far more than to Wordsworth the meanest flower that blows gives thoughts too deep for tears. What is merely poetic creed in the case of the western poet is the essential element of the oriental poet's religion. Religious conviction produces the effect of genuine feeling in his poetry. Gitanjali is philosophy poetized. Tagore's main purpose in the composition of the poem is the teaching of his noble philosophy, but the philosophy is transmuted by the poet's magical touch into superb poetry.

NEED AND PROSPECTS OF FOREIGN AID

By Prof. SUBHAS CHANDRA JAIN

e aim of democratic planning cannot be d economic growth alone. The material are of the people should equally be the ern of the planning authority. A dictatorial nunistic economy may neglect the welfare t in economic progress for decades together, democracy can only neglect it at its own . Therefore, planning in a democratic set-up t be for growth and welfare. The pace of opment should be rapid, but stability in the omy must not be forgotten. The social cost conomic progress must be kept to the possible imum. It is a difficult task, more so, for an erdeveloped economy like ours. But if this not done, there would be nothing particular redit to democratic planning.

An underdeveloped economy suffers from ability of its physical resources and scarcity the financial means. To mobilise the physical rces for development purposes, an ever-easing financial input becomes a necessity. e to low per capita income and saving, capital ation is not adequate for investment. essive higher rates of capital formation are conditions for a quick economic advancement. As the traditional sources are not sufficient to dynamise the capital formation, some extra sources of enhancing finance must be found out for this purpose.

Deficit financing has now been acknowledged as a peace time means for providing extra internal finances to dynamise an economy. There is however a serious flaw in this source of financing the capacity of an underdeveloped economy, for to absorb the effects of deficit financing is limited. Such an economy does not possess enough excess-capacity to facilitate a quick rise in consumer-goods, to meet the demand caused by extra purchasing power, generated by deficit financing. With the rise in investment through deficit financing, the multiple is likely to work more vigorously in monetary terms than in real terms. Money income will rise more than the real income of the people. Instability and inflationary forces will be let loose and the purpose of planning itself will be defeated. Moreover, deficit financing alone cannot meet all the financial requirements. The problem of foreign exchange remains ever there, to be tackled.

Foreign aid has been thought to be a safer

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method of breaking the initial stagnation of an underdvloped economy. This will provide extra source of finance for investment and much-needed foreign exchange for purchasing capital goods and technical know-how. This would also improve the capacity of the country to absorb the unstable effects of deficit financing. The assistance made available from foreign countries can very well be utilised in importing essential goods to increase the inelastic domestic supply. Thus, foreign aid may serve both the purposes of stability and growth without causing much strain on the people.

India has been placed in a bit comfortable position in terms of getting foreign co-operation, due to our policy of following a middle course, both in political and economic spheres. We are enjoying the sympathy of two competitive major blocks of the world. We are getting substantial economic aid from both the parties. The capitalist or democratic block has sympathy with us as we represent the largest democracy. They are keenly interested in us as they realise, that if we fail in our economic attempt, democracy will fail with us. The socialist block and particularly Russia is interested in helping us, as we adopted the system of planning to fulfil an avowed object of establishing a Socialistic Pattern of Society. So they have also felt some-sort of kinship with our programmes and policies, which have impelled them to provide us considerable amount of aid. This is something which due to a peculiar Indian characteristic based on a broad universal outlook of synthesis.

While, admitting the indispensability of foreign resources in the development of an expanding economy, there may be a few proud nationalists, who dislike the term aid, which connotes charity or begging. They may argue, why foreign aid? Why not foreign trade? No one, who has the slightest amount of self-respect, will disagree with this honourable proposition. But before jumping to any conclusion let us be clear about the proper meaning of the term foreign aid in this context. In fact, foreign aid is neither charity nor generous response to begging, but a major portion of it, is a kind of pure and simple loan, granted by economically developed nations to their underdeveloped counterparts, on the give and take basis. The terms are generally liberal depending on the capability of the indebted party to repay the amount. One should call it a fair business transaction for long-term mutual benefit under the circumstances prevailing around the world. Besides the help received under the P.L. 480 and similar other programmes, out of the total amount of Rs. 2819.3 crores received till March 1963 only, Rs. 297.4 crores were, in terms grants and the rest, Rs. 2521.9 crores were of outright long-term loans.

To receive large doses of foreign aid for productive purposes in time of need is not at all a sign of weakness, on the contrary it speaks favourably of the credit-worthiness of the country getting it. We cannot agree that the self-respect of any nation is at stake in receiving foreign aid, as this has become a normal feature with the world economy. Even war-devasted Europe, could be rebuilt with generous American aid under the Marshall-Plan. With the only exception of the U.S.S.R., no nation could cross the boundary of backwardness without one or other kind of foreign aid. The U.S.S.R. could do without foreign assistance due to its helplessness. It had tried to get foreign co-operation, after the red revolution, but could not succeed in procuring it. Under the force of the circumstances it was compelled to undertake the work of economic development exclusively by itself and at such a heavy social cost which no democratic country can meet.

Foreign trade may be a dignified way for getting foreign exchange resources, and the developed countries may go in for co-operation with the underdeveloped nations. They may import liberally and extensively from the developing countries, so as to provide them that much of trade surpluses which will answer their development requirements. In the long run this would be the only course open for both the parties but in the initial stages of development, the underdeveloped countries are handicapped in this respect due to scarcity of exportable surpluses. Therefore, till a stage of self-sustaining economy is not reached, the much-required foreign exchange will have to be secured through foreign assistance in the form of loans, grants and foreign investments etc.

Before the second world war, movement of private capital on private account was the primary source of getting foreign finance for economic progress in a developing country. The sources and the ways of this sort of finance were

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always welcomed by importing countries. was generally used to subserve the ialistic ends of advanced nations and was looked upon as a source of foreign ation and exploitation of underdeveloped tries. Now, the situation has undergone a plete change. A large part of foreign aid is ded on inter-governmental basis and move- of private capital does not play a very ficant role in providing foreign finance. to the political emancipation of a large ber of undeveloped countries and the active ipation of their governments in economic opment, the role of private capital has me secondary. Moreover, the field of ation for foreign private capital has restricted to an area where special skill is ired and domestic resources are not forth- ing.

It should not be assumed that undeveloped omics are not recognising the role of private gn capial in their economic struggle. ainly, some of them are trying to evolve a ite policy to attract it. Though their pre- ces and passions against foreign capitalists hindering the process, and so, favourable s and conditions, to pursuade large number foreign investors, are still awaited, neverthe- the participation of foreign capital, so far, not at all disheartening. For example, in a, the private sector has entered into various ements for foreign collaborations, for estab- g new lines of production. The foreign laborators have generally agreed to supply t and machinery, to delegate their skilled l for erecting, supervising and operating the t for a time, and to train the Indian per- el for the successful operation of the factory the end. Some private foreign establishments e also sprung up independently and are doing business successfully. But, judging from the t of view of the development requirements, e investments fall short of our needs. The ons for this state of affairs are not very ult to cite. The taxation policy of the rnment, the notorious bureaucratic delays in g any scheme sanctioned by Government, quate port facilities for loading and unload- the goods, and the constant fear of nation- tions, are some of the important discourage- s for potential foreign investors. On the whole, it should frankly be admitted that the present political and economic climate in nearly all backward economics is not very conducive to the liberal expansion of the private sector and particularly, more sensitive foreign investors. Unless, some radical changes are brought out in the policies of these nations, much cannot be expected from this source of finance.

With the soaring urge for economic freedom in the undeveloped countries, fortunately the political and economic thinking all over the world has undergone a substantial charge. Prosperity and poverty have begun to be considered as indivisible. The economic development of a country is primarily, not its own concern. The other countries are also keenly interested, not only in the actual development but also in the methods adopted therefor. The Government to Government basis foreign aid transactions have become the major source of foreign finance. The backward nations are generally favouring this sort of foreign co-operation, even though a good deal of precautions are taken from both the sides about the nature and forms of inter governmental aid traensactions. Usually, they materialize after long and patient negotiations between two governments. The finance provided by the international institutions like I.M.F. and I.B.R.D. is also of similar nature generally, the recipient countries are very cautious that their political and economic policies are not influenced by these aids. Thus, theoretically, there remain little possibility of political domination and economic exploitation. In practice, one cannot help discerning a selfish motive behind various kinds of libeeral aids. Their bounty is also intended to win them previleges and certain advantages over the less developed countries, in addition, to the security against the revolutionary and contra revolutrionary consequenees of abject poverty and want.

It is a well known fact, that foreign aid makes a meaningful countribution to national development, only in those countries which are willing and able to mobilize their own resources. The role of foreign help can only be complementary. No economic development can be lasting, which is not based on an active mobilization of national resources. The development of a country is, primarily, the responsibility of the people of that country. If the people are determined to

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remodel suitably their existing economic and social institutions, the foreign co-operation and all other things become secondary in the process. In such cases the foreign aid may provide the decisive margin for success. When the necessary effort is lacking the effects of foreign aid may not be even positive. Much depends, no doubt, upon the initiative, intensive desire and vigorous efforts of the people of a country. If this is there, the secondary position of foreign assistance turns to be of prime importance at least, in the initial stages of development. As it is an era of rapid technological and scientific changes, with the heavy back log of backwardness, no primitive economy can make quick and substantial development possible without some sort of foreign help.

The amount of foreign aid made available to, and required by, a developing economy mainly depends upon two factors ; first, the capacity of donor countries to part with their surplus capital funds for this purpose. The combined gross national income of the developed nations, now, comes to $ 900 billion annually. If only two percent of this amount were loaned for giving aid each year to the less developed nations, the gap between the rich and poor nations would be lessened in a manner, that profits both givers and receivers, adds to the self respect of each and turns this world to an infinitely safer and better place for all of us. When more than half of the world is suffering the pangs of hunger and degenerating poverty, the U.S.A. alone is spending nearly 4000 crores in the space race annually. During the year 1962 $150 billions were spent on armaments. If the tensions created by cold war could be lessened, much of this expenditure could be utilised for economic development of backward nations. This is all about the capacity of the nations to supply foreign finance. Willingness of the donor countries may also affect the supply position. We cannot take it for granted, as in the year 1963. The American Senate has shown considerable reluctance in accepting the aid programme presented by the administration of that country. But, this aspect of the supply position depends upon some subjective consideration, which are unstable and very difficult to predict.

The other equally important factor is the potential demand for economic development. If we try to measure this need in absolute terms, there is no limit to it. To have a clearer perspective we should assess it in a relative term. Relatively speaking, we must have before us, a given period of time, and targets of economic progress to be achieved within this period ; for example, during the Third Five Year Plan for achieving envisaged targets, we may point out our foreign exchange need and say that out of our total foreign exchange need, this much would be required in terms of foreign aid and the rest may be managed through the surpluses of foreign trade. These estimates will naturally depend upon the capacity of an economy to utilize foreign resources. This, in turn, will depend upon the extent of availability of other internal resources. The country cannot absorb more foreign aid than permitted by its physical limitations. That is the reason, we in India have stipulated the demand for foreign assistance to a limited amount in our various five year Plans, but with the successive Plans our need is becoming much greater. This trend shows the rising level of economic development countributed by our planning, which has increased the availability of internal resources and has also improved to absorb more and more of foreign aid.

The First Five Year Plan was not a plan in the true sense of the term. It was merely a preparation for actual planning. The main attention was given to the achievement of economic stabality by removing the shortage of foodgrains and raw materials. Due to the agricultural bias in this plan, large scale industries were deliberately neglected. Since we were not very much sincere towards the industrial targets, no explicit ideas about foreign aid requirements could be formed at the time of drafting. After assessing the internal availability of financial resources a gap of Rs. 521 crores was left and it was expected to be bridged by external assistance, additional borrowing and extra deficit financing, if required. It is to be noted that foreign aid made available during the plan period was Rs. 296 crores. Out of this only Rs. 188 crores could be utilised during the Plan and the rest was carried forward for the Second Plan.

The Second Plan was the first bold attempt in the economic field. It was an ambitious Plan. The industrial sector was alloted the place of pride in this Plan. More emphasis was placed on heavy and basic industries than consumer goods industries. The heavy and basic industries require a huge capital outlay, a substantial part of which is financeed through foreign exchange resources.

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is the reason, why a larger amount of Rs. 800 ores in the Second Plan was envisaged as the eign assistance target, to fulfil its obligations. ring the execution of the Plan foreign exchange d was found to be under-estimated ; and so, tic attempts were put-in to make these resources ger than envisaged, so that the hard core of Plan could be completed.

Thanks to the generous help rendered by ndly nations, the stress and strain caused the foreign exchange crisis could be relieved a greater extent and the Plan could be saved m a major failure. The total amount of foreign received for the Plan purposes, during the iod was Rs. 1090 crores, and Rs. 290 crores e received more than the amount fixed in the n. Besides, this very valuable assistance under L. 480 agreement was also received from the S.A., which had assisted us not only in saving scarce foreign exchange but also helped the ernment in stabilizing the economy.

The Third Plan is nearly equal in size to h the proceeding plans taken together. Besides, culture, heavy and basic industries have also n accorded top priority in this Plan. There- e, foreign exchange need has been estimated Rs. 3200 crores. Out of this amount Rs. 2200 ores have been sought to be received through eign assistance and the rest will be made ilable by export surpluses and balance utili- on. At the time of drafting the Plan, some derates had doubted the realisation of such a h target of foreign aid, and perhaps now, in r view, the greater need caused by the rgency would render it impossible. But, the r in which friendly countries are showing their rest in helping us would show this to be a dless apprehension.

During the three years of the Third Five Year n, very heartening response has come in this ect. More and more countries are showing r readiness to assist us. To remove the un- ainly factor from foreign aid programme to e extent, democratic countries have formed the India Club for this country. Now our planners more assured of some sort of consistency and ainty about the flow of foreign assistance. will certainly improve our planning as we l be able to use this aid properly and fully thinking out utilization plans before hand. The made available by various countries of Aid India Club during the three years of the Plan is shown as follows in million dollars.

Name of the Countries	1961-62	1962-63	1963-64
Austria	—	5	7.00
Belgium	—	10	10.00
Canada	28	33	30.50
France	15	45	20.00
Germany	225	139	99.50
Italy	—	53	45.00
Japan	50	55	65.00
Holland	—	11	11.10
The U.K.	182	84	84.00
The U.S.A.	545	435	435.00
World Bank & I.D.A.	250	200	245.00
Total :	1295	1070	1052.10
Plus extra consortium	—	—	Plus 60.00
			1112.10

The total aid from Aid India Club during the Three Years of the Third Plan comes to Rs. 1576.9 crores. Though, at the first sight, it appears that the aid is subjected to law of diminishing returns as, it is lowest in the third year of the plan, yet, if we add 60 millions extra consortium aid to it, the figure will turn out to be greater than in the previous year. Still, it is lower than the amount of 1250 million sought by us. Besides the democratic nations, we are also getting very valuable aid from communist countries particularly from the U.S.S.R. The total contribution of Russia in the First and Second Five Year Plans was Rs. 64.7 and 320.2 crores respectively. The major portion of aid promised in the Second Plan will be utilized in the Third. Besides this, Russia and other East European Countries are collaborating with the Public Sector in establishing heavy and basic industries in the Third Plan.

The biggest contributor of foreign aid has been the U.S.A., if we include the Plan and non-plan foreign aids together. The U.S.A. had contributed Rs. 214.6 and Rs. 1927.1 crores respectively to the First and Second Five Year Plans. Even for the Third Five Year Plan she has assured us of her contribution, equal to the rest of the nations of Aid India Club. Russia is the foremost nation in the communist

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block. It is providing various type of precious aid in spite of our strained relations with China. The membership of World Bank and of its constituents has also been very rewarding to us. The bank called the meetings of Aid India Club and has managed to induce the members to provide us their liberal assistance.

It has been our constant endeavour to get soft and untied loans besides the assurance of continuity. Those loans are generally considered soft for which, nil or insignificant rate of interest is to be paid and they are to be repaid, after a considerable period of time and in terms of the currency of the borrower country. It means the lender country would have to buy the goods and services of the debtor country and this leads to increase in the export trade of such a country. It appears that, our efforts in getting these loans are bearing some fruit. The most remarkable aspect of this year's loans from Aid India Club is that, they are offered on more liberal terms and conditions. More than fifty per cent of them are not tied to a specific project. This will improve our position in utilizing them in a better way and lighten our future burden in terms of repayments. Now, lesser amounts of aid will remain unused and assets alredy created will not starve of essential raw materials and components. It appears now that the position in respect of availability of foreign resources is not so gloomy, as was depicted by some at the beginning of the Plan. The picture is also not rosy to the extent, that we may assume complacency about it. As increasing numbers of newly independent countries are entering into the foreign aid market, the demand for foreign aid will naturally increase. Unless the sources of supply also increased, the imbalance between them might create a problem.

At present also, all is not well with the ways in which foreign aid is offered and received. The greatest single drawback of foreign aid, is still lingering with it. The recipient countries are still not sure of its continuity for a required period of time. Not only volume but the nature of foreign aid is also an uncertain factor. Consequently, the optimum out-comes could not be achieved through it. Though donor countries are slowly realising these difficulties of recipients, yet, so far they have been unable to help effectively in the direction. Substantial parts of the foreign assistance is still in the form of tied loans. Directly or indirectly political motives also play their part in its fluctuations. This is one of the important reasons that foreign assistance in some cases failed to deliver goods. If all these aid programmes are canalised or co-ordinated through some international agency, these defects can easily be done away with, and better and effective utilization of foreign aid will be possible. This sort of arrangement will be beneficial for both the parties and then the recipient country will not be unnecessarily suspicious about the motives of donor countries and the creditor countries will also be fully assured against the risk of its repayment.

The average rate of foreign aid which India is getting has gone up from Rs. 75 crores per annum in the first to Rs. 600 crores, in the Third Five Year Plan. There is a point, beyond which, it will never be advisible to increase this rate. After all, foreign aid should not only be considered as an asset in the process of economic development. It is also an ever-increasing liability. We will have to repay it after a time. We must try our best to reduce our dependence on foreign aid to the minimum, so that, we may be really free to chalk out economic schemes as they are best suited to our need. It must also be seen that whatever, we are getting in terms of foreign aid, should be utilized in such a way, that the maximum result is achieved out of it, so that, at the time of repayment we shall improve our economic position to such an extent that we may easily be able to discharge our obligations. We shall not be out of the wood until we reached a position where our country could do without all sorts of these aids and increase our exportable surplus to that level, where we can meet all the repayment obligations and development demand out of it.

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EAST INDIAN IMMIGRATION INTO AMERICA

Beginnings of Indian Revolutionary Activity

By Prof. KALYAN KUMAR BANERJEE

It is only in recent years that some attention has been paid to the organized activity of Indians resident in foreign countries for the cause of India's self-government and freedom. People interested in the story of the gradual evolution of India's freedom movement, have, of course, been familiar with the efforts of individuals like Dadabhai Naoroji, Madame Cama, Shyamaji Krishnavarma, V. D. Savarkar, Madanlal Dhingra and others. Later, India's cause abroad was gathered by Tilak, Lajpat Rai, Bepin Chandra and a host of other patriots. After the emergence of Gandhi's leadership Indian nationalists became more vocal, eloquent and persuasive in Great Britain and the United States of America. As the Gandhian movement grew in intensity and volume, public opinion abroad became more and more sympathetic to our national aspirations. Groups and individuals working for the Indian cause succeeded in creating a better understanding of the Indian issues.

The task of the Indian patriots working abroad in pre-Gandhi era was comparatively difficult. For one thing, no broadbased political struggle on a national scale had been organized at home. For another, Indian patriots working in England would meet with hostility, and, others working in a country like the United States would most likely, meet with indifference and apathy—initially at least. The political relationship between India and England was not conducive to work of this nature. Besides, there was in the tendency, in the first decade of the current century, a wave of extremist views accompanied by the cult of violence. Indian nationalists in England were political suspects. In January 1905, Shyamaji Krishnavarma[1] "—started in London the India Home Rule Society—and issued the first number of the *Indian Sociologist*, a penny monthly, as the organ of his Society. In that paper he describes the Society as having the object of securing Home Rule for India, and carrying on genuine Indian propaganda in England by all constitutable means."[2] The India House, an adjunct to the Society, became in 1906 and 1907, "notorious as a centre of sedition, and in July 1907, a question was put in the House of Commons inquiring whether the Government proposed to take any action against Krishnavarma. Soon after, and probably in consequence of this enquiry he left for Paris and took up his residence there."[3]

The situation was different in the United States. The people there were not directly involved in India's struggle for emancipation. By and large, they were uninformed and uninterested. The few that knew about it were, by virtue of their historical traditions and democratic instinct, favourable to the Indian aspirations. There was, however, an animosity bred not by ideology but by racial issues. It was the result of a rise in the volume of East Indian immigration at the turn of the century. Most of these Indians came by way of the Pacific Ocean and spread out in the states of California, Oregon and Washington. A good number crossed into the United States from Canada.

The great majority of the Indians coming to Canada in the early years of this century belonged to the Punjab. This is also true of the west coast of the United States. A few came from Gujrat, Oudh and Bengal and some other parts.[4] The first to arrive in British Columbia in Canada came in response to an appeal made for agricultural immigrants.[5] Immigration received an impetus because of the readiness with which some steamship companies sold tickets in their own interests, the propaganda of certain Canadian business concerns with a view to getting cheap labour, the activities of some Indians who wanted their own countrymen for exploitative purposes, and the persuasion of other Indians in Canada who highlighted the industrial opportunities of the new land for the benefit of their friends and relations. Some of these Indians had travelled through Canada after the celebration of the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria's reign in 1897, and were impressed by the economic opportunities there. Although the majority of the

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immigrants to the Pacific were directly from India, some arrived from Burma, Shanghai, Hongkong and also from China where they had been either in the police or the army, or, had worked as watchmen or contractors. It has been suggested that some of the immigrants from the Punjab were encouraged to come to the Pacific coast by the stories of freedom, prosperity and a congenial climate, particularly in California.[6]

To the Indian immigrants western Canada, being a part of the British Empire, made an easy appeal, and the province of British Columbia was chosen by them. The initial reaction of the local people to these small groups of strange foreigners was one of contemptuous indifference. With the increase in the number of the Indian settlers, however, anti-Indian feelings came up on the surface. Indifference gave way to resistance. Some Indians escaped to the United States. There were riots and the "immigrants were forced by the mob to re-enter Canada."[7] This hostility was born out of a conviction that the Indians were being imported into the new Continent by the capitalists to lower the scale of wages and cripple the strength of white labour. The conviction though untenable in many cases in view of the size of the countries involved, and the scarcity of labour there, persisted. It led to many frictions. Behind all this lay the annoyance of the white man with the colour of the immigrant's skin, his incomprehensible habits and the policies of the concerned Governments. " . . . . The policy of exclusion of Indians (called Hindus in America) originated through British initiative as early as 1907-08 when the Canadian authorities shamefully ill-treated the Indian immigrants and advocated exclusion of Indians from Canada. The present Prime Minister of Canada, Mr. Mackenzie King, was the first to put forward this idea. The Canadian authorities, with the approval of the British Government in England and possibly with the full sanction of the India Office, made the proposal to the American authorities that they should exclude Indians as they had excluded the Chinese. This proposition was presented demi-officially, as I was told on excellent authority, by Lord Bryce, the then English ambassador in Washington. This proposition was made after a riot occured in the city of Bellingham (Washington State) when several Hindu labourers, working in the saw mills were mobbed by Americans. These Hindu labourers once belonged to the Indian army, and they sought assistance from the British Consul at Seattle, which was flatly refused."[8]

The following extracts culled from the columns of an American newspaper may give us some idea of the situation. Incidentally, the reporter or contributor is an Englishman who investigated the Asiatic problem on the Pacific coast. "I watched the Dominin Immigration Officer at Vancouver examine 183 Indians one morning. He is a kindly man, and the struggle between his humane impulses and the orders he had received from his superiors made his work painful to him." The reporter then describes how veteran Sikh soldiers with war medals and distinguished military service record were barred entry into Canada because they were short of the dollar requirement (which was $25 for each person) by a narrow margin. These and other Indians, "were herded together in quarters not fit for animals . . . . Later, they were allowed to land, but they were not welcomed in barbar shops and other places. The report contains stories of other Indians who were subjected to mob violence in Canada and the United States, and with reference to the particularly sad plight of a Mota Singh, the reporter observes, "that he and other Indians were easy subjects for the agitators is obvious."[9] The reporter also narrates the plight of an Indian scholar who in the course of his visit to America to study the educational systems of Canada and the United States, was pelted by some hoodlums.

Not that all Canadians were hostile to the Indian immigrant. Even the Immigration Officer for Vancouver, Dr. Alexander S. Munro remarked in a leading newspaper of the city, "It is a shame these 'Hindoos' are treated as they have been." Groups of men and women stood by the side of the Indians.[10] But racial prejudice was deep-rooted.

Hindustani immigration into Canada was on the increase till 1908. The figures for the fiscal years 1905, 1906, 1907 and 1908 were 45, 387, 2124, and 2623 respectively, making a total of 5179. The figures for 1909, 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913, 1914, and 1915 were 6, 10, 5, 3, 5, 88 and 1 respectively.[11] From 1909 to 1920 only 118 Indians came to Canada. The contrast between the figures of 1908 and 1909 is revealing. A Royal Commission in 1907 recommended the exclusion or restriction of oriental labour includ-

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the Indians. Next year, the question of ian immigration was particularly discussed by nada's Deputy Minister of Labour with the ish Government. As a result, certain measures e adopted whereby Indian labour was practi- y excluded from Canada, although the Hindus e not specifically mentioned in the Canadian migration Act or even in the Orders of the ernor-General in Council. Section 38 of the migration Act provided for the exclusion of any migrants, "who have come to Canada other- e than by continuous journey from the ntry of which they are natives or citizens, and n through tickets purchased in that country." r an Indian it was almost impossible to satisfy s condition. By an order-in-Council dated June 1908, "the amount of money in possession uired in the case of East Indian labourers upon ding was increased from $25 to $200."[12] No der that immigration figures after 1908 istered such a sharp decline.

The immigration restrictions in Canada had r natural reactions in India. Strong exception s taken to the 'continuous journey clause,' and e 28th session of the Indian National Congress d at Karachi in 1913 urged the Imperial ernment for its repeal. The Congress said, e order in question has practically the effect preventing any Indian not already settled there Canada), from going to Canada, inasmuch as e is no direct steamship service between the countries and the steamship companies e through booking, and further subject the sent Indian settlers in Canada to great hard- by precluding them from bringing over wives and children."[13] In 1913 again, three delegates from Canada visited the Punjab addressed meetings on the subject of Indians Canada.[14]

One important sequal to the Canadian igration Act was the episode which though gic, is symptomatic of the misundertanding, icion and hostility that characterized Indo- ish relations for the major part of the first of this century. This was the famous agata Maru incident. One Gurdit Singh, in rence to the Continuous Journey Clause tered a ship, the Komagata Maru, through a agent at Hongkong, issued tickets and passengers there and at Shanghai, Moji and hama for Vancouver. The vessel sailed out Hongkong on April 4, 1914, and arrived at Vancouver on May 23. The immigrants[15] were refused admission into Canada and the vessel was ordered out of the port. Tempers were frayed. The passengers insisted on their right to land since they were British subjects. Meanwhile a balance of 22,000 dollars still due for the hire of the ship was paid by the Vancouver Indians. Representations to the Canadian and the British Governments were of no avail. There were scuffles with the police. Finally, in the face of armed resistance the ship withdraw on July 23. The whole affair had cost the immigrants about $70,000 and had put them to great hardship and sufferings.[16]

As the ship sailed back the First World War broke out. The Komagata Maru, under official instructions, had to proceed directly to Calcutta despite the reluctance of many passengers to return to India. The ship was moored at Budge Budge near Calcutta at 11 A.M. on September 29. The Government took its stand on a recently enacted Ordinance which empowered it to restrict the liberty of any person coming to India after September 5, 1914. The passengers were ordered to entrain a special train to the Punjab. The restrictive order led to a riot and violence in which firearms were used by both parties and there was loss of lives on both sides. According to official records less than 80 people could be got off in the train that evening. Many, including Gurdit Singh, disappeared. Others were arrested then, or, later. This account which follows the official version[17] has been challenged by Gurdit Singh.[18]

The Komagata Maru incident caused a deep resentment amongst the Indians of the west coast of the U.S.A. and Canada and also their countrymen at home. It strengthened the hands of the revolutionaries, "who were urging Sikhs abroad to return to India and join the mutiny, which they asserted, was about to begin."[19] The Canadian Immigration Laws were, of themselves, considered humiliating. Now an incident had been touched off in Canada followed by more humiliation for the Indians on their way back till the climax had been reached at Budge Budge. A few years before this incident, an Indian administrator is reported to have told the Vancouver newspaper reporters, "Both races (Canadians and Indians) revere the same flag. Do not aid the cause of the disloyal agitator in India."[20] This is exactly what had been done.

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It has been seen that the problem of Indian immigration to Canada and of that to the United States were interlinked. It is quite likely that some Indians crossed into the U.S. from Canada. Long before this, the entry of Indians in the United States is for the first time registered in the official records of 1859. The number is 2, followed by 5 and 6 in 1860 and 1861 respectively.[21] From 1820 to June 30, 1910, 27,918,992 immigrants were admitted to the United States. Of this number 92.3 per cent came from the European countries (including Turkey in Asia).[22] During the same period immigrants coming from India numbered 5,409.[23] The total number of Asian immigrants was 613,236 as against 25,421,929 coming from Europe. The rest of the grand total came from other parts of the world. For various reasons into which it is not necessary to go, the U.S. Immigration Commission made in 1910, the recommendation that "an understanding should be reached with the British Government whereby East Indian labourers would be effectively prevented from coming to the United States . . . . In asking for an agreement of this kind, our Government would merely request the British Government to do for United States what it has done for one of its dependencies."[24] This was followed by a bill in 1914 for the exclusion of the Indians from America[25] and had its logical climax in the "Barred Zone Immigration Act" of 1917 which stopped labour immigration from India.[26]

The total number of Indians living in Canada and the United States could hardly have exceeded about 10,000 on the eve of the war. Since many had left some time after arrival, the number was likely to be less.[27] Quite a few of the Pacific Coast Indians had become rich by taking to farming and business. The Indians lived as a failrly compact group. Many were politically conscious because of the stirrings back at home and also because of the environment in America. A few years of stay in the United States exposed them to the ideas of freedom and democracy. They could analyse the reasons for the differential treatment between them and the Japanese or the Chinese by the American Government. The humiliation and resentment were deeper in Canada. But the climate of the United States was more congenial to the organization of an anti-British agitation. Thus San Francisco became a centre, first of agitational and subsequently of conspiratorial activity.

San Francisco was not, however, the first centre of pro-Indian political agitation. In America the cause of India seems to have been first advocated by Taraknath Das of Bengal and the sympathizers with his cause. They published as early as 1908, the *Free Hindustan* which seems to have been the "first regular South Asian propaganda sheet" in that country. It is interesting to note that the *Gaelic American* in its issue of December 25, 1909, had a leaderette on 'Indian Revolutionary Papers.' After referring to the *Indian Sociologist* of London, the *Gaelic American* said; "The next paper to appear was the *Free Hindustan*, which was first published at Seattle, Washington, and latterly at New York. The last number had on its first page the reproduction from a photograph of a number famine victims, piled for cremation under the heading, 'British Rule in India' . . . ."[28] Das had this monthly magazine printed and distributed from New York, "with the collaboration of a leading Irish American publisher who worked for the independence of Ireland and sympathized with the Indian cause. For nearly three years Das' publication flourished. Tolstoy and Hyndman, the British socialist, took an interest in his writings." Later, as the instance of the British the American authorities stopped *Free Hindustan*.[29]

Das was a political suspect in India. A few more like him took refuge in America. A very distinguished of these was Har Dayal, a native of Delhi, who was educated at St. Stephen's College, Delhi, and in Lahore. Har Dayal proceeded to England after obtaining his Master's degree in Lahore in 1905. He was awarded a State Scholarship for three years and jointed St. John's College, Oxford. He surrendered his scholarship after some time because, "he disapproved of the English system of education in India,"[30] came back to Lahore in 1908 where he preached "passive resistance and boycott, thus anticipating Gandhi by ten years."[31] He returned to London and at the invitation of Krishnavarma went to Paris about September, 1909, to become editor of the *Banda Mataram*, a monthly organ of Indian independence, published nominally from Geneva.[32] The two had their differences and within a year Har Dayal left Paris. He had failed to persuade Krishnavarma "to adopt violent methods in the furtherance of political ends" and, "determined

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transfer the centre of his activities to America."[33] It is difficult to say how far his belief in passive resistance was genuine. It may be interesting to recall, however, that Har Dayal died a pacifist in 1939. And by then many of his views had undergone striking changes.

Har Dayal may have returned to India for a while[34] but in 1911 we find him in California after having travelled through Honolulu. Martinique and the Philippines. He received an appointment at Stanford University as Lecturer in Sanskrit and Indian Philosophy—a position which he held for a year only—for he was dismissed in the spring of 1912 for "overplaying his relationship with the University."[35] The reason is rather vague. It is likely that he had to quit for his radical views. It may be noted that Har Dayal became secretary of the San Francisco Radical Club and founded the Bakunin Institute of California.[36]

The records of the San Francisco and the Hindore Conspiracy trials and the Indian Sedition Committee Report (1918) devote considerable attention to Har Dayal as the arch organizer and teacher of sedition in America till March 1914 and then during the war in Berlin. He undoubtedly played a major role and mentally prepared the Pacific Coast Indians for a major conflict between England and Germany. More than six months before the outbreak of the war, Har Dayal at a meeting at Sacramento told the audience of a coming war between the Powers and asked the audience to be ready to go to India for the coming revolution.[37] Many such meetings were held before and after this particular one, and one of these, perhaps in the spring of 1913, at Oregon, was organized the Pacific Coast Hindustani Association. Its objects were primarily political, the most important being the expulsion of the British from India. The meeting decided to have a press and a weekly newspaper. The newspaper was called '*Gadar*' which in Arabic means revolution or mutiny. The Seventh Report on Un-American Activities in California published in 1953 most curously says that the word means traitor![38] The first issue of the paper was published in Urdu on November 1, 1913 with Har Dayal as editor, and contained the following paragraph :

"A new epoch in the history of India opens today, the 1st November, 1913, because today the battle begins in foreign lands, but in our country's language, a war against the English-Raj. What is our name ? Mutiny. What is our work ? Mutiny. Where will mutiny break out ? In India. When ? In a few years. Why ? Because the people can no longer bear the oppression and tyranny practiced under British rule, and are ready to fight and die for freedom . . . . The whole world is waiting to see when these brave men will rise and destroy the English. Serve your country with body, mind and wealth. Give this advice to all, and follow it yourselves. The time is soon to come when rifle and blood will take the place of pen and ink . . . . Brave men and worthy sons of India, be ready with bullets and swords. Soon, the fate of the tyrant will be decided on the battle-field."[39] Exciting developments were to follow.

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1. Krishnavarma, a native of Kathiawar near Bombay was educated at Oxford. After being called to the Bar he returned to India, worked in responsible positions in several Indian feudal states and then went back to England. See Indulal Yajnik, *Shyamaji Krishnavarma*, Bombay, 1950.

2. *Indian Sedition Committee Report* (1918), p. 5.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

4. Rajani Kanta Das, *Hindustan Workers on the Pacific Coast* (Berlin : Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1923), p. 3. This study was undertaken by Das as the special agent of the Bureau of Labour Statistics of the Department of Labour, U.S. Government in 1921-22.

5. M. W. Smith and H. W. Boulter, "Sikh Settlers in Canada,"—*Asia and the Americans*, August, 1944.

6. Das, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-7 ; Gurdial Singh, "East Indians in the United States,"—Sociology and Social Research—30 (Jan.-Feb., 1946) ; Theodore Fieldbrave, "East Indians in the United States,"—*Missionary Review*, June, 1934.

"The investigation by the Deputy Minister of Labour (W. L. Mackenzie King) showed that most of the immigration had 0been induced by the activity of certain steamship companies and their agents, by the distribution of literature throughout some of the rural districts of India from which most of the labourers came, exaggerating the opportunities of fortune making in the province of British Columbia, and by the representatives of a few individuals in British Columbia who had induced a number to work for hire."—Harry A. Mills, East Indian Immigration to British Columbia and the Pacific Coast States,—*American Economic Review* 1, (March 1911).

The Bombay Consul reported that these North American Companies placed their advertise-

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ments as far South as Bombay. E. R. Schmidt, American relations with South Asia, 1900-1940 (doctoral dissertation for the University of Pennsylvania, 1955), p. 278.

7. For an assessment of the situation, see St. Nihal Singh, "Indians in America," *The Modern Review*, Calcutta, March 1908.

8. Article by Elizabeth S. Kite, *The Modern Review*, February 1927, p. 169.

9. *The New York Times*, December 19, 1915, sec. 6, 1 :1.

10. St. Nihal Singh, *op. cit.*

11. Quoted by Das from official Canadian records, *op. cit.*, pp. 4-6.

12. Reports of the Immigration Commission, vol. 2, Washington, 1911, p. 629. Harry A. Mills, *op. cit.*

In the previous years (1901 to 1905) the British Columbia Immigration Act and similar legislation had been disallowed by Canada's Governor-General, Earl Minto.

13. Sitaramayya, *The History of the Indian National Congress*, vol. 1, p. 49.

14. *Indian Sedition Committee Report*, 1918, p. 146.

15. The number of passengers varies in the different accounts. The accounts are conflicting also. According to the Sedition Committee Report there were 351 Sikhs and 21 Punjabi Muhammadans on board the ship when it reached Vancouver (p. 147). O'Dwyer in his—*India As I Knew It*—puts the number at 'some four hundred Sikhs and sixty Muhammadans.' When the ship came back to Hooghly. (p 192). Sitaramayya puts the number at 600. (pp. 49-50). According to R. K. Das Singh brought 375 Hindustanees to Vancouver. (*op. cit.*, p. 112).

16. Das, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

17. *Sedition Committee Report*, pp. 146-48.

18. R. C. Majumdar, *The History of the Freedom Movement in India*, vol. 2, pp. 463-67. Majumdar refers to a book by Baba Gurdit Singh (which the former does not name) and a subsequent memorandum in which Singh refutes the contention of the Government. According to Singh, he and the party complied with every provision of the Immigration Law and it was because of British instruction that the passengers were not allowed to disembark in Canada. Singh challenges the accusation that the passengers used firearms at Budge Budge, since as he maintains, they were searched several times and their luggage was taken away by the police. It is inconceivable how after so much of vigilance the passengers had 'American revolvers' with them. Singh calls the Budge Budge incident a cruel massacre.

Gurdit sing was a fugitive for 7 or 8 years after this incident wandering through various parts of India. In 1918, he went to Bombay and became manager of a Ship Building Co., somewhere outside the city under the name Valdaraja. In his exile, he saw Gandhiji in November 1921, and surrendered to the Government under his advice. Sitaramayya, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

19. *Sedition Committee Report*, pp. 148-49.

20. *The New York Times*, *op. cit.*

21. Reports of the Immigration Commission, Vol. 1 (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1911), p. 79.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 23.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 65.

24. Harry A. Mills, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

25. For a statement of the Indian case, see the *Modern Review* for June 1914, pp. 624-28.

26. The 'barred zone' consisted of India, Siam, Indo-China, parts of Siberia, most of the islands of the Malaya Archipelago, Afghanistan and Arabia with an estimated population of five hunderd million people. An exception was made in favour of travellers, officials and students.

27. Majumdar, exaggerates the number when he says, "By 1910 there were about thirty thousand Indian workers between Vancouver and San Francisco . . . ." *op. cit.*, p. 389, John W. Preston U.S. District Attorney in the San Francisco trial refers to ". . . . the 8,000 population of Hindus that live up and down this coast." United States of America *vs.* Franz Bopp et el. Reporter's transcript. (hereafter to be called Trial records), pp. 6874-75.

The author is indebted to Prof. Robert C. North of Stanford University and the Asian Studies Centre, University of California, Berkeley, for permission to use the microfilmed copies of selec'ed pages of the Trial records.

28. Quoted in Yajnik, *op. cit.* p. 279.

29. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, 298 ; G. B. Lal, "Dr. Taraknath Das in Free India," *Modern Review*, July, 1952 ; P. C. Mukerji, "Demise of a Great Patriot," *Modern Review*, January, 1959.

Taraknath Das left India to evade imprisonment in 1905 and eventually reached Tokyo to study at the University there. His pro-Indian activity in Japan was objected to by the British Ambassador and fearing extradition, Das crossed over to Seattle, Washington in 1906. He had literally to work his way up till as the result of a competitive examination, Das was appointed an interpreter at the Vancouver U.S. Immigration station. Das got his B.A. in Political Science and Economics from the University of Washington, Seattle in 1910 and his M.A. next year. He then secured a fellowship at the University of California for his Ph.D. Dangerous politics interrupted his

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...ies, and he had to wait for his Ph.D. till 1924. ...nwhile, however, Das was admitted to U.S. ...enship on January 5, 1914.

30. *Sedition Committee Report*, pp. 143-44.

31. Sir Michael O'Dwyer, *India As I Knew It*, p. 185. The author ignores Gandhi's experi...ts in South Africa.

32. Yajnik, *op. cit.*, p. 273.

33. Har Dayal, *Fortyfour months in Germany and Turkey*, p. 19, quoted in Majumdar, p. 392.

34. O'Dwyer, p. 185.

35. Giles T. Brown, "The Hindu Cons...cy, 1914-1917," *Pacific Historical Review*, ...XVII 1948, p. 300.

36. John W. Spellman, "The International ...nsion of Political Conspiracy as illustrated ...the Gadar Party," *Journal of Indian History*, ... 37, 1959.

37. *Sedition Committee Report*, pp. 145-46. In reply to a question from Mr. McGowan, a defence lawyer, Mr. Preston, the U.S. District Attorney said, "We have six or eight of these papers that make similar references to the forthcoming trouble between England and Germany." Trial records, p. 15.

38. Report of the Senate Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities. To the L953 Regular California Legislature, Sacramento, 1953, p. 213.

This state document is full of factual errors, and the narration of many incidents of the Gadar movement in America, or, of other events with some bearing on the Indian Independence struggle is historically inaccurate.

39. Trial records, p. 13.

CULTURAL CHANGES IN TRIBAL SUNDERBAN

By MANIS KUMAR RAHA

...oduction

The famous forest of Sunderban which, ...e, covered the whole of southern part of ...gal, is, at present, restricted to only the ...thernmost parts of the Bengal facing the ... In West Bengal the southern, south...ern and south-western portions of 24-...ganas district, including the parts of ...nagar and Canning police stations in ...r Sub-division, Sandeshkhali, Gosaba ... Hasnabad police stations in Basirhat Sub...sion and Mathurapur and Sagar police ...ons of Diamond Harbour Sub-division, ... popularly be called Sunderban though ... Sunderban forest which has been re...ed almost from this whole area, is ...d in the extreme southern region. The ...er record shows that "the Sunderban is ... name commonly given to all the south... portion of the delta of the Ganges; ... in its stricter sense it means so much ...at portion of the delta as was excluded ... the Permanent Settlement." (District ...d Book—24-Parganas, Census 1951, pp. ...XXIV).

The reclamation of the Sunderban forest was started on the later phase of eighteenth century, and for this purpose a number of people were brought from different parts of Bengal and of Bihar, and were employed as labourers for the reclamation work. Many of these people, at last, were given patches of land or they cleared the forest for settlement, and there they started settling their life permanently as agriculturists.

Among those people who came from Bihar were mostly tribals, and of them Oraon, Munda, Santal, Bhumij and others are worth mentioning.

In this paper attempts have been made to reveal the changes in the socio-cultural life of these groups of migrant tribal people who came here from Chota Nagpur plateau and other parts of Bihar as labourers to clear the virgin forest of Deltaic Bengal about a century ago, and the causes thereof. The data of this paper were collected from different villages of Sandeshkhali police station of 24-Parganas district in a number of field-trips during 1960-63.

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From the dawn of their settlement here, these tribal people came in contact with the culture of different ethnic groups of which different Hindu scheduled and low castes such as Poundra Kshatriya (Pod), Bagdi, Mahishya, Bhuiya, Rajbansi and others, different higher castes (Bengalee) and Muhammadan are dominant. Gradually their connection with their homeland in Ranchi area became weaker and weaker, and ultimately ceased to continue. These two factors led them to renovate their traditional culture into a newer shape by taking the fresher ideologies from the neighbouring castes and communities. In this connection we shall deal with the changes that have taken place in different aspects of tribal society and culture in the Sunderban area.

Population of Sandeshkhali P.S.

According to 1961 Census (Das & Raha : 1963 : 7) in Sandeshkhali police station, the total population is 1,24,209 (all rural) of which 31,830 are of scheduled tribes. Of the total population, 20,221 are Muslims, 285 Christian and rest are all Hindus. Here it may be stated that the tribals of Sunderban profess Hindu religion and do not declare themselves to profess any tribal religion.

The table below gives the population of various scheduled tribes living at Sandeshkhali police station as per Census 1961 (Das & Raha : 1963 :8).

Table—I

Sheduled Tribe Population in Sandeshkhali Police Station

Serial No.	Community	Total Population	Percentage Distribution
1	Munda	15,216	47.8
2	Oraon	8,024	25.2
3	Bhumij	5,000	15.7
4	Santal	2,458	7.7
5	Kora	312	1.0
6	Mahali	253	0.8
7	Others	567	1.8
		31,830	100.0

The above table clearly depicts that of the tribals living in the aforesaid police station, Munda, Oraon and Bhumij are the most important tribes, and they together form 88.7% of the total tribal population of this police station.

Material Culture: As the material culture of a group of people mainly depends on the local geography and environment, all the tribals living in the Sunderban area are forced to coincide their material life with those of their present habitat. Instead of using the implements of agriculture which are used in Ranchi district by their brethren, they are using the Bengal type of implements to turn the soil. Runting including the ceremonial hunts which are practised by these people in Bihar, are absent here, and as a result of this, different hunting implements which their brethren use in Chota Nagpur forests are also lacking.

A marked change may be noticed in the materials used in house type. Instead of **Khapra** i.e., country tyles, straw is used to thatch the roof of the house. The framework and also the poles are made of bamboo (Bambusa stricta) and not bamboo and **Sal** (Shorea rebusta) as used in Ranchi. The covered varanda which is frequently found here is almost absent in Ranchi district. Plinth is high here unlke that found in the tribal settlements of Ranchi area. It is for preventing the intrusion of flood water. The ceremonies connected with the building of the new hut or with the first entrance in new hut are also different. The first entrance into the newly constructed hut is known as **Grihaprabesh,** sometimes enlightened tribals of Sunderban worship Narayan, one of the Hindu Trinities during this festivity.

Both in cases of dress and ornament and household utensils and furniture a clear local Bengalee (Hindu) influence may be noticed. In the same way, they follow the local Bengalee (Hindu) method of cooking in the preparation of their food.

In their music and dance, these tribal people are not much advanced. The music and dance that make almost every Chota Nagpur evening sonorous, are absent here. These Oraons Mundas, Bhuiyas and the other tribal people of Sunderban sing and dance only during some special socio-

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gious occasions, and methodically these much inferior in nature. The tradi- al musical instruments are also absent ng these people of estuarine Bengal. In other aspects of material culture, in same way, some changes may be noticed ch are definetely due to the influence of local Hindu inhabitants.

Language

All the tribals of the Sunderban area k among themselves in **Sadri** language ch may be a mixed form of Bengali, di and their own language. And with neighbouring castes and communities, speak in fluent Bengali. Except a few rly persons, most of them have forgot- their traditional languages. The Oraons cannot speak in Kurukh diadialect, the Mundas in **Mundari.** Most of their ntations, prayers, songs etc., are either Sadri or in Bengali language.

Social Structure

1. **Sib Organisation:** The Sib organisation of these tribals (Oraon, Munda, Bhumij and others) bear the same characteristics as found among their kinsmen in Bihar i.e., these sibs which are known to them as **Gotro** or **Gotor,** are exogamous and totemistic in nature. But like their congenials in different districts of Bihar, they do not use the sib name as their surname. But mostly they use **Sardar** as their surname. A large number of members of younger generations do not remember their sib name; moreover they have forgotten the origin of the sib and the relationship of the sib with the totemic object. Further, in addition to their original sibs (though many of them are not found here), they have adopted some new sib name in Bengali. A few of them are given below:

TABLE—II

Showing Newly adopted sibs and their original forms

Serial No.	Newly adopted Sibs	Original sibs	English meaning	Used by
1	Kachcham or Kachchap	Ekka, Kachua	Tortoise	O O, M, B.
2	Kak	Kauya	Crow	O, M.
3.	Kaloharin	Kiss, Suar	Pig	O
		Barha		M
4	Sial	Siar		M
		Chigah	Jackal	O
		Chiglo		O
5	Sap	Nag	Cobra	O, M, B.
		Nagbans		O
6		Khetta		O
7	Laban, Nun Has	Bekh	Salt	M
		Hasara, Hans	Wild goose	O
		Hasda		B

* O — Oraons, M — Mundas, B — Bhumijas

There is a general rule in connection totemistic sib that a member of a tribe ing a totemistic clan "must abstain killing destroying, maiming, hurting or ing the animal or plant or other objects form the totem; nor must he use anything made of it or obtain from it" (Roy: 1915). But at present these tribals of the Sunderban area follow a little of this rule. Generally they do not kill or hurt the totemistic object except if it be a dangerous animal like snake. The Mundas belonging

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to a particular clan sometimes not only kill the totemic objects but also take the meat of the totems. Sometimes the members of tortoise sib take the meat of tortoise and those of **Nag** sib kill the snake (Shasmal : 1963 : 165-166). When the totemic object is an indespensable article of diet or household use, they rationalise the same and modify the totemic taboo. The Oraons, belonging to **Dhanwar gotro** "instead of abstaining from eating rice or using paddy, say that **Dhanwar** does not mean all kinds of paddy, but a particular, variety (which is not common in this area), and use all other types of paddy available in the locality". (Das and Raha : 1963 : 92).

(ii) Family Structure : After their settlement in this area these tribal people invited their kinsmen to come and settle here, and thus formed a compact group. During the earlier phases these kinsmen who came here, lived jointly within the extended families. But gradually when they got their own land and security of life from the production of these lands, they dispersed forming newer smaller units. The war, urbanisation, industrialisation etc., also helped them, along with quarrels among the family members, death of father etc., to break up the compactness of the family structure. In spite of all these factors, joint family structure is still the predominant family type among them. A representative example showing the change in family structure of an Oraon village in Sunderban area in three successive periods during the last sixty years, is given in the table below :

TABLE—III

Years	Type—I Simple Family		Type—II Intermediate Family		Type—III Joint Family		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
1899 + to 1919	4	21.05	—	—	15	78.95	19	100
1919 + to 1939	3	11.11	4	14.82	20	74.07	27	100
1939 + to 1959	15	19.48	8	10.39	54	70.13	77	100
Total :	22	17.89	12	9.76	89	72.35	123	100

From the above table it is evident that the Joint family is the predominant type. Next to it comes the simple type. During the first phase of our period (i.e. 1899+to 1919), the Joint family was the most prevailing family type which occupied about 78.95% of the total families of this village. Next comes the simple type (21.05%). It is remarkable to mention that during this phase the Intermediate type of family was conspicuously absent. This type of family came into existence during the second phase of our time (i.e., during 1919+to 1939) probably due to the break up of Joint family type (11.11%). The Joint type of family has slightly decreased in percentage during this period as some of these broke up into other two forms. In the last period (1939+ to 1959), both the Intermediate and Joint types of families have slightly decreased in frequency which is balanced by the formation of simple family type.

So, as a whole, it is evident from the table that the Joint family type though still predominant among he inhabitants of this village, has been slowly yielding place to the intermediate and simple type families over the last sixty years.

(iii) Kinship system : Though the kinship terminologies among the tribals of this area of Sunderban bear the same characters as are present among their cognates in Bihar area i.e., the presence of classificatory and descriptive termimologies, but the terms as used by these people of Sunderban are almost different from their original nomenclature. These terms are of composite in

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ure. In the kinship termonologies of the al people of this deltaic region of gal, the existence of both Bengali and r original nomenclatures is clearly ble. Coming to this area and getting bility and security of life, they began to ge along with many other things, the ship terminologies from their neighbours o are mostly of Hindu castes. So the kinship terminology of the tribal populace of Sunderban clearly depicts the Hindu influence resulting in the dominance of the Hindu (Bengalee) terminologies over their traditional terms. For illustration, a list of a few terms as used by the tribals of Sunderban with their original form and also the local Hindu Bengali terms has been given in Table—IV

Table :IV

owing the kinship terms used by the Tribals of Sunderban with their original forms and the Bengali (local) terms.

Terms in English	Terms used by the Tribals of Sunderban	Terms used by the Oraons of Chhotonagpur	Terms used by Mundas of Chota Nagpur	Terms used by the Bhumijas of Bihar	Terms used by Bengali Terms (Sunderban area)
Fa Fa	Thakurdada Thakur baba	Eng. ajjas	Aja	Aji, Burhaga	Thakurdada
Fa Mo	Thakurdidi	Eng. Ajji	Aji	Nani	Thakurma
Fa	Baba	Embas	Aba	Aba, Abaga	Baba
Mo	Mai	Ingio	Eyang	Ma, Maga,	Mai, Ma
Fa Si	Phuphu	Eng. tachi	Hatom	Hatom	Pishima/pishi
FaSi, Hu	Phupha	Eng. Mamus	Mamu	Mamu	Pishamosai/Pish
MoBr	Mama	Eng. tachi	Mamu	Mamu	Mama
MoBr Wi	Mami	Eng. Mamus	Hatom	Hatam	Mamima/Mami
Fa El Br	Bara/Jetha	Eng. baras/Koha embas	Kuku, Bara	Kuku, Gunguaba	Jethamosai/ Jetha
FaElBrWi	Bari/Jethi	Eng. bari	Kuku-Eyang	Kuku, Gungumai	Jethima/Jethi
FaYoBr	Kaka	Eng. Kakas/ Sanniembas	Kaka	Kaka	Kaka
FaYoBrWi	Kaki	Eng. Kakki	Kaki	Kaki	Kakima/Kaki
MoYoSi	Musi	Eng. tachi	Kaki	Masi, Kaki	Masima/Masi
MoYoSiHu	Musa	Eng. Mosa	Kaka	Mosa, kaka	Meshomosai/Me
HuElBr	Bhasur	Eng bainalas	Honjar	Babu honjaring, Bao honiar	Bhasur
HuMoBr	Mamasasur	Eng. Mamu Sasrus	—	—	Mamasasur
ElBrWi	Boujhi/Boudi	Nasgo	Hili	Bahu, Bau, Marang Kimin	Boudi
SoWi	Bouma/Bou	Eng. Khero	Kimin	Kimin	Bouma/Bou
SoSo	Nati	Eng. Nattis	Jaikora	Nati, Dada	Nati
SoDa	Natini	Eng. Nattis	Jaikuri	Natuni, Natina	Natni

Abbreviation in English : Fa=father ; Mo=mother : Si=sister ; HU=husband ; Br =brother ; Wi=wife ; El=elder ; Yo=younger ; So=son ; Da=daughter. Thus "Fa Br Wi"=Father's younger brother's wife.

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The above table reveals that the kinship terms of different tribes of Sunderban are composite in nature in which the assemblage of two different sources, the Bengalee Hindu (local) and the traditional tribal traits, has taken place. But it may be said that the Hindu influence on the kinship terminology is more prominent than their originai terms which are sometimes shaped with Hindu ideas. These terminologies are least affected by the Muslim neighbourhood.

Dormitory system:

Many of the tribal communities of Chota Nagpur like those of Assam and Madhyapradesh, have a remarkable institution—the bachelor's dormitory. Though among these people of Chota Nagpur area this institution has lost its fame and function to a great extent, even in many villages it has been extinct due to different external and/or internal, forces, the imprints of it are still in vogue among many of them. In many Munda villages of Chhota Nagpur the **Gitiora** and in Oraon villages the **Dhumkuria** or **Jonkherpa** which are still considered as the training centres of the traditional morale and culture, are present even these days. The young unmarried boys sleep there at night, and youth of both sexes sing and dance in the evening on the adjacent courtyard or dancing ground.

But this peculiar institution is totaliy absent among these people of the Sunderban area. Except a few elderly persons, most of them have forgotten the functions and activities of their respective institutions Even the most elderly persons do not remember the existence of this institution in the dawn of their settlements here. It may be that the Hindu influence may be at the root of the extinction of this institution. Many of the people of these tribal groups have given the reason of the disappearance of this dormitory system from this area owing to the disliking of the Hindus as the Hindus, according to their version, do not favour the free mixing of young boys and giris. But there is also the reason that when they came over here as labourers a century ago, they could not find the milestone of this trait probably due to the new environment, shortage of space, want of trainers, poverty, isolation and above all the discouragement of their landlords and neighbours.

Village Organisation:

The village council or **Gram Panchayat** is present in most of the tribal villages of Sunderban as it is present in tribal areas of Bihar. The basic pattern of this council is similar to the traditional form still persisting in tribal Bihar. Here the **Rajmorol** (headman) is assisted by the **Mantri** (assistant to the headman), the **Chowkidar** (messenger) and other members of the **Panchayet.**

The **Parha** organisation which deals with all inter-village or inter-**parha** disputes among these tribals of Bihar, is at present almost absent here. But this type of political organisation was present among them at least in the rudimentary form, during the earlier part of their settlement in estuarine Bengal.

Regarding the function of the village **Panchayet,** it may be stated that this political institution has lost much of its rigidity at present. In these days the defiant, instead of obeying the verdict of the **Gram Panchayet,** sometimes goes to the law-courts. Again the traditional way of hereditary feature of succession to the office of the headman has in many villages, been replaced by the personal efficacy, influence and popularity. Sometimes political tricks of the influencial persons (belonging to different communities including Hindus and Muslims) hamper the activities of the **Panchayet** and also overturn the functionaries from their posts.

It may also be expected that with the formation of new **Panchayet Raj** system in this area as in other parts of West Bengal, the traditional **Panchayet** system (which is at present in operation) will be abolished from the life of these people.

Individual Life Cycle:

The different **Rites-of-passages** suffer from many remarkable changes. The rites

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served during pregnancy and child-birth ar a few traits as found among the local ndus, though upto this date they have eserved a few of their traditional traits. e method of giving name to the baby in e name-giving ceremony of these people the Sunderban area is almost the same is found among these people of Ranchi other areas, but traditional ideas of ing the names of the ancestors or after ferent festivals or days of the week etc., the new-born babies is not favoured. It also an important point to notice here change in the naming pattern among tribal populace of Sunderban. Instead Sukra, **Gendru, Bidhu, Jhalo, Mahli,** , they favour to name their children er Bengali names such as **Asoke, Anil,** mal, **Sephali, Arati, Durga** etc.

The outstanding feature which has been roduced in the name-giving ceremony in ny tribal families, is the worship of the ddess **Sasti**, the Hindu Godess whom the ndus worship after child-birth.

In case of marriage also some changes y be noticed. Cousin marriage is not ticed here as is done in Ranchi district. most of the cases negotiation is practiced. ough monogamy is the prevailing rule, some instances of polygyny may also be n. The age of first marriage has come wn probably due to Hindu influence. e bride-price is almost fixed among differ- communities in different villages.

In marriage ceremony proper some anges may be noticed. Some new traits ve been developed, some old ones have n discarded. Some Hindu rites also ve shaped these with new patterns. Here important point should be mentioned t the highly Hinduised tribes (though y are not large in number) now-a-days e to follow the absolute Hindu (local) ys of marriage ceremony.

In case of funeral ceremony same rds can be put. This custom, though sists in some original tribal traits, has been enlightened with the Hindu ideas. e use of **Gangajal** (water of holy nges), **Tulsijal** (water sanctified with ted Basil leaves), utterance of **Haribol** the name of Lord Hari), practice of **Sadhuali Gurumukh** etc., are Hindu traits. The bone-drowning ceremony or the erection of memorial stone which is an important original tribal trait found in Bihar and other areas, is not practised here as also **Magico-religious beliefs and practices.**

The outstanding change in the tribal culture of Sunderban is reflected in their magic-religious life. This aspect of their culture has been keenly influenced by the Hindu ideology. Most of their deities and spirits (both benevolent and malevolent) in this deltaic area are borrowed from Hindu deities and spirits **(bhuts)**. They worship **Kali, Sitala, Manasa, Mahadev, Laksmi, Daksin Roy, Banbibi** and others. The few of their traditional deities and spirits which still survive, have no significant influence on them. The mother goddess is **Kali** here. Most of the tribals belonging to different communities in this area, have forgotten the names of their original deities, even that of the Supreme Deity.

Most of the festivals are of household type except a few. The traditional community festivals (such as **Sarhul, Karam, Soharai** etc.) have lost their communal entity at present and turned into household types. Their method of observing festivities has also been changed to a great extent. Most of the community festivals present here, such as **Gram-bandha, Kalipuja, Tusu** etc., are absent in Bihar. Unlike their kinsmen in their cradle land, the idea of morphism (ie., the worship of the effigy of the deity) has also been introduced. They also have adopted some Hindu ideas regarding these idols of the deities. At present they have started favouring the Hindu festivals like **Durgapuja, Chadak, Rathjatra** etc.

The above discussion depicts in a nutshell, the changes which have taken place in the life and culture of those tribal people of Sunderban who came, mainly from the undulated plateau of Chota Nagpur and also from other areas of Bihar a century ago, to clear the virgn forest of estuarine Bengal. Due to the century long contact with the superior and dominating Hindu culture of the neighbourhood and the break of ethnocultural link with their mother land, they

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are forced to adopt the local Hindu cultural traits. But these Hindu cultural traits have not yet been able to replace the replica of their tradition and originality in toto, and as a result of this, the present state of culture of these tribal people of the flood-ridden Sunderban may be called a mixed type of Hindu and tribal culture. This culture-change is also due to their keen desire for up-grading their own social status by the process of Hinduisation.

Note

1. The author is indebted to Miss Salatun Nessa M.Sc., kindly permitting him to use her unpublished table on Family types which she collected during her study in 1960.

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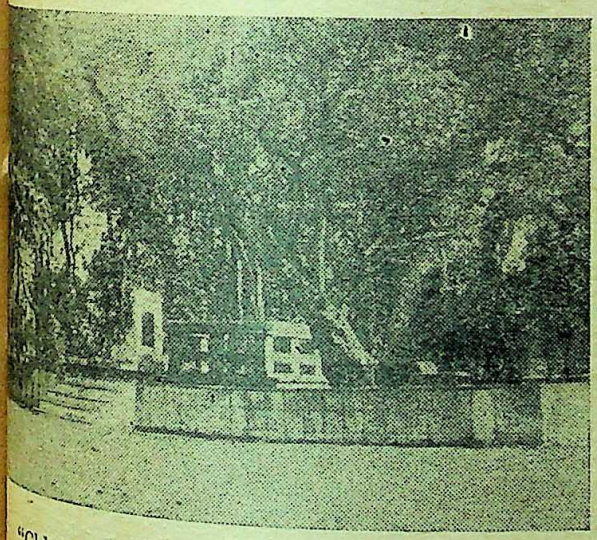
SANTINIKETAN, AN EPITOME OF TAGORE'S GENIUS

By SUDHANSU BIMAL BARUA

Then I was a mere boy. The name ntiniketan was known to me, but till then was out of my sight. But my childish agination knew no bounds. From my far- village home at Chittagong, the land of autiful hills and dales, singing birds and rmuring rivers, I drew a picture of Santi- etan. Then once I came in touch with bindranath's poems. Still I remember w many times I read with great emotion e poem 'aei bharater mahamanaber sagar- re'—On the bank of the confluence of great manity. At that time I was too young to derstand the inner significance of the



"Chhatimtala"—Maharshi Devendra Nath's place of meditation
Photo : Miss Navanita Majumdar

em, but I felt myself one in mind with the et. I saw in him a real manifestation of rnal India. Thus during my boyhood ys the name Rabindranath became so dear me.

After finishing school career I entered e college. At that time I became all the re acquainted with the writings of bindranath. But even then I felt the ration of that line of my boyhood days,— bharater mahamanaber sagartire'. After-wards I came to Calcutta. At that time I was reading at Vidyasagar College. Prof. Srikrishna Goswami of our Bengali Department happened to be an ex-student of Santiniketan. He used to tell us how Santiniketan was established by Rabindranath on the ideals of the hermitage (Tapovana) of ancient Aryan sages where they realised the summum bonum of human life. By this time I came into close contact with Prof. Somen Bandopadhay, an ex-student of

The famous "Amra-Kunja" of Santiniketan
Photo : Miss Navanita Majumdar

Santiniketan. Sometimes I used to go to his residence at Chetla where I gathered more impressions about Santiniketan. After finishing my study at Calcutta I conveyed my desire to him for further studies at Santiniketan. He gladly supported me. At last my long cherished desire was fulfilled and one day I started for Santiniketan.

Even now I remember my first journey to Santiniketan. I set out for an unknown land away from the din and bustle of the city. A new world was in front of me. Whenever I got a chance to go outside my wayward mind was overflowed with joy, an

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emotion which might be compared to that of one free from the jail of brick and mortar and finding himself under the boundless sky. Where is such joy in the congested and slogan-stricken Calcutta! On my way to Santiniketan chance acquainted me with Malina-di. I came to learn that she lived at Santiniketan.

On my arrival at Santiniketan I first went to Sujit-da's house. There I was acquainted with Mira and Abu. After breakfast I went round Santiniketan with Abu. At that time I felt that somewhere there was a difference between the boys and girls of Santiniketan and their counterparts in Calcutta. Abu was coming with me bare-footed. Being asked he replied, 'It is our tradition in the Ashrama'. Later on I realised that really bare foot looked more harmonious within the precints of Santiniketan. But the girls of Santiniketan explained it differently. They said jokingly, "Well gentleman, whenever strangers come here their eyes fall on our feet".

At last I was admitted into the Visva-Bharati. A new chapter of my life began.

Our classes were generally held under the shades of the trees—sometimes in Amrakunja, or in Bakulbithi or Gourprangan. We took our lessons under the open sky close to mother nature. There were round altars under the trees where we used to sit. Sometimes we sat under the shades of the trees where there was no altar at all; we did never think of the dust. The Ashrama area was always neat and clean and the atmosphere was calm and serene. Rabindranath wanted that, "The twilight of this place, the green meadows and the trees touch the hearts of the children, because it is essential that the young minds should feel the joy that is in nature. The life of the children bloom automatically by the touch of nature. Let not the splendour of the sunrise and sunset be shut out of their life. It was my desire that they would be able to realise that the earth nourishes them just as a nurse keeps the baby on her lap with great care. They should be set free from mechanical bondage of the city of walls, bricks and mortars. For this purpose I established this institution under the open sky. I wished that the birds and the trees of Santiniketan would be their educators".

—Visva-Bharati, p. 77.

Each class generally consisted of a small number of boys and girls. For this reason a homely atmosphere was there. We were allowed to take part in the discussion of our lessons. There were no obstructions between the teachers and the taught. We used to address our teachers as 'dada' or 'didi'. Our teachers were our friends and philosophers at the same time. We did never think of a teacher as a ruler with the rod. Rabindranath wanted that the relation between the teacher and the student should be earnest and real. Otherwise it would not be fruitful. He said, "The communication between the teacher and the stndent should be based on affection and devotion. If there existed only the persistence of duty and business instead of such cordiality both the teachers and the student remain unfortunate". —Visva-Bharati, P. 89.

Now-a-days it is a common complain that the students show very little respect to their teachers. It cannot be denied altogether. Mechanical tendencies of the age is mainly responsible for this. In many respects schools and colleges become business organisations. There is hardly any scope to develop a cordial relationship between the teacher and the student. In a big class most of the students remain unknown to their teacher. In this way our schools and colleges become more or less mechanical in their nature. But Rabindranath did not want to make his Santiniketan a mere manufacturing machine. Even he did not care for good pass marks for his boys. He wanted that the boys and the girls would grow in experience in close contact with nature as with their teachers. What is the highest education? Rabindranath observes,—

"The highest education is that which does not merely give us information but makes our life in harmony with all existence. But we find that this education of sympathy is not only systematically ignored in schools, but it is severely repressed. From our very childhood habits are formed and knowledge is imparted in such a manner that our life is weaned away from nature and our mind and the world are set in oppo-

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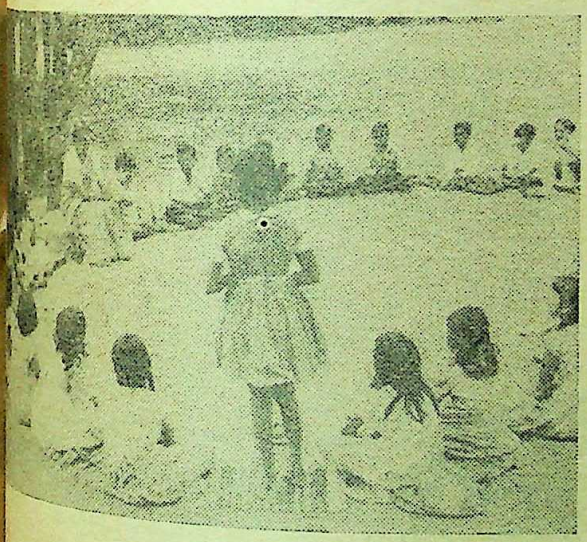
on from the beginning of our days. Thus greatest of educations for which we prepared is neglected, and we are made lose our world to find a bagful of information instead. We rob the child of his rth to teach him geography, of language teach him grammar. His hunger is for Epic, but he is supplied with chronicles facts and dates.....child-nature protests inst such calamity with all its power of fering, subdued at last into silence by ishment".

—My School, Personality, P. 116.

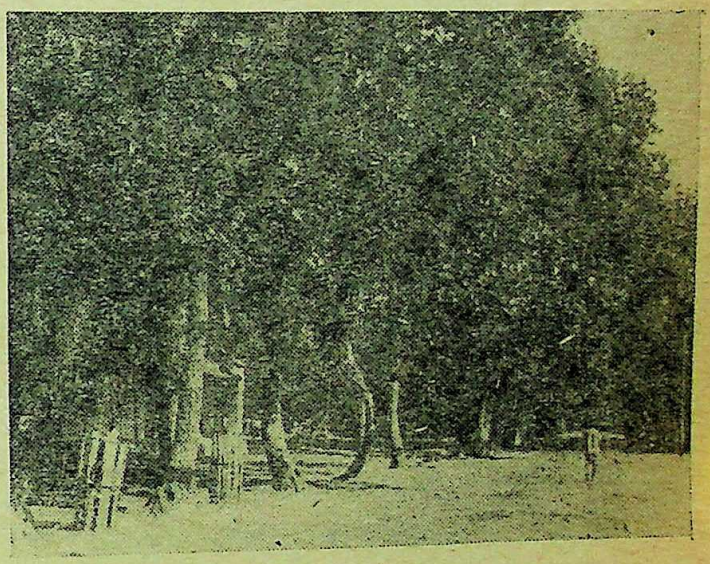
At an early age I travelled in different ces of pilgrimage like Gaya and Kashi, thura and Vrindaban, Sarnath and Srathi. In connection with my pilgrimage want to mention the name of Santiniketan, abode of Peace. About his travel in



Open-air class at Santiniketan
Photo : Miss Navanita Majumdar

sia Rabindranath said, "My pilgrimage this life would remain unfulfilled had I been to Russia". I should like to say that I not been to Santiniketan my pilgrimof this life would remain unfulfilled. ay I remember with all humility that real teachers at Santiniketan—those were friends and philosophers at the time. I left our dear Santiniketan ago, but even now I cannot forget my nds and teachers. They will be shining ever in my memory.

Another characteristic of Santiniketan lies in her cosmopolitan life. A happy home it is for men of all countries and nationalities. Mutual hatred, national greed and conflict of political ideologies retard the growth of cordial understanding between man and man and between nation and nation. Santiniketan is a meeting ground of humanity where man can find scope to know his fellow



"Bakul-Bithi"
Photo : Miss Navanita Majumdar

men by overcoming the barriers of race, colour and nationality. Rabindranath says, "Santiniketan school should be the connecting link between India and the World. The age of narrow nationalism is almost over. The establishment of a world-nation is ahead and its first preparedness would be on this ground of Bolpur (Santiniketan). I have an intention to free this place from the geographical boundary of national distinction. The first banner of victory of all men would be installed here".—Letters, 2.

We had a feeling in our mind that all of us belonged to a great family. Still I remember those lines of our Santiniketan song:

In the shadows of her trees we meet,
in the freedom of her open sky,
her mornings come and her evenings
bringing down heaven's kisses,
making us feel anew that she is our own,
the darling of our hearts.

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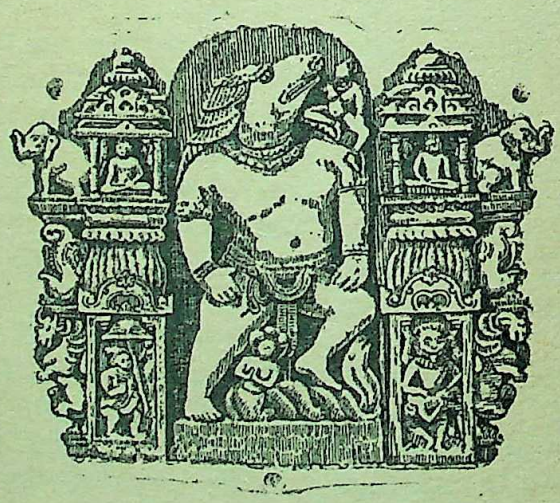
The stillness of her shades is stirred by the woodland whisper;
her 'amlaki' groves are aquiver with the rapture of leaves,
She dwells in us and around us however far we may wander;
she weaves our heart in a song making us one in music,
tuning our strings of love with her own fingers,
and we ever remember that she is our own, the darling of our hearts.

The spiritual side of life in Santiniketan is worth mentioning. It is needless to say that it is not a blind imitation of rituals and incantations. After the breakfast we used to assemble peacefully in front of the Central Library. Our Vaitalik of morning prayer began with the Vedic hymns and Rabindrasangeet. We met together on the same ground, under the same sky and our prayer went up in complete harmony. Idol-worship or any form of dogmatic rituals is strictly prohibited within the precincts of Santiniketan. Santiniketan is free from the curse of 'ism' and sectarian attitude which has desecrated the world so many times with bloodshed.

The main ideal of Santiniketan is to make a total-man arousing in him wisdom, love and sacrifice. And the voice of Santiniketan is the eternal voice of India where she accepts all men as kins. To express my sincere emotions about our Santiniketan I should rather say in the words of the poet:

Whatever I have seen
Whatever I have gained
Remain unparalleled.*

* Translation is mine.



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DIMENSIONS OF PHILOSOPHY OF BONUS

By BHASKAR

nual bonus is one of the sore points in relations between employers and employees our Country. It almost took forty years evolve a clear concept and principles erning payment of bonus. These princi-s, in turn, have been based, largely, on the ory that :

–The gap between living wages and actual wages should be filled in by payment of bonus, and

–The labour contributes to the prosperity of the concern ; hence they should share the profits under certain circumstances.

In the following paragraphs, we will exa-e the soundness of these principles both m theoretical and practical points of view.

First Tenet

Practical Considerations

The first postulation is that the gap ween living wages and actual wages is to filled in, at least, partly, by payment of us. This implies that, first of all, the el of living wages is capable of being asured and ascertained in terms of money. e living wage is understood, generally, to er the following items :

–Food
–Shelter
–Clothing
–Provision for old age, etc.
–Education of Children
–Provision for marriage of children
–Frugal comforts

Of course, there is no unanimity on this . To measure the monetary content of the living wage, we should know the family unit of the worker. Besides his own family, parents and unmarried sisters and unearning brothers may also be depending on the wages of the worker. In these matters we should go by social customs and family patterns of the workers. In our society social and economic habits greatly depend on the 'caste' from which the worker hails.

Even if the problem of family unit is solved, ascertainment of 'quantity' required by each member of the family depends on the age group of the family members and their consumption patterns. Again, food requirement of workers themselves vary. For example, manual workers require higher caloried food than office workers.

In this connection it is felt that it is not the mere subsistance level, that should be provided for. Article 47 of our Constitution (one of the Directive Principles of State Policy) prescribes that "The State shall regard the raising of the level of nutrition and the standard of living of its people and the improvement of public health as among its primary duties, and –"

It is also recognised in these discussions, that the concept of living wage is not static. Requirements, of workers continue to change with the general economic uplift. For example, cycle might not have been an essential requirement sometime ago, but it can now safely be regarded as essential. Consumption of butter and ghee might be a luxury, under slave economy but no longer in a democratic, free economy.

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Payment of living wages, naturally creates new demands and new desires and ambitions. May be most of them are genuine and should be satisfied when considered from humane points of view. Since all these demands and ambitions could not be met within the living wages paid to the workers, basing on the things prevailing at that time, the gap between living wages and actual wages will continue to exist. It is something like the one that follows the other in a cyclical fatshon.

The choice of rate is again another problem in assessing the monetary content of the living wages.

In some of the families, female members and children do earn something by doing certain things. Should we take into account their earnings also while determining the monetary content of the living wages of the workers ?

It is evident from the above exposition that it is very difficult to measure living wages in terms of money. Of course, attempts have been made to measure the living wages, but all of them have been based rather on arbitrary assumptions.

Theoretical Considerations

Assuming for the moment that we can measure the 'living wage' in terms of money, let us examine the argument that the gap between living wages and actual wages should be bridged by payment of bonus. This argument implies that the employer has an obligation to pay the living wages to his employees, and the employers and tribunals should strive towards this end. In this connection one of the Directive Principles of State Policy as incorporated in Article 43 of our Constitution is often quoted, which reads as :

The State shall endeavour to secure, by suitable legislation, or economic organisation or in any other way, to all workers, agricultural, industrial or otherwise, work, at living wage, conditions of work assuring a decent standard of life and full enjoyment of leisure and social and cultural opportunities—"

This Article authorises the State to enact legislation or do any other equitable thing to achieve the objectives mentioned in the Article. However, so far, there is no legislation enacted by Central or State Governments enabling or directing that payment of bonus should be used as an instrument to achieve the objective of 'securing a living wage' to the workers. However, the Central Government, made the subject of bonus a matter of industrial dispute that could be referred to an industrial tribunal under Industrial Disputes Act, 1947 (section 7A read with Schedule 2 of the Act). But it is not clear whether the Central Government meant to make payment of annual bonus an instrument to achieve the objective of securing a living wage. The tribunals have seized this opportuntiy and have tried to achieve the objective which was set out for the State under the Constitution by themselves (unless tribunals come under the classification of "or authorities within the territory of India" to come under the definition of 'State' as defined by Article 12) by way of payment of bonus.

This position was upheld by the Supreme Court in its various decisions. It further, held in its various decisions, that industrial tribunals are not bound to adjudicate an industrial dispute according to strict law of master and servant and their awards may contain provisions for the settlement of disputes which a law court could not do. They may also create new obligations on the

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employers in the interests of social justice and with the objective of securing peace and harmony between employer and his workmen.

In fact one of the aims of enacting Industrial Disputes Act and creating industrial tribunals and courts was to minimise prolonged strikes and lockouts, and to settle the dispute between employers and employees on a more equitable basis irrespective of economic and bargaining strength of the parties. It is also to some extent an expression of the desire on the part of the Government and ruling party that in a socialistic pattern of society the weaker sections should be protected by suitable legislation and should not be left to the fate of free *laissez faire*. To the same end, the Government has given protection to the workers through compulsory arbitration and adjudication, to entrepreneurs against foreign competition through tariffs, to scheduled castes and tribes through reservations.

In one case, which involved payment of lay-off compensation, one High Court has gone to the extent of declaring that in view of Article 43 of the Constitution, the workmen's right to a decent wage must prevail over the employer's right to make a profit. In case of conflict between these two rights, no employer has a right to run an industry if he could not pay his workmen a decent wage.

Apart from the constitutional and legal position, let us see whether it is equitable to utilise 'bonus' to bridge the gap between living and actual wages.

Bonus, as the second tenet denotes, depends on the availability of profits. Making or arising of profits is not in the hands of the worker. It is clearly a function and responsibility of management. Hence it is not equitable to make workers share the fortunes of business. Whatever happens to the profits the workers should be paid for their work. The dispute, however, is, should that payment be a living wage or should it be governed solely by contract between employer and employee which, in turn, will be determined by demand and supply of labour and bargaining strength of the two parties.

Employers argue that they should have more or less a free hand to 'hire and fire' and the concept of *laissez faire* should be allowed to play its full role and that wages should be determined only by supply and demand of labour.

Labour on the other hand argue that they should be paid a living wage and it would be for the employer to ensure that their work brings proper returns to the company. Remuneration to the labour upto the level of living wages should be a prior charge on profits. Unless and until actual wages are brought to the level of living wages, annual bonus should be a prior charge on profits. This amounts to recognition of the concept 'that bonus is a deferred wage'. This is the argument that employees have extended to the questions like admissability of 'return or reserves used as working capital,' etc.

As a compromise tribunals have felt that when the industry has got capacity to pay and is so established that its capacity to continuously pay the living wages may be counted upon, payment of living wages is desirable. But where the industry has not got the capacity or its capacity varies or is expected to vary from year to year, annual bonus may be looked upon as the temporary satisfaction wholly or in part of the needs of the employees.

This implies partial recognition of labour's contention that 'bonus is a deferred wage' though not with its full implications.

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Second Tenet

Theoretical Considerations

The second ground on which payment of annual bonus is upheld is that the workers should share in the prosperity of the concern for the creation of which they are partly responsible. This implies, firstly that the labour is to some extent responsible for the prosperity of the concern. Of course, there is no dispute about this. But is it possible or practicable to measure labour's contribution to the prosperity of the concern as it naturally follows that the quantum of bonus payable to them should have some relation to their contribution. It also, naturally, follows that if labour should share in the prosperity they should be prepared to share the misfortunes of the concern. Are we prepared to recognise this argument ?

Secondly, this argument implies recognition of the fact that labour is a partner in the industry, probably, on the ground that labour is contributing their services in the same way entrepreneurs are contributing their finances. This partnership is to share advantages without assuming consequential responsibilities. In economic terms, production includes not only physical production but everything that adds to the value of the product and every service which has a demand.

Then labour is not the only party contributing to the prosperity. Apart from others is the consumer who is the real contributor to the prosperity but who is never even considered or taken into account in these discussions. In our economy consumer plays a vital role. One labour organisation remarked that if, in legal terms, 'Capital' is the employer of labour, in economic terms, 'Consumer' is the real employer of both capital and labour. Why not also give him a share in the prosperity of the concern, say, by way of reduction of the prices in the succeeding periods. We are not doing this because there are no direct pressures from his side. Since management, shareholders, and employees are in a position to exercise pressures on the concern they are getting a share in the prosperity and other interests have been ignored.

Employers resisted the idea of sharing of profits with the workers on the ground that residual surplus belongs to them as they are the owners of residual surplus of losses, by virtue of their position as entrepreneurs and employers. Whatever surplus is left out it is required by industry for expansion and they should not be and cannot be expected or compelled to share the surplus with the workers.

Counter argument to this is that surplus profits, if any, are the result of two factors—high prices and low costs. When surplus profits are made possible with a lower wage level prevailing in the country, why should there be any hesitation on the part of the employers to share a part of the surplus with the workers ? Alternatively, it is argued, they should be prepared to share the surplus with the cosumers by way of reduced prices. If this second alternative is followed, the general price level may come down and the monetary content of living wage may be reduced. Though this alternative is ideal from the point of view of society as a whole, this will not be a workable proposition as the consumers will not be in a position to effectively exercise pressures. In these days nothing can be achieved without pressure and busines houses have not become charitable institutes as yet.

This raises another question whether expansion or even modernisation and industrial development be undertaken by denying the labour a living wage. What is the social

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justice in requiring the workers only to make sacrifice ? Is it not also reasonable to expect the managerial class and employers to make sacrifices for the sake of industrial development ? Is it not more equitable to put a ceiling on the dividends and on the remuneration to the managerial class and require the employers to utilize this money specifically for expansion and modernisation along with the share denied to the labour.

Practical Considerations

Finally, is it possible or practicable to measure the prsoperrity of a concern in monetary terms ? One most common way of measuring prosperity is level of profits. It is a fact that some of the very prosperous concerns are not able to show good profits during certain periods. No malice is attributable. For example, this may be due to the fact that when the concern makes good profits it will start expanding its operations which means heavier depreciation charges in the initial stages, before the new investment starts earning.

From the economist's point of view, profits of a concern is the net additions made by the concern in 'real' terms during the period for which the profits are attempted to be measured. This means all the assets and liabilities are to be valued at market rates at the beginning and end of the period. The difference between the net values arrived at the begining and at the end of the periods, is the profit and to convert this figure into 'real' terms, the amount is to be adjusted to the price index. Perhaps this way of measuring is the most correct way of measuring prosperity of the concern. Since it is not possible to value the assets and liabilities of the concern at the end of each period, and because of practical difficulties in selecting a suitable price index, accountants have evolved (perhaps this process in still not complete and has not reached perfection) a method of matching expenses against revenues, on the assumption that additional assets and liabilities or proprietorship are offset. As long as this matching process is followed strictly this method of arriving at profits yields approximately the same results.

However, commercial accounting has not reached perfection. There are lots of spheres where manipulation could be made without ever being detected for playing fraud. Perhaps for this reason labour argue that the accounts should be audited by their auditors or by an independent auditor specifically for this purpose and they should give a certificate that they have kept in their view the principles governing payment of profit sharing bonus.

If it is agreed that the method of arriving at profits is not perfect would it be equitable to ask the labour to feel contented with the payment of bonus paid out of profits arrived at by a defective system to fill up the gap between living and actual wages ?

To ascertain prosperity for the purpose of bonus formulae, the gross profits as shown by the accounts of the concern have to be freed from profits or losses which are not related to the working of the present year. Also profits which have not been earned with the efforts of the workmen have also to be excluded. Expenses like donations to political parties which have not been incurred in connection with the business have also to be excluded. The gross profits thus arrived at should be subjected to the following prior charges ;

—Depreciation at the rates provided in the income tax rules. Only normal and shift depreciation is to be allowed. Additional and initial depreciation and development rebate are not allowable.

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—Rehabilitation, of block capital : This includes replacement, renewal and modernisation. This item is one of the major issues of controversay in bonus disputes. Though the principles governing admissiability of this item have been well defined, quite a few practical problems have come to fore which have complicated the bonns formulae, which is otherwise working more or less satisfactorily. Employers have started claiming more and more moneys on this account and labour on the otherhand retorted to this provision by saying that it amounts of allowing 'dearness allowance' to machines while denying the same to human beings, meaning, thereby, workers.

—Return on working capital actually used in business : The rate generally agreed upon is between two to four percent.

—Return on fixed or block capital : The rate agreed upon is six per cent depending on capital structure of the company, etc.

—Income tax : This is to be calculated on the profits of the current year, even if the income tax is not payable by the company in that particular year due to carry-forward of previous year's losses, etc.

After providing for the above prior charges, the surplus is to be divided between employers and workers, in the ratio of one is to one, though this ratio is subject to variation depending on other circumstances. This is how under the present formulae the prosperity of the concern is to be ascertained and shared with the workers. Though the above principles of applying gross profits towards prior charges, and apportioning of available surplus between employer and employees are very clear, application and interpretation of these principles have rather become subjects of controversy.

As can be seen from the above discussion the present formulae for the payment of bonus is largely a compromise between different interests,—workers, shareholders and management. Though the State is an interested party, as bonus is a deductible item for assessment of income tax, they have not put forward any claim, so far. The consumer is also an interested party but he has also not exercised pressure in this connection. Hence, the interests of these two parties have not been taken into account in evolving or applying this formulae.

Far-Reaching Effects

Before closing the discussion, it is interesting to note that the implications of these two principles have far-reaching consequences.

It appears that worker's claim for bonus is not limited till the time their actual wages reach the level of living wages. They will continue to have a legal claim for profit sharing bonus on the ground that they are contributing to the prosperity of the concern.

It is doubtful whether at any time, actual wages may reach the level of living wages. Payment of higher wages or bonus increases general demand, which in turn pushes the prices up, till the supply position improves. Improving supply position requires time and it also means more circulation of money. That is why in a developing economy price inflation to some extent is inevitable. Also increase in general standard of living creates new demands and new desires. The cumulative result is that there always exists a gap bewteen living wages and actual wages and

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us is to be used indefinitely to fill up this

Also increase in price level brings in more more employees to the category of those employees whose actual wages are short of ing wages. Thus the claimants for bonus increase endlessly.

Finally, by virture of the second tenet even ly paid employees will have a legal claim bonus though their actual wages are more the living wages. However, it is doubt- how in actual practice such a claim can enforced. They have no union and no roach to labour courst or tribunals and courts can decide the issues only on the is of contract between the parties.

While concluding it is suggested, that solution to the problem of securing a living wage should be attempted from two sides. The fair wages or Central Wage Boards Committees under Minimum Wages Act and Industrial tribunals should work with some common understanding. The fair wages committees should take up the task of providing a living wage when the industry has capacity. If they feel the industry's capacity is doubtful, they should use annual bonus as a means of filling up the gap between living wage and actual wages to the extent warrated by the circumstances and within the principles defined under the law.

THE KING-COMPOSER SWATI TIRUNAL

By T. MADHAVA RAO

One hundred and fifty years ago, on the day of the bright fortnight in the month Mesha (16th April, 1812) was born Swati nal, one of the rulers of the erstwhile vancore State during the 19th century. ugh his span of life was short, the services rendered to the cause of Carnatic music so great that his memory is always green the musical world.

As per the custom of the Travancore royal se the King is popularly known by the e of ahe star under which he is born. s Swati Tirunal came to be known by name as he was born under the star ati. Since this sovereign was really the g of Travancore from the very day of his h, for from the very day of conception, he looked forward to as the future King and e won the tiile of 'Gatbhashriman'.

Lakshmi Bai, the mother of Swati Tirunal, d away even while he was a child. So ati Bai, the sister of his mother, looked him as her own child and gave him all the royal comforts. Even from his boyhood days Swati Tirunal possessed great intelligence and sagacity and had an excellent training under his distinguished father Raja Varma Koil Tampuran. Taking note of this Parvati Bai made perfect arrangements to give this young boy good education. She also wanted that Swati Tirunal should be a linguist and hence appointed learned pandits for teaching him different languages, viz. Malayalam, Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, Marathi, Hindi, Sanskrit and Persian. T. Subba Rao, a scholar in English from Tanjore, was appointed to teach English to the boy-king. Later in 1830 Sri Subba Rao became the Dewan of Travancore. When Swati Tirunal was only 12 years he became proficient in English. His knowledge of English, a rare accomplishment in those days, received the warm eulogy of the Englishmen. Very soon the Maharaja became a master of all these languages.

His genius and innate aptitude for music

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Swati Tirunal

and literature ripened by his education, raised him to the position of a great scholar and poet.

During his regime the British kept a huge army in Travancore State, in the guise of protecting the State. All the expenses of maintaining this army was borne by the Travancore State Govt. Swati Tirunal dispensed with this army and thus saved the State from a huge expenditure. At the same time he organised an indigenous army called 'nayar sena'. This to some extent solved the problem of unemployment also. In the capital city of Trivandrum he established a public Library which even today stands as a noble memorial to him.

He was a great lover of Carnatic music. He was a contemporary of the famous musical trinity of the South, viz., Thyagaraja, Muthuswami Dikshitar and Shyama Shastri. Swati Tirunal was himself a good singer. He learnt to play on the veena and the flute and attained mastery over these two instruments. Thanks to Saint Thyagaraja, Carnatic music had taken a deep root in the minds of the people and was spreading in the far south. People began to enjoy music more than literature. Hence Swati Tirunal instead of writing literary works composed songs, even from the very early age of 16.

To compose songs in Sanskrit is no easy task. But to Swati Tirunal it was mere child's play. His songs in this language are full of devotional fervour. From his compositions we find that he was a devotee of Lord Krishna. He was remarkable for expression and sweetness of language. The style employed, the figures of speech that we come across throughout are quite in keeping with the sense of devotion with which he had composed his works.

In those days in Maharashtra *Harikeertan* was much in vogue. In the palace of Tanjore ruled by Marathas there was one Meruswami a great exponent of *Harikeertan*. Swati Tirunal invited Meruswami to his court and under his guidance composed his two famous works *Kuchelopakhyanam* and *Ajamilopakhyanam* in harikatha style. In the year 1838 Meruswami performed Harikeertan on 'Kuchelopakhyanam' under the presidentship of the Maharaja himself. Another work of Swati Tirunal 'Navaratnamalika' is also a piece which demonstrates the nine ways of devotion. The 'Navaratri-Kirtan' has become very famous and is sung even today during Dasara celebration in the mandap of Sri Padmanabhaswami temple at Trivandrum. The book 'Utsava Varnana Prabandha' is in *Manipravalam* style (a

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mixture of Sanskrit and Malayalam). An accomplished composer his compositions show great knowledge of the art of native dance such as Bharata Natya and Kathakali. He has also composed *Varnams* and *Kirtanams* with profuse introduction of *Swaraksharas*. His compositions are sung to this day by Vidwans of Carnatic music in the south.

Swati Tirunal composed songs in all the languages he knew. In Hindi he has composed nearly 40 songs and in these we find an admixture of *Khadiboli* and *Vrajabhasha*.

Swati Tirunal had great admiration for Hindustani music. We find among his works a few compositions set in Hindustani ragas like *Bringavasaranga, Hamsanandi* and *Sindhubhairavi* and a few songs in *dhrupad, Khayal* and *thumri* styles. we have also references to Hindustani musicians from Gwalior, Lakshman Das and a few others who gave concerts in the palace of the Maharaja.

During his reign Swati Tirunal patronised other cultural activities like Bharata Natya and Kathakali. He invited to his court the most outstanding artists of Bharata Natay from Tanjore and Tiruchendur and gave them valuable gifts.

In the year 1832 the first Munisiff Court was established by the Maharaja for the disposal of petty cases both civil and police. The first English school was opened at Trivandrum in the year 1834. This was the foundation of English education in Travancore State. The Maharaja had a good knowledge of the science of astronomy. In 1836 with Mr. Caldecott's advice an observatory was' opened at Trivandrum and Mr. Caldecott was appointed the first Govt. Astronomer. Mr. J. A. Brown, who succeeded Mr. Caldecott, writes in a report of the observatory thus :

> His Highness was celebrated throughout India for his love of learning, his culti vated mind, great practical powers and a thorough knowledge of many languages. He is well-known also for his decision of character and took the whole subject at once under his special protection.

The Maharaja was a staunch Hindu and performed all the religious ceremonies prescribed for a Hindu King with scrupulous regard and attention. He possessed a cultured mind and a strong will. His subjects called him as Shaktan Raja (powerfull king). The Maharaja had a great admiration for the Chinese nation. There were in his court two Chinese jugglers and their mode of eating gave him special ammusement. In his court there were representatives of all nationa lities—Arabs, Negroes, Turks, Malayas, Japanese and Nepalis.

After renderning such unique service to Indian music, Swati Tirunal passed away on the 15th December 1847 at the early age of 34. As a mark of respect to his memory an institution by name 'Swati Tirunal Academy has been founded in Trivandrum to propagate his songs. This Academy has published his works and it conducts classes to teach both vocal and instrumental music.

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A GLIMPSE ON THE ORIGINAL REVOLUTIONARY SOCIETIES OF BENGAL

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By SATYENDRA NATH GANGULY

THE Battle of Plassy in 1757 heralded the dawn of British Rule in India. But as Netaji said—"It was only by stages that the British Rule could take over the entire administration of Bengal·····It should be noted that in the occupation of India, the British used not only arms—but more than arms, the weapons of bribery, treachery and every form of corruption."1 As a result though a portion of the people of Bengal became blind advocates of the foreign rule, the greater part of the common folk of the land could never bow down to such a calamity. At this stage the personalities of calibre like Raja Rammohon gradually appeared and contributed to the development of national consciousness by every possible means social, political or otherwise. On the other hand the Sannyassy Rebellion, the Santal Insurrection, the Sepoy Mutiny, etc., were the natural outcome of the said displeasure. Among all these risings, the Biplabi Mahanayak, Rash Behari Bose termed the Sepoy Mutiny as the First War of Independence in India and stated in his presidential speech in Bankok Conference of 1942 that—"During and since 1857 when we first revolted against the British Imperialism in India·····." Similarly Netaji Subash Chandra wrote "...they realised that the British had come to conquer and plunder ·····As soon as this was gradually understood ·····a mighty revolution broke out in 1857·····incorrectly called by the British historians 'the Sepoy Mutiny', but which is regarded by the Indian people as the First War of Independence"2 Though these upheavles were somehow suppressed all through by the bureaucratic Government, the revolutionary zeal specially of the educated middle class of Bengal could never be dammed, and the same gradually found its course in various secret ways and means. The contribution in this regard of Rajnarayan Basu, Pyaricharan Sarkar, Nabagopal Mittra, Bankimchandra, Jogendra Bidya Bhusan, Dwijendra Nath Tagore, Ganendra Nath Tagore, Satyendra Nath Tagore, Surendra Nath Banerjee and others were admirable. Lastly the advent of Ramkrishna and Vivekananda gave a final touch to the endeavour which influence was, however, actually felt at the beginning of the 20th century.

On the other hand from 1885, the date when the Indian National Congress came into existence, to the end of the 19th century there broke out as many as 18 famines in India as a result of which 2 crores of people died. In the midst of such a disaster, a large amount of money was understood to have been spent for the two Durbars of Delhi, one in 1877 and the other in 1903. (In this connection a reference may be made to 'India in Bondage' of J. T. Sunderland specially page 131.) But the Congress moves in this connection never proved satisfactory and the youths of the day could not tolerate that. A good portion of the younger generation of the time remained outside the Congress who soon began to realise that—"Secret associations are the weapons of lawful warfare when Liberty and Country do not exist·····"(*Duties of Man* by Joseph Mazzini, page 93). The political atmosphere of the country at that time became so grave that even—"Vidyasagar Mahasaya told his friends, 'You have no other alternatives. Go to the forest and train paltan." (*Dwitia Swadhinata*)

1. *The Indian Struggle*, 1935-42, page 1.
2 *do* 1935-42, page 2

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Sangram by Dr. Bhupendra Nath Dutt, Foot Note 2 of page 8). It may be that such expressions were temporary outbursts of the inner mind to his revolutionary friend Jnanendra Nath Basu of Midnapore, but this will surely signify the actual feeling which was fast growing in every mind of the time. In and around such atmosphere "Sanjivani Sabha" came into being as the first Secret Society of Bengal sometimes in 1876 under the leadership of Jyotirindra Nath Tagore with a veiled name as 'Hanchu Pamu Half.' So far as is known this Sabha was organised under the impulse of some of the young members of the Tagore family.

Sibnath Sastry was, during those days, the Headmaster in the South Suburban School from 1874-76 and then in Hare School and Bipin Ch. Pal and others were the leaders of the students' community, as the information goes Sibnath with the help of Bipin Chandra and others organised another similar Secret Society in the same year, i. e. in 1876. In pages 122 and 123 of 'Naba Juger Bangla' Bipin Chandra described Sibnath Sastry as the first initiator of the cult of revolutionary movements of the land. The lectures of Surendra Nath on Mazzini during those days also contributed a great deal to organising secret societies and it is said that he was also the guide of many such secret societies. Jogendra Bidya Bhusan's translation 'Mazzini and Garibaldi' in Bengali also contributed a lot towards the formation of such Secret Societies. As far as is known his translation was first published in 1890. Bidya Bhusan also was said to have initiated youths of his time to revolutionary creeds and formed some clubs of Lathi play, Wrestling, etc. with inner secret political plans in the district of Hoogli. Thus from the available contact information presented above it would not be too much to conclude that Secret Societies in Bengal actually took their shapes before the advent of the 20th century. The force of appeal of Bidya Bhusan to the youths of the land as contained in the concluding portion of the above named translation may be interesting to follow: "Therefore come up Brothers, we twenty-five crores of Indians let us forget national, religious and class differences and be absorbed in the worship of the Creative Bishnu Sakti and the destructive Shiva Sakti."

In and around the then political atmosphere of the country, the silent contributions of school teachers and gradually that of some college professors towards the building of national consciousness were exemplary. It is for this reason that the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Rowlatt in his Sedition Committee 1918 Report stated that—"Abundant evidence has compelled us to the conclusion that Secondary English schools and in less degree the colleges of Bengal have been regarded by the revolutionaries as their most fruitful recruiting centres" (Page-75, Para-100). Yes, it was correct, but the Hon'ble Mr. Justice was late in surmising the facts. The work was actually started as far back as in 1894-95 or before that date by Headmasters like Jogendra Nath Laha of Khelat Chandra Institution, Minor Branch. Prof. Nibaran Chandra Bhattacharyya, M.A, B. Sc., stated about his Headmaster Jogendranath as follows; "After comming to Calcutta, I got admission in the Khelat Chandra Institution, Minor Br., which was then situated at the Bowbazar and Amherst Street Junction. Here I came in touch with a very good teacher namely the Headmaster Jogendra Nath Laha who used to instil nationalism in student's minds and extended

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his deep influence upon them···" (*Romdhanu*, Agrahayan, 1355). As it appears from the available date, this took place before 1896 because Nibaran Chandra passed his minor examination at the beginning of 1896 and got admission in the Khelat Ch. Inst., Main, during that year in the then 3rd. Class, presently called Class VIII. Here he found a debating class taking place in successions under the presidentship of Biresh Babu, a teacher of this Inst. and Nibaran Chandra wrote that—"As a result of these discussions our devotion to country was under regular growth." (*Ramdhanu*, Paus, 1355). Then came another teacher of this Institution named Lalit Ghosal, who was a former student of Surendra Nath. In this way Atmonnoty Samiti was born as a secret revolutionary organisation in 1897, a year subsequently becoming memorable with the birth of Netaji Subhas Chandra. "By reading the life of Mazzini of Jogendra Bidya Bhusan" wrote Prof. Nibaran, we were "inspired to organise such a society in the model of 'Young Italy." (*Ibid*, page 182). During this time, as is heard from Sri Indra Nath Nandi of revolutionary fame, there was a higher class student who used to reside at 13, Wellington Lane, and Khelat Chandra Inst., Main, was situated in a house in the North-East corner of Wellington Sq. With the ardent endeavour of this energetic Raghunath combined with that of Harish Ch. Sikdar a study circle was started in the house of Raghunath under the leadership of Nibaran Chandra Bhattacharyya (lately Prof.), Satish Ch. Mukherjee (about whom Prof. Nibaran wrote—"He accepted my proposal of starting a Secret Society for the liberation of India··· In subsequent days he went to Maharastra with an introductory letter from Aurobindo and saw people like Tilak and others···He became at first a Professor of Presidency College, next Chittagonj College and at last retired as Principal, Hooghli College,") (*Ramdhanu*—Jaista, 1356). Suresh Ch. Mukherjee, Harish Ch. Sikdar ("He had an admirable power of revolutionary leadership" wrote Prof. Nibran, "He hailed from Jessore and had a residence near Bowbazar & Amherst St. Junction), Bhubaneswar Sen (lately a business magnate), Radha Raman Das (who hailed from Orissa and hnd a house near Lady Duffarin Hospital—"(He was sincere and faithful and a devotee to country's cause" wrote Prof. Nibaran about him), Nityananda Chatterjee (a maternal-uncle of the late Hon'ble Minister Kalipada Mukherjee), Krishna Ch. Mukherjee (elder brother of the said Hon'ble Minister) and others.

Gradually joined Provash Ch. De (lately Prof.), Kalidas Bose, Bepin Behari, Ganguly, Indra Nath Nandy, Anukul Mukherjee, Girindra Nath Banerjee, Ranendra Nath Ganguly and others. Sri Ashutosh Lahiri, one of the living revolutionaries of old, who was also attached to Atmannoti Samity for a long time says that people like Radhakumud Mukherjee, Benoy Sarkar, Rabindra Narayan Ghose were also attached to this Samiti. Pandit Dharanath Bhattacharyya, another veteran member of this Samiti, says, late Doctor Ashu Das, Satish Sen and others of Serampore also came in touch with this Samiti. Subsequently Bepin Behari Ganguli, the great revolutionary of fame, wrote about them—"He was a companion of our boyhood and a fellow worker of subsequent days. It now comes to remembrance how we discussed day and night about our hard duties ; how we practised Lathi, Sword and Boxing together···Sympathetic friend, where are you now ? And where is that learned leader Satish Chandra ? Can't we be able to keep burning the flames of your encouragements, your do or die vows ?" ('*Patra*'—Ashutosh Number, Page 17, a Serampore periodical).

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YOUNG DELINQUENTS OF INDIA

GORACHAND KUNDU (Calcutta)

Introduction

E independence India is taking deeper rest in the treatment of juvenile delin-ey. New special legislative measures are g considered in the States where there is hildren's act in regard to juvenile delin-nts. The States where existing special dren's laws are already in force are con-plating further amendment for improve-t in scope and application.

A survey was, however, carried out by author amongst the delinquents of Eastern ia. The offenders were the inmates of Reformatory School, Hazaribagh, Borstal, nding Industrial School Berhampore.

Method and procedure

To eliminate the problem-boy of the ety and to get real delinquents, according onventional definition, the schools mention-above were selected. The inmates of those ols were all convicted by *lex terra* for e committed. With the active co-opera-and kind permission of the school autho-s, the young criminals were interviewed vidually and secretly in solitary place e in a room or in an open place, where no person was allowed to be present. All ution was taken to persuade the child nders to speak freely without any fear.

Prior to that, with the consent of the school authorities different articles were presented to the juvenile delinquents as gifts and without any prejudice the author mixed freely with them within the school enclosure either in a body or individually to establish rapport. They were also made to believe that the author neither belonged to Jail or Home Departments of the State or of the Centre, nor had any intention to investigate the offence commited by them.

The school records, registers, personal files, if any, of the convicts, were very kindly supplied for perusal and examination by the author. Further as far as the situation permitted, the parents, relatives, friends, etc., of the delinquents in question, were also contacted outside the school premises.

There were no schedules, questionnaire, etc., except a few points pressed in during interview. The spontaneous verbal statements of the young offenders were taken down. In some cases, where juveniles objected to record their statement only a few points of their narration were noted. Great attention was given that the subjects were not bullied.

Result

The Survey commenced in July 1958 and lasted upto the beginning of September of the year. During the period all available juvenile delinquents were examined. The number of the cases examined were 217.

These delinquents were convicted during May 1952 to July 1958. The distribution has been shown in table I.

B :—The author is indebted to Shri H. Nag, his active eo-operation for statistical ection. He is also grateful to Professor K. Bose, Head of the Deptt. of Psychology ; hropological Survey of India : I.G. on ; Superintendents and Dy. Superin-dents of different schools.

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TABLE—1

Number of Juvenile Convicts during May 1952 to July 1958.

Year	Reformatory	Borstal	Industrial	Total
1952	6 (100.0)	—	—	6
1953	5 (83.3)	—	1 (16.7)	6
1954	14 (77.8)	2 (11.1)	2 (11.1)	18
1955	30 (71.4)	2 (14.8)	10 (23.8)	42
1956	26 (68.4)	6 (15.8)	6 (15.8)	38
1957	26 (36.1)	34 (47.2)	12 (16.7)	72
1958	15 (42.9)	16 (45.7)	4 (11.4)	35
Total	122 (56.2)	60 (27.6)	35 (16.1)	217

N. B :—Figures in brackets indicate the percentages.

The percentages of the immates of the School Reformatory, Borstal, and Industrial were 56.2%, 27.6% and 16.1% respectively. The number of convicts shown against the year prior to 1957 were naturally less as many of them were released after their terms of conviction. The number 35 for the year 1958 shows an abrupt fall in comparison to 72 for the year 1957. This was not for the reason that lesser numbers could be brought to book. This was due to the fact that the survey was completed before the close of the year. Only Seven months, that is upto July of 1958, were covered. Also it should not in any case be presumed that delinquency shows any decline according to records. The figures shown in the table are only those which were subjected to our investigation. Nor should it be taken as definitely assuring rather the number shows the sampling alone.

TABLE—II

Delinquent boys convicted in different months in different years.

Months	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	Total
January		...	...	...	4	4	9	17(7.8)
February		1	1	2	7	6	5	22(10.1)
March		...	...	3	2	1	8	14(6.5)
April		...	...	6	1	3	4	14(6.5)
May	1	1	...	7	1	4	3	17(7.8)
June	...	...	...	2	5	3	5	15(6.9)
July	...	...	1	3	1	4	1	10(4.6)
August	1	2	4	6	...	7		20(9.2)
September	2	2	5	6	6	8		29(13.4)
October	...	...	...	3	1	4		8(3.7)
November	2	...	2	2	5	19		30(13.8)
December	...	...	5	2	5	9		21(9.7)
Total	6	6	18	42	38	72	35	217

N. B. :—Figures in brackets indicate the percentages.

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the monthly variation in table II, (P386) redeeming feature is that there are two ...s and one minimum. The highest percen- of boys were convicted in the month ...tember and November, 13.4 & 13.8. res- ...ely. Next higher percentage of boys were convicted in the month of february (10.1). The percentage of boys convicted in the month of December (9.7) was nearly similar to that of February. The lowest number (10) of children were convicted in the month of July, i.e., 4.6% of the total.

TABLE—III

...ct of ...ction	West Bengal	Bihar	Orissa	Assam	U.P.	Madras	East Pakistan	Home-less	Not known	Total
...Bengal :										
...tta	70	8	1	...	3	1	3	8	1	95
...wrah	35	4	...	...	6	...	1	9	1	56
...Parganas	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	2
...ghly	7	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	8
...wan	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	2
...kura	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	3
...napur	4	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	6
...a	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
...shidabad	5	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	7
...Dinajpur	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4
...eeling	10	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10
...aiguri	2	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	4
...th Bihar	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	2
...ulia	1	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3
...Known	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	..	2
...tal	145	15	2	1	10	3	9	17	3	205
...r :										
...chi	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4
...bhanga	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
...ra(Saran)	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
...ghyr	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	1
...bhum	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1
...Known	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	..	1
...tal	1	7	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	10
...n :										
...ore	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1
...a :										
...ssore	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
...Total	146	22	3	2	10	4	9	18	3	217

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Table III (P.387) shows the distribution of young offenders convicted from the districts of different states and the states from which they hail.

It is envisaged from the table that out of 217 convicts 94.5% boys were convicted from West Bengal. But only 67.3% of the total were the inhabitants of West Bengal, others were either from different States, or from East Pakistan, or homeless. There are 3 convicts whose natural home States could not be determined.

Out of 205 young criminals convicted from West Bengal only 145 were recorded to be naturally belonging to West Bengal, 17 were homeless, and home States of 3 children were not known. Remaining convicts 15, 2, 1, 10, 3 & 9 were inhabitants of Bihar, Orissa, Assam, U.P., Madras and East Pakistan respectively.

70.0% of the convicted from Bihar were dwellers of Bihar. One offender was homeless, One belonged to Madras, another one to West Bengal. Assam and Orissa convicted cent per cent child criminals of their respective dwellers.

The table shows 67.3% of the total convicts to belong to West Bengal as Home province but in reality only 49.8% child offenders out of 67.3% had Bengali as their mother-tongue. The remaining had dialects Hindi, Urdu, Oriya, Tamil, Telugu and Nepali work-

TABLE—IV

Dialects and States they hail from.

State to which belongs	Dialects								Total
	Bengali	Hindi	Urdu	Oriya	Tamil	Telugu	Nepali	Not known	
West Bengal	87 (59.6)	36 (24.7)	16 (11.0)	...	1 (0.7)	...	5 (3.4)	1 (0.7)	146
Bihar	2 (9.1)	13 (59.1)	6 (27.3)	...	1 (4.5)	...	...	...	22
Orissa	...	...	...	2 (66.7)	...	1 (33.3)	...	...	3
Assam	2 (100.0)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
U.P.	1 (10.0)	7 (70.0)	1 (10.0)	...	...	...	...	1 (10.0)	10
Madras	...	1 (25.0)	...	...	2 (50.0)	1 (25.0)	...	...	4
E. Pakistan	8 (88.9)	...	1 (11.1)	...	...	...	...	...	9
Homeless	8 (44.4)	9 (50.0)	1 (5.6)	...	...	...	...	...	18
Not known	...	2 (66.7)	1 (33.3)	...	...	...	...	...	3
Total	108 (49.8)	68 (31.3)	26 (12.0)	2 (0.9)	4 (1.8)	2 (0.9)	5 (2.3)	2 (0.9)	217

N. B :—Figures in brackets indicate the percentages.

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ing at 31.3%, 12.0%, 0.9%. 1.8%, 0.9% and 2.3% respectively. The mother-tongue of the 2 convicts, who were convicted from West Bengal and U.P. were not known.

The highest percentage, 59.6 of the Bengali speaking boys belonged to West Bengal. Similarly highest percentage, 59.1 of the Hindi speaking boys were inhabitants of Bihar. Also the highest percentage, 66.7 of the Oriya speaking boys' home State was Orissa. But the mother-tongue of 2 boys, belonging to Assam was recorded as Bengali. Table IV (P. 388) shows the detail of the distribution of dialects and the States to which they belong.

In table V (P.390) the delinquents are shown as they are distributed according to the district of conviction and the incidence per thousand with respect to the male population (according to Census 1951) of the respective districts. It should be noted that the district Purulia was detatched from the State of Bihar and attached to the State of West Bengal prior to this survey. Hence the incidence per thousand in Purulia district has been calculated on the basis of the Census 1961. Also the population of Manbhum could not be traced out from 1961 census. Hence the district has been considered as not known.

The discussion on smaller numbers as from Assam and Orissa being superficial was not included.

From the table it is clear that per thousand highest incidence (10.063) occurred in the district of Howrah, next to Calcutta (0.059). Third place is for Darjeeling (0.042). Hooghly and West Dinajpore jointly occupy the fourth place. Next come Murshidabad and Jalpaiguri taken jointly (each 0.008). The figures for Coochbehar, Bankura, Purulia and Ranchi and Midnapore, Burdwan and Nadia jointly are 0.006, 0.005, 0.004, 0.002, and 0.003 respectively. The remaining districts are jointly shown in the bottom of table V.

It is clear from table VI (P. 391) that the common offence of the young delinquents is the offence against property (67.4%). Out of which 52.6% boys were convicted for theft. 9.3% of the boys were convicted for offences against the human body, where it is seen that the maximum (2.8%) boys were convicted for kidnapping. Most of the boys convicted for kidnapping were the inmates of the Borstal School. Not a single inmate of the Industrial School was convicted for the offences aganist the human body.

The inmates of the Reformatory School were mostly convicted for offences against property. All the convicts for the offence in relation to excise were the inmates of the Reformatory School. For the offence in relation to railway the equal number of convicts were the inmates of Reformatory and Borstal. For this offence only 7 boys were the inmates of the Industrial school. The offence of 3 boys of Borstal and 2 boys of Industrial School were not known.

Discussion

In 1860 and 1861 British Rule in India enacted the Indian Penal Code (Act XLV of 1860) and Criminal Procedure Code (Act XXV of 1861) respectively as *lex terra.*

"The first special law directly related to the treatment of juvenile delinquents in Burma, Ceylon, India and Pakistan was the Reformatory Schools Act of 1870, revised later in accordance with the recommendations of the Prison conference held in 1892, and known at the present time as the Reformatory School Act (Indian Act VIII of 1897). In these four countries, which have closely followed British precedents, the Penal Code, the

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TABLE —V

District of conviction and incidence per thousand.

State	District of Conviction	Data Obtained	Male population According to Census 1951	Per thousand
WEST BENGAL	Calcutta	95	1,623,211	0.059
	Howrah	56	890,204	0.063
	24 Parganas	2	2,499,660	0.001
	Hooghly	8	823,923	0.010
	Burdwan	2	1,160,761	0.002
	Bankura	3	665,853	0.005
	Midnapore	6	1,718,459	0.003
	Nadia	1	590,936	0.002
	Murshidabad	7	869,458	0.008
	West Dinajpore	4	383,853	0.010
	Darjeeling	10	239,018	0.042
	Jalpaiguri	4	501,090	0.008
	Cooch Bihar	2	361,860	0.006
	Purulia	3	689,351*	0.004
	Not Known	2		
	Total	205		
BIHAR	Ranchi	4	938,255	0.004
	Durbhanga	1	1,844,201	0.001
	Gaya	1	1,535,362	0.001
	(Saran) Chapra	1	1,501,253	0.001
	Monghyr	1	1,434,824	0.001
	Manbhum	1**		
	Not known	1		
	Total	10		
ASSAM	Tejpore	1		
ORISSA	Ballassore	1		
	Grand Total	217		

* According to census 1961.

** Treated as not known.

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TABLE—VI

Types of crime and inmates of the Schools.

Type of Crime	Reformatory	Borstal	Industrial	Total
(1) Offences against property				
(i) Theft	74	18	21	113 (52.6)
(ii) House breaking and theft	4	2	—	6 (2.8)
(iii) House breaking and criminal trespass	2	2	1	5 (2.3)
(iv) Dacoity	1	3	—	4 (1.9)
(v) Criminal breach of trust	—	1	1	2 (0.9)
(vi) Possession of stolen property	10	3	2	15 (7.0)
Total	91	29	25	145.
(2) Offence against human body				
(i) Murder	2	3	—	5 (2.3)
(ii) Grievous hurt	2	—	—	2 (0.9)
(iii) Kidnapping	2	4	—	6 (2.8)
(iv) Rape	1	4	—	5 (2.3)
(v) Unnatural offence	1	1	—	2 (0.9)
Total	8	12	—	20
(3) Abetment of any offence	1	6	1	8 (3.7)
(4) Begging	1	—		1 (0.5)
(5) Disorderly and riotious behaviour	1	—		1 (0.5)
(6) Forging currency notes	—	1		1 (0.5)
(7) Offences in relation to excise	10	—		10 (4.7)
(8) Offences in relation to Railway	11	11	7	29 (13.5)
(9) Offences not known	—	3	2	5
Grand Total	123	62	35	220*

N. B :—Figures in brackets indicate percentages.

*Three boys were convicted for two different offences simultanieously.

Criminal Procedure Code, the Refermatory Schools Act have played an important role in the shaping of the evolution of speical legislation for juvenile offenders" (14).

All boys, committing crime may not be called delinquents, rather they are problem children due to *ut infra* conventional definition.

"Criminal behaviour is behaviour in violation of the criminal law. No matter what the degree of immorality, reprehensibility, or indecency of an act, it is not a crime unless if is prohibited by the criminal law" (11).

Young offenders who are not manifestly brought under the purview of the law, cannot be said to be juvenile delinquents till they are detected, punished and are sent for reform (5).

A problem child does not necessarily become young offender or juvenile delinquent. "Juvenile delinquents (delinquencies ?) are in fact defined as acts which would be crime if committed by the adult (12)". On the other hand "the problem child is a child with problems" :(13), which problems affect the society.

In Eastern India the young offenders are

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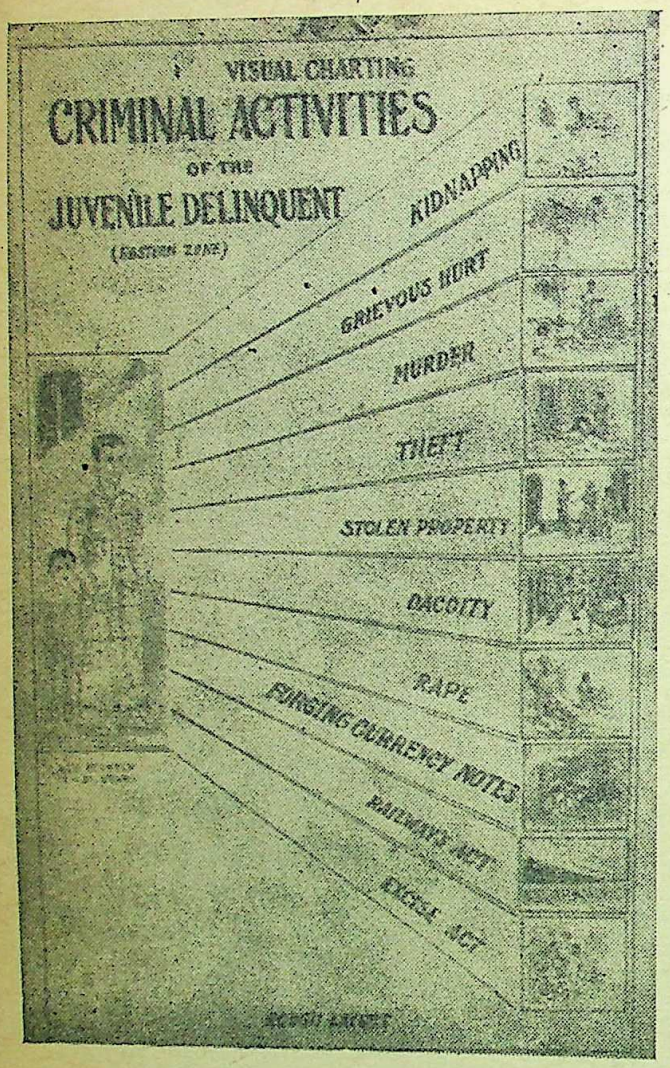

generally convicted by the Reformatory Schools, Act and Children's Act passed by the respective province, where Whipping Act or Special Children's Act (1909) are in operation.

According to the former Act young offender means, "any boy who has been convicted of any offence punishable with transportation or imprisonment and who, at the time of such conviction, was under fifteen years" (10).

The upper age limit has been described by the Bengal Children's Act (2) and the Whipping Act (15) as sixteen.

From the definition it is clear that the age of the juvenile will be considered at the time of conviction, when the order has been passed and not at the time of commission of the offence.

Another indispensable point, in Eastern India, to be noted that under fifteen years old girl offenders will neither be convicted, nor be sent to any reformatory, in an area where the Reformtory Schools Act is in action. Very rarely the young girl offenders are sent to the ordinary prison, if the offence is not very serious. On the other hand the same girl offenders may receive special treatment if the offence is committed in the area, where the Children's Act is in force.

It is also observed that the girl is acquitted *vulgo*. Even in *grande passion* the girl is found not guilty and the boy is charged with offences, either kidnapping or rape, etc., though the girl initiated the offence, either due to sex superstitions or for fulfilment of some other wishes (8).

Conclusion

The States, Bihar, Orissa, West Bengal, Assam, Manipore, Tripura and Sikkim *le tout ensemble*, is Eastern India. The total male juveniles, ranging from age 7 to 21 years, in Eastern India is 14,707,000 (according to census 1951), and the incidence of juvenile delinquent per thousand is 0.015.

The most cosmopolitan State in Eastern India is West Bengal. The people of Bihar, Orissa. Madras, U. P., Nepal, Assam, East Pakistan, etc., are living here side by side and in very much congested dwellings.

The reason for greatest incidence per thousand in the district of Howrah may be expressed in the language of Dr. Biswas, "this is possible because Howrah is a mill section where a large number of coolies live and most of the parents or guardians of the delinquents of the Howrah area work in one or the other of the Mills (3)".

Besides, another reason, *in posse*, is that both Calcutta and Howrah are thickly populated as well as people of different culture, customs, manners, etc., are living in the

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comfrt of living in a cultural *melee*, pomp le *beau monde*, etc. breed jealousy, greed, and any other longings and lusts in the minds of inhabitants. Parents, guardians, as a matter fact, find little time to control, amend and ect their scions to lead a decent life, because y, generally, keep themselves busy in their irs of bread earning. Certain parents or rdians *nolens volens* persuade their children commit offences occasionelly due to the concious influence of *ut supra* shortcomings metimes due to poverty. In the United States, les have higher crime rate in the city idents than rural residents (15). The overwding and housing problem in Calcutta and wrah are also the reasons for the greatest idence per thousand. Majority of the juve- offenders in New Jersey came from slums h insufficient light, poor ventilation, overwded room and land space (5). Also there been definite relation between sex delinency and overerowding in the home (4). del A Elliot mentioned iu the book *Correc al Education and the Delinquent Girl* that crowded quarters from homes with five or e children two-thirds of the girls were t to prison at Sleighton Farms PA. The es of crime delinquency etc, was reduced English cities after rehousing (5).

Besides, the scarcity of the playground space for the children in the cities and ns is also one of the cause for juvenile inquency. The children used to play in street violating the traffic rules, and posing the town regulation. In the language Smith, "Juvenile delinquency often begins the attempt to play in the streets contrary town regulation.

This play may be a nuisance to the commu- y, but it is nothing less than the very life of child" (17). It is observed here, that most the delinquent's first lesson of crime is violating the traffic rules during the play on the the street, Gradually they are infused with courage to be insubordinate at home. Ultimately they consciously or unconscionly venture to rebe ! and renounce to obey the *lex-terra*. Howrah is not only overcrowded and housing is a big problem but the playground for the children is in great want also there.

The monthly distribution of the juvenile delinquents, apparently, is incoherent. But when the said distribution has been considered in relation to the appreciably isolated seasons of India, mainly in Eastern India, it has been perceived that the variation is neither pell-mell nor the distribution is at 'sixes and sevens'. Rather it is due to the seasonal influence on juvenile delinquents (8) that has been explained separately.

Other factors, e.g., social grouping (9), age (11), etc., relating to the juvenile delinquents, as well as some determinants of juvenile delinquency (10) have been distinctly discussed.

The parental inffluence and the educational influence on the juvenile deninquents, under reference are being elaborately considered separately.

In conclusion the author acknowledges that the study mentioned here is neither complete, nor can be taken for a precise generalisation for two reasons; firstly the survey was preliminary; secondly, in Eastern India the trial of the young offenders in the juvenile court was, even where juvenile courts exist, not compulsory. Many juvenile offenders were convicted by the adult court and had been sent even to the ordinary prisons. Also a good number of juvenile delinquents, under trial were in the ordinary prisons in place of remand homes. These delinquents were not taken into consideration, neither they were examined due to want of requisite permission for scientific study from the authority concerned.

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Indian Periodicals

Problems of Population Control

Writing in the *Khadi Gramodyog*, U. N. ...ebar discusses one of the most burning ...estions of the day.

One of the most important issues that ...ia has to face is the problem of population. ...e are growing too fast for our land to ...pport us and our development schemes to ...ch up with our growth. Population is not ...henomenon that can be checked overnight. ...mediate steps have nevertheless to be taken ...prevent the population explosion which ...atens to destroy our economic fabric.

A vast propaganda machine, adjunct to the ...eaucratic edifice of the Health Ministry of ...e Government of India, is being built up to ...pagate the need and means of population ...trol. Like everything else it seeks to copy ...e approach of the sophisticated west, in ...ditions hundred per cent different in terms ...background, education, standards of sanita-...n and health, and man-woman relationship.

The processes of reproduction, whether ...an or otherwise, form the base on which ...e whole edifice of creation rests, so far as the ...ing beings are concerned. The instinct of ...vival is a basic instinct ; none would like to ...e a risk on the side of ending with himself ...his children or grand-children ; there is also ...e question of self-fulfilment as a social being ...the cultural sense ; there is the aspect of sex ...One cannot isolate birth from all these ...an urges so easily as it is sought to be done.

...nomic Happiness

The governmental propaganda operates upon ...superficial layers of human motivation. It approaches the problem from a limited angle of economic prosperity of the people. The bulk of our people, especially the womenfolk, looks at the problem of child birth from a traditional angle based on the religious concept of family obligation ; a good many have a feeling that birth of life is not just an accident ; it is not just a couple that brings forth children ; life is God's gift which should not be interfered with. A person with a crowd of children had never been considered as an unthinking person in our society.

The central point in population control in the circumstances cannot be an appeal to self-interest ; but should be an appeal to duty. When people were few in number and space relatively unlimited, it was understandable that society in this country emphasised the obligation of populating it, as the Soviet Union does today. Childlessness in the circumstances naturally came to be regarded as something strange and in course of time began to be looked upon as the greatest affliction that could befall a married couple. The blessed one thought in terms of hundred sons and so on. But in the changed situation when the country is bursting at the seams with an ever-growing population which has already created a problem of space, the duty lies the other way. No person who is conscious of his obligation to society, can throw even the slightest, undue strain on the already strained resources of the society. Any further straining of the resources would naturally be harmful to the society. But then the individuals cannot escape harm either. Second, it is necessary for everyone to look to the health chart of the nation. With

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meagre nourishment it must become a problem unless physical and moral reserves are built up. Financial and technical resources can only then by utilised fully to the best advantage of the nation to carry the heavy burden that awaits it.

Rousing People's Consciousness

But this consciousness of responsibility can only follow proper education of the citizenry on the subject. The problem therefore is a positive problem of imparting education on the subject of health and the proper method for it is one of creating consciousness about one's responsibility to society and to oneself. The question of education on the subject of health of the nation on physical, moral and mental side has, however, been relegated to the background. Jugglery with statistics, love for shortcuts and slipshod thinking are vitiating the climate, where an appeal to the sense of national purpose, and duty could have provided the right appeal.

In its handling of the problem, the government is guided more by methods which have sometimes nothing to do with education in health. Family planning as practised in the west is more out of a desire to get the utmost out of one's life in the physical sense. Greater and greater comfort is its aim. The whole object is to reduce the sharers in the comfort.

Mankind has to study the law of life as it works in the book of nature among living beings, if this activity has to stand the test of time. A healthy person is a person whose functions are in tune with nature. Nature is no respector of person. Those who transgress her laws must be prepared to pay the price. Eroticism is becoming a problem in the west as frightful as is the problem of numbers in the east. Anyone who studies the serious literature of the west will realise the extent of anxiety it is causing. The Profumo scandal and the public discussions in the nature of national introspection that followed, reveal the state of public health of England more than the figures of deaths and births issued by the Public Health Department. In U.S.A. the problem is presented in a different form. We have only to see the toll in terms of divorces, suicides, homicidal tendencies and lunacy American society is paying.

India of the past made a mistake by running a hazard with the health of the society by imposing spiritual disciplines without educating the mind of the individual. The result was a split personality and all that it involved. West may be making a similar mistake. Its experiments may result in waste in the name of comfort and licence in the name of liberty. There is no shortcut in relation to problems affecting the very basis of human existence—the problems relating to life which begins with birth. Whoever tampers with the natural flow of that life has the responsibility to see that it does not perpetrate harm in the long run.

Gandhian View

Gandhiji approached this problem from three different angles according to the level of consciousness of the people. He thought in terms of total *brahmacharya* or celibacy for the seeker, a partnership for social service for the understanding, and an environment of simple, pure and healthy social system for the rest. He prescribed what in his terminology he used to call self-control. His view was based on a rational view of enlightened human existence. It would guard against physical wastage, mental degeneration and spiritual bankruptcy. It would take away the edge of suspicion in different social groups in India that it would result in reducing their strength; reduction in numbers would be more than compensated by the improvement in quality of the human material. This view would also remove

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the apprehension in the mind of the thinking people that curbs on family would bring down the intellectual level of the community.

The healthy approach to the problem of population should begin by fixing a desirable age for marriage. Social health and not social expediency should be a guide in determining that age. Resources of educative propaganda can be concentrated on two aspects. Parents should be awakened to their responsibility towards their children with an emphasis on the quality of human material and their obligation to the nation.

Simultaneously efforts should be made to generate a healthy climate which could help people in observing those restraints which are essential in order to enable them to fulfil this obligation. Here also an attitude that this is utopia is only another name for irresponsible thinking. Climate and environment play a decisive role in influencing people's activities. Vinobaji attributes the low rate of increase in population in Madras to the climate of austerity that prevails in Madras. There is no justification for millions that we spend on propaganda if we do not believe in the dynamics of climate and environment. The whole apparatus of communication, however, is operating against the basic need to educate people in a healthy marital existence. Cinema is the worst sinner in this respect. This exposes the utilitarian character of our approach. At the base the objective of family planning must be education in physical, mental and moral health.

But I know I am arguing for the end of the earth for those who have laid their stores by the standards and values of life of the west. Their ignorance of the conditions in the west, however, is equalled by their ignorance of the Indian thought. India evolved its pattern of life not because a few Brahmans wanted it. Before it took to it, however, it went through the whole experience through which the west has yet to pass. It would be absurd to think of our forefathers as dry, long-faced monks. They knew that cheer of life was absolutely essential for the happiness and growth of the individual. But they had also the wisdom to foresee its pitfalls and more than that to think how this happiness could be assured over the longest possible period. They were obliged for this reason to think in terms of an integrated approach to the problem of life. Physical pleasure alone cannot be the summum bonum of life for the intelligent and the enlightened just as the negative approach to it cannot be the summum bonum of life. Fuller life cannot avoid satisfaction of the physical hunger of the body as it cannot avoid the satisfaction of the moral and spiritual hunger of the human soul.

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Foreign Periodicals

Japan : Of Dynamo and Destiny

The following editorial from the *Saturday Review* presents a picture of Japan today, which is as dynamic as it is interesting :

Nowhere in the world—not in New York, Los Angeles, West Berlin, Sydney—is there anything to compare with the raw energy and explosive thrust of Tokyo. The entire city is being torn apart and remade. Huge gashes are being cut into the heart of Tokyo to accommodate a network of elevated super-highways and monorail high-speed public transports. Crisscrossing the construction maze at many points is the underground steel jungle that is rapidly resolving itself into what is expected to be the finest subway in the world. The city has become the habitat of bulldozers, steamshovels, cranes, drilling and riveting machines. Literally hundreds of new structures are going up—office buildings, department stores, hotels, theaters, etc. Through the night and with only the briefest of pauses for changes of shift, the work continues. Tokyo is racing against a deadline. The Olympics.

Obviously, the building boom cannot be attributed solely to the Olympics, with its expectation of perhaps 100,000 visitors. Much of what is being built would probably be built in due course anyway; what the Olympics are doing is to provide incentive, acceleration, flurrry. Basically, however, what is happening in Tokyo today is actually a magnification of what is going on all over Japan. It appears almost as though the entire populace has been entered in the four-minute mile.

The boom goes far beyond building. In the space of little more than a dozen years Japan has made itself into a highly skilled and diversified forcing-house of industrial production. Its annual rate of industrial growth for the past decade is the highest in the world. At one time it had a reputation for producing inexpensive, low-quality merchandise. Today, it can hold its own with any industrial nation in the manufacture of precision equipment and sophisticated products. It manufactures a wide variety of electronic computers, automation devices, vacuum tubes, transistorized television sets, and stereophonic units. Its automobiles go in for high styling and engineering innovations. Its taxicabs have features for the convenience of passengers and drivers that put European and American models to shame.

Meanwhile, farmers are growing more food on less land. It has not been necessary, as in prewar years, to import large quantities of rice. Rice production has been increasing year by year.

Economic levels being relative, the Japanese standard of living is still substantially below that of the United States. But the average Japanese income of $ 400 per capita towers Mt. Fuji-like above the rest of Asia. The significant comparison, of course, is with Japanese history until now. Never before have the Japanese people been as well-fed, well-housed, well-educated, and well-entertained as now. More than 90 per cent of the families in cities own television sets. Eighty per cent of all families have TV. Family ownership of radios is in excess of 98 per cent throughout the

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country. The average housewife has a battery of modern drudgery-savers at her command—rice cookers, air conditioners, washing machines, refrigerators, sewing machines.

One of the characteristics of Japan not so long ago—not just in its manufactured goods but in many of its values—was its apparent imitativeness. This is no longer true. Japan today aims not just to compete but to lead. Its scientific laboratories and research facilities, like industry itself, are going full blast. Products are being invented every day. Design, whether in architecture, fabrics, or machines, has become as important as mass production.

The change in the economic condition and physical appearance in Japan is visible and dramatic. Less apparent but just as real are the changes within the people themselves. Psychologically and philosophically, the Japanese today seem like transients in their own country. They seem not quite connected with their past, somewhat befuddled by their present, and almost indifferent to the future.

Some European observers discern in these disconnections all the makings of an existentialist society. That may well be; but the quality of sustained introspection that would have to serve as the base for such a development is not readily discernible. Neither is it easily invoked. Indeed, it is the very absence of philosophical or spiritual foundations that defines the problem and in many ways the ideal of contemporary Japan. Traditionalism, which used to be the vital ingredient in holding the nation together and in fixing the national purpose, has come unstuck. The mystic chords of memory, in Lincoln's celebrated phrase, have lost the power to evoke or impel.

Whatever the virtues of the old traditions, they were at least interrelated and cohesive. The Emperor was more than a monarch; he was the binding force for the spiritual, philosophical, and political values of the nation. The individual saw his importance in collective terms; he justified his existence only as he served and was responsive to the larger entity of group and nation, the supreme manifestation of which was the Emperor.

In the old days, because of the Emperor, any war which Japan fought was a holy war. And, because of the Emperor, victory was certain. How could a godhead lose a war? It was perhaps inevitable, therefore, that Japan's crushing defeat by the United States should be regarded by the Japanese in more than national or military terms. It was a defeat for tradition, for their total mystique, and for any sense of national origin or destiny.

For the victor, the spoils of war were not so much the resources of the nation as the souls of the people. Spiritually and psychologically, the Japanese gave themselves to the United States. This was not what we wanted or were prepared to receive. We wanted them to abandon the ideas and the institutions that led them to Pearl Harbor. And we had our own image and institutions as the only readily available alternative. What we were not prepared to receive was the totality of the moral surrender. The Japanese eagerly took in what we were saying but they couldn't metabolize it. They knew that what we wanted them to do and believe was right because we had demonstrated that rightness in the fact of our being there. But they couldn't seem to find a place in themselves where the new ideas would take hold. It was like trying to grow corn where only rice had grown before.

Democracy, we told the Japanese, meant

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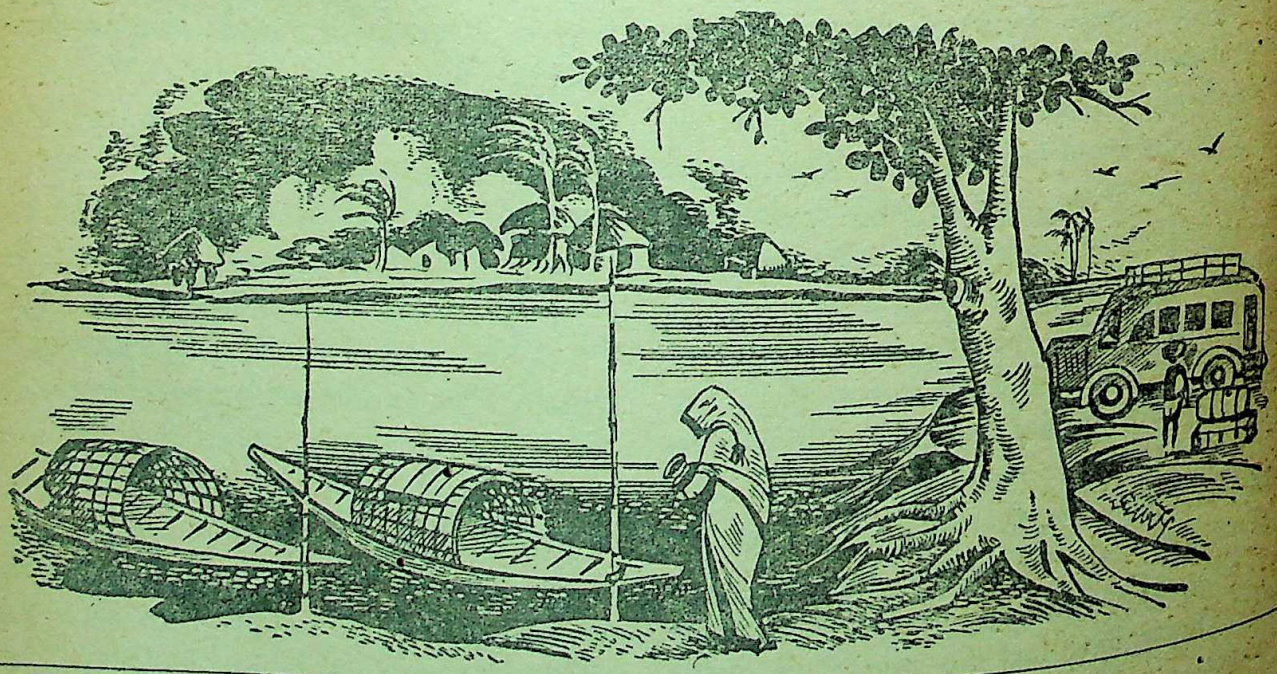
the supremacy of the individual. The state or society existed for the purpose of serving the individual. Because of the traditional subordination in Japan of the individual to society and its needs, this was and still is a difficult concept for the individual to comprehend. He had been conditioned to duty and we steered him in the direction of freedom and responsibility. The result is that many Japanese have confused individualism with self-assertiveness or anti-social behavior. They don't easily make the essential distinction between vital initiative and predatory opportunism.

Even without the war and the Occupation, Japan tended to be caught in a straddle between East and West. These two events have compounded the disequilibrium, with the result that Japan in many ways today is a nation in search of its soul and even its name. In this sense, there is something heartbreaking about the place, despite the glitter of rising steel and neon signs. One wonders whether people are becoming so preoccupied with making things that there is no time for the contemplation of individual or national destiny. Turmoil and friction may create the raw electricity for generating ideas but some degree of serenity or spaciousness of spirit is required to bring them to full size. But the picture is not entirely bleak. There are signs that a new generation, neither molded originally by tradition nor scarred by the bombs, is coming of age. It has vast energy, intelligence, skill. And it is asking good questions. It is beginning to rediscover aspects of freedom from which it can derive creative growth and personal dignity. Most important of all, it is learning that there is no essential inconsistency between the two.



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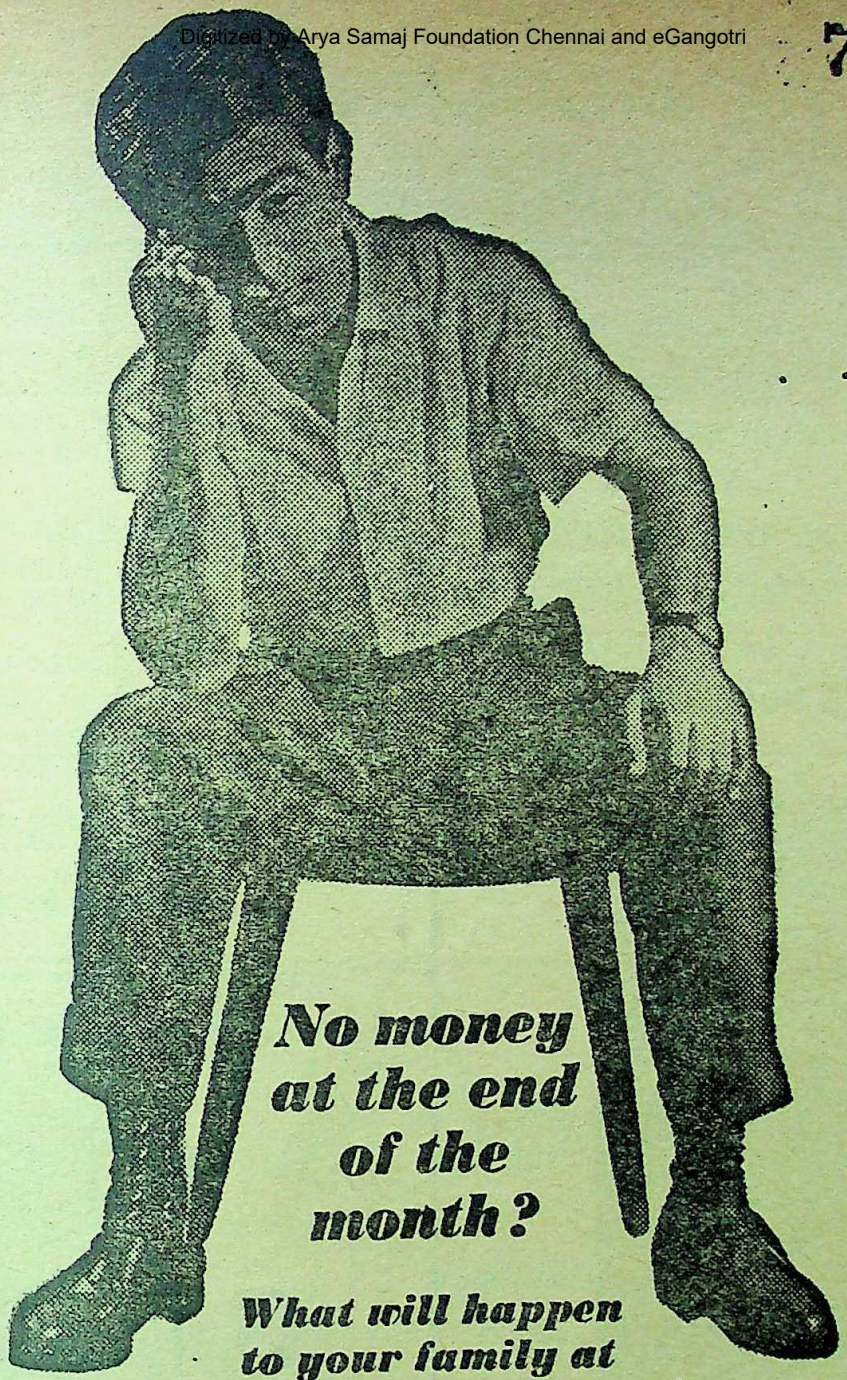

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THE MODERN REVIEW

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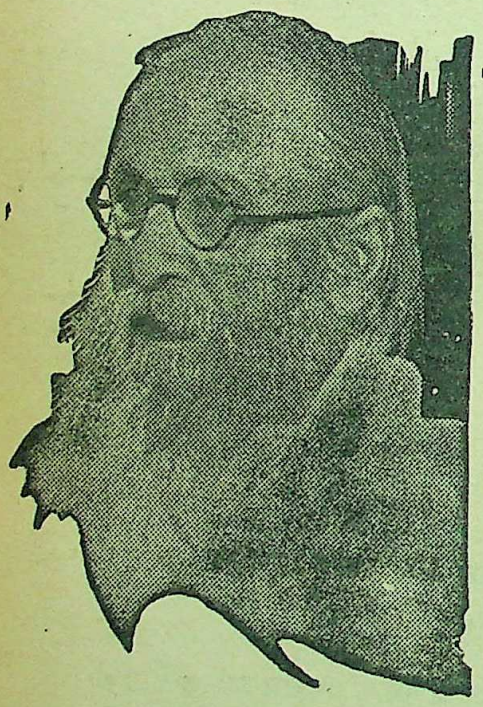

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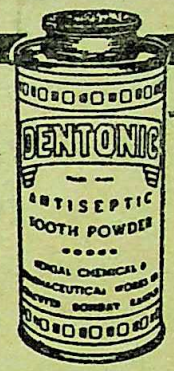

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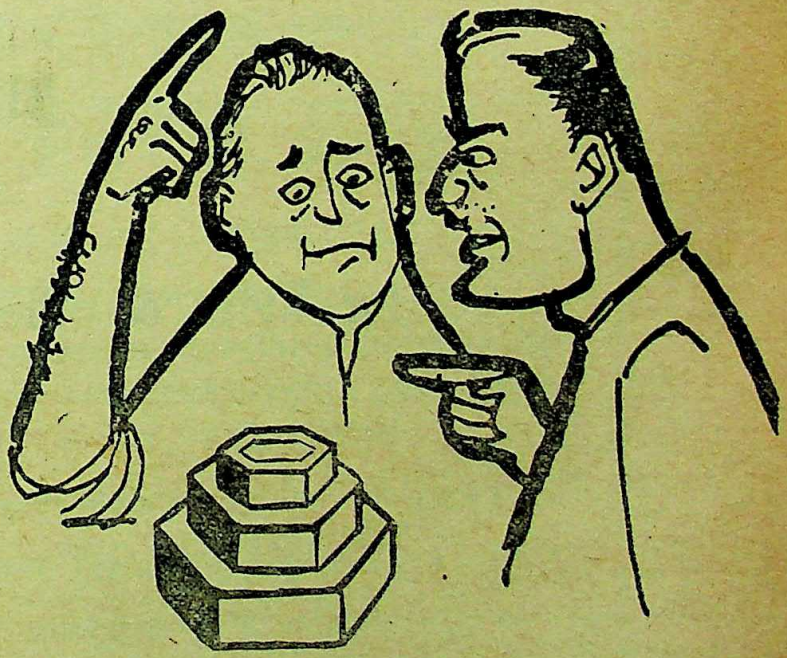

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THE MODERN REVIEW

DECEMBER 1964

VOL. CXVI, No. 6 WHOLE No. 696

NOTES

The World

The eyes of the Afro-Asian world were focussed on the Congo during the latter half of November. And as the main concern was about the "hostages," who were mostly Belgian and American men, women and children held by the Congolese rebels, there was a good deal of active interest evinced by the West in this matter. The rebels, who were mostly tribal warriors who were alleged to have been roughly trained and armed by the Chinese by the Western press, held a considerable part of the Congo inclusive of Stanleyville, the third largest city and the key to the north-eastern part of the counttry.

A column of Government troops, led by white mercenaries were slowly fighting their way north, when the rebels declared that they would execute one of the hostages, an American surgeon, who had organized a medical mission in the Congolese North-East at a place called Wasolo. The rebels had accused Dr. Paul Carlson, the surgeon, of being a Major in the U.S. armed forces and of being engaged in espionage. The Prime Minister of Kenya, Mr. Jomo Kenyatta, who had been engaged in an attempt to mediate between the Congolese Government and the rebels and who had tried to negotiate on the doctor's behalf, had said that he could only carry on with the negotiations if all fighting were to cease—which would mean delaying the attack on Stanleyville by the Government troops.

Soon, after all that, Belgium, the former ruler of Congo and the country with the largest number of nationals amongst the hostages, initiated a strong move. It announced that a battalion of Belgian paratroopers had been moved in U.S. Air-force planes to Ascension island off the West Coast of Africa "to undertake, if needed, a rescue operation for purely humanitarian reasons." After a protest by Premier Tshombe of the Congo, the Belgians said that they would not move in without permission from the Congolese Government.

The Congolese Government was informed, indeed the news was broadcast all over the World. What followed was narrated in a **New York Times** editorial as follows:

Premier Tshombe consented. At the same time the U.S. agreed to meet with a Congolese rebel emissary in Nairobi, Kenya, to negotiate for the safety of the white hostages. The stage was set for the events of last week.

On Sunday, the rebel "Foreign Minister" arrived in Nairobi—but the talks with the American Embassy collapsed as soon as they began over his insistence that the Government's spearhead column, now a day's march from Stanleyville, be turned back. The Belgian battalion was flown

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from Ascension Island to Kamina, a Congolese airstrip three hours' flying time from Stanleyville.

Over the Stanleyville radio came shouts of "Lumumba water! Lumumba water"—an evident effort to invoke magic from the late Premier's name. And in a broadcast, Mr. Gbenye sent instructions "to all our brother Lumumbists—if American bombardment comes, take your machetes and cut up the foreigners into pieces."

Monday night in Washington and Brussels, the final decision was made. At dawn Tuesday, just as the Congolese overland column reached the outskirts of Stanleyville, Belgian paratroops began dropping on the city's airport.

For the next four days—as the "paras" seized Stanleyville, flew on to a white settlement at Paulis, 225 miles away, and oversaw the evacuation by air of whites straggling in from the surrounding jungle—there unfolded a spectacle of horror to rival anything the Congo drama had revealed before. These were some scenes:

Outside the Victoria Hotel in downtown Stanleyville, the troops' arrival interrupted what minutes later would have been the massacre of some 250 white hostages, most of them Belgians. "They lined us up," one of them said. "One of the guards shouted, 'If we are going to die you are going to die too' Another voice gave the order to fire. The people on both sides of me were killed. Then one of the guards said, 'There are the paras!' Then they fled."

Twenty-nine persons, including a number of women and children, were dead. Among them was Dr. Paul E. Carlson, an American medical missionary whose sentencing to death as a "spy" had been announced over Stanleyville radio, and an American woman missionary. More than 40 persons were wounded.

In Stanleyville's African quarter across the Congo River the paratroops found a heap of bodies—45 white hostages, including a number of priests and four Spanish nuns, hacked and multilated. There were only six survivors of that massacre. One of them, a planter, said: "We paid for our lives with money and beer, but the priests and nuns had nothing to give."

In Paulis 211 white hostages were rescued. But 22, including an American missionary, had been "executed"—beaten slowly with beer bottles and clubs, starting at the neck and working down.

There were severe reactions, of course, in the African World and in the Communist countries as well. The **N. Y. Times** report said:

By this time the complications were mounting. The action was attacked by most African nations as "imperialist" intervention in an internal Congolese affair; the reaction ranged from pained reproof from Kenya's Jomo Kenyatta, to an angry speech by Algeria's Ahmed Ben Bella promising more arms—and "volunteers" as well—for the rebels. In Cairo, African students burned the U.S. Embassy library.

A special committee of the Organization of African Unity (O.A.U.) met in Nairobi and recommended an emergency session of all African leaders Dec. 18 to deal with the Congo problem.

Russia protested to the U.S., Belgium and Britain, calling the evacuation of white residents a pretext for an attempt to intervene against the struggle of "the Congolese people." All Eastern European capitals echoed the same line. In Moscow, Sofia and Prague, mobs led by African students stoned and damaged the diplomatic missions of the U.S., Belgium and Britain.

As for Communist China, she expressed "indignation" and pledged "all possible measures" to help the rebels.

At a news conference yesterday, President Johnson defended the Stanleyville action as a humanitarian move. "We think we saved hundreds and thousands of lives," he said. The State Department said about 1,650 persons of 17 nationalities (including 55 Americans) had been evacuated.

In Brussels, Foreign Minister Spaak of Belgium, who had sent in the paratroopers for the rescue, told a hushed Parliament, "I have done my duty. My conscience is at peace."

The matter is now before the Security Council of the U.N.

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A major world-event, worthy of record, k place at the begining of November, en Lyndon Johnson was elected President the United States for a term of four years. was the nominee of the Democratic Party d he defeated his Republican opponent rry Goldwater by a "land slide" majority. Johson's "popular vote" was 42. llion, 15.6 millions more than that of his al, and he got 61.3 per cent of the votes,— th being records. Barry Goldwater's campign was based on race prejudice, repudian of peaceful approach to Communism all counts and a generally retrograde attide where humane considerations were inved. His defeat on such a massive scale s gone a long way towards reassuring the rld that the U.S. is working for Worldce according to its own lights.

The other significant event is the declaion by the Soviets that there is going to a cut of 500 million rubles in the Soviet fence budget. It has been reported that shington is giving serious consideration the implications of this announcement d, if on a factual analysis it really means reduction in the armed might of the viets, then a corresponding cut may be de in the defence expenditure of the S.A.

His Holiness the Pope asked that the e in armaments should cease and that all gressive nations should impose a 10% on their expenditure on armament and n-under arms, and spend the sums saved the relief of suffering, hunger and ignorce in the backward and underdeveloped ntries of the world .

An idea of the amounts involved can be from the figures released by the Atlantic liance authorities at Paris recently. ording to that U.S.A. spent, in the curt calender year, 54,339 millions dollars nada spent -790 millions Canada dollars, itain £2043 million, France 23485 million ancs, West Germany 20929 million Marks, nmark 1685 million Kroner, Norway 1646 llion Kroner and Italy 1,100,000 Lire. The al comes to about 75,000, million dollars= 00 Crores Rupees.

The Eucharistic Congress

Bombay was the venue of the 38th International Eucharistic Congress, which was held for nine days starting from the 28th of November last. This is the first time, since the first International Eucharistic Congress in 1881, that this imposing spiritual demonstration of the unity of Catholicism in Christianity and the public worship of the "Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist —the bread and wine of Communion—has taken place in a predominantly non-Christian country. Christians of all denominations form barely 3% of India's population, the 6½ million Catholics forming less than 1½%. On the other hand the history of Christianity in India started nearly 2000 years ago, with the advent of St. Thomas the Apostle.

India was chosen as a venue by Pope John XXIII, and his successor the present Pope, Paul VI has made history by gracing the Congress with his presence. The Congress assumed a special religious significance with the arrival of Pope, Paul VI. The Papal Legate, Gregory Cardinal Agagianian preceded His Holiness and performed the opening at the Oval Maidan, where more than 150000 people were present to take part in the ceremonies, besides about 20000 people who stood outside the enclosures. 9000 delegates from 33 countries attended the Congress, 500 Cardinals, Archbishops and Bishops forming a small section of them. The only predominantly Catholic country that was unrepresented was Portugal, which had opposed the visit of the Pope to India. The biggest contingent, of about 1500, came from Ceylon, followed by about 1200 from U.S.A.

The 38th International Eucharist Congress had as its theme "The Eucharist and the New Man." In the "apostolic letter" of appointment of Cardinal Agagianian the Pope dwelt on the spiritual problems facing mankind. The Pope said the World of today, in which men seemed to be submerged in material things, had great need of a "renewal of spirit." "May this renewal gush forth, as if from a spring of living water, beyond the shores of India and cover the whole world."

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Describing India as that imensely and densely populated land, renowned for its ancient civilization and outstanding for the rapid advances it is making since the attainment of its independence" the Pope invoked God's blessings on the Congress by calling upon the Holy spirit to inspire the "holy undertaking and abundantly pour forth His light and strength."

The inaugural ceremonies started with a "full throated rendering of India's National Anthem by a 4000-strong choir of uniformed school children. The formal colourful procedure of the enthronement of the Papal Legate and the presentation of credentials by the Legate and the reading of the Apostolic letter of appointment followed. The Papal Anthem, the Nicene Creed and the Mangalacharanam were then sung by the same choir. Our Vice-President, Dr. Zakir Hussain, whose presence indicated the Governments' approval, said that he was confident that the Eucharistic Congress would make a notable contribution towards bringing about a deeper understanding among men and nations. He hoped it would pave the way for a new social order free from racial discrimination and exploitation and in which truth, justice and mutual respect would prevail. He mentioned the part played by the Bible in the days of India's struggle for independence. "Gandhiji, the father of our nation, sought solace," the Vice-President said, "in some of his darkest hours in the teachings of Christ."

Cardinal Agagianian pointed to the fact that from time immemorial India had been noted for her deep religious instincts. "Indians are masters of spiritual devotion and austerity which were often rendered little more than lip service in other parts of the world. They are unflinching devotees of human ideals and religious convictions. India can teach us all and we, too, are here to learn."

Dr. John Heenan Archbishop of Westminister, said a day would be set aside for Mass and Holy Communion in Britain, for the people of India—not only for the Catholics or Christians but for the people of all religions who had displayed a noble example of co-operation and unity and spirit of charity in arranging the Congress.

The arrival of Pope Paul VI and his presence in Bombay for four days, lent a deep and special religious significance to the events associated with the Congress.

Pope Paul VI, who had come to India —in his own words—"as a pilgrim, a pilgrim of joy, of serenity and of love" was accorded the grandest welcome ever given to a foreign dignitary, at Bombay. About 1,500,000 people turned out to welcome the Pope, at the Santa Cruz air port and all along the 15 mile route to the Oval and from the Oval to the Archbishop's house, where he stayed. There was no untoward incident, anywhere, during his four day's stay at Bombay.

He was received at the air port by Cardinal Gracias, the Archbishop of Bombay, India's Vice-President Dr. Zakir Hussain, the Prime Minister Mr. Shastri, the Governor of Bombay, Dr. V. Cherian, Chief Minister Mr. Naik and the Information and Broadcasting Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

Dr. Zakir Hussain gave a brief speech of Welcome in which he said the people of India were "deeply touched by the great honour you have done us by selecting India for one of your first visits abroad." India had looked forward, he said, to the visit, not only because of the Pope's position as the head of one of the most important religions of the world, but also "because it is an integral and highly cherished part of our tradition to greet and welcome a great spiritual leader like Your Holiness. The spiritual values you represent, and the quest for peace for which you have always stood so firmly, form the cornerstone of India's ancient heritage, which is the message of truth and non-violence."

The Pope in his reply expressed his "great joy" in finding himself among the Indian people on the occasion of an important religious event. He extolled the people of India for their untiring efforts for world peace and their industry in seeking prosperity in harmony and concord with the other nations of the world.

The Pope's visit almost every waking minute of his four days stay was subjected

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the blazing lights of world-publicity. And very detail of India's welcome and every inute ripple of public response and re-ctions to the various acts and words made nd uttered by this great spiritual leader uring his "pilgrimage" was likewise bla-oned forth by TV and newsreel and expert eportage, all the world over. It is indeed a atter for satisfaction for us Indians that espite all this publicity, even the most rooked of foreign news-hounds and com-entators could not find anything tangible y which to smear either the Indian people those who arranged the details of this reat spiritual festival. Even the news-unks of the U.S.A., like the correspondents the weekly **Time**, could only find the uerile and fanatic manifestations of a small roup, belonging to what the U.S. press rmed sometime back as the "lunatic fringe Indian politics," for highlighting, and in e general coverage of the Congress, could nly invent the shortcomings of the those ho arranged the proceedings, with regard the imaginary wishes of the Pope!

To all Indians, however, from the high-st to the lowliest labourer, who strained ll his body and nerves for a glimpse of the reat spiritual leader and to hear his voice, e Pope's visit was a success. It was a tisfying experience for all intellectuals, gardless of religious denominations or eeds, of the deeply spiritual appreciation our often decried aspirations, by one hose eminence and clarity of vision in ch matters are regarded as being beyond hallenge by 500 millions of the World's eoples.

Pope Paul said in Bombay "Yours is a nd of ancient culture, the cradle of great eligions, the home of a nation that has ought God with relentless desire. Rarely as this longing for God been expressed ith words so full of the spirit of Advent in your sacred books many centuries be-re Christ: "From the unreal lead me to e real, from darkness lead me to light, om death lead me to immortality."

Only the purest of the pure in heart d the most completely and transparently dicated to God of Souls could respond thus to exhortations contained in the sacred texts of an alien religion.

The Pope expressed to the vast crowds, gathered at the air port to have a last look at him prior to his departure, his own feeling with the words "here we leave our heart."

Many, many, millions of hearts have been touched and refreshed by his words, during his brief stay in this country.

The Language Issue

The eminent gentlemen who drew up the draft Constitution of India after the advent of freedom, were doubtlessly vastly learned where the laws of the Indian Empire of the British days were concerned. Further they were imbued with an enthusiastic urge to rectify the disabilities that the common citizen of India suffered in the eye of the law as administered by British bureaucrats charged with the running of the Empire of those days. And lastly they were fervently desirous of removing all the administrattive paraphernalia of foreign domination that had been imposed on the country in order to facilitate the ruling and the running of the country. The English language was one of the principal components of that system of administration and as such it was marked out for removal.

Unfortunately these very same eminent gentlemen had no experience of the complexities of administration or of the pit-falls, and thorny barriers that lie in the road to nation-building, nor did they possess the gumption and horse-sense that is evolved out of close contact with the people's problems as is becoming apparent clearly now. As a result many of the definite steps laid down in the Constitution in all innocence—and ignorance of the issues involved—by the Constitution makers, now present dangerous implications which may cause very severe repercussions in the country unless the issues involved are handled with great skill and tact.

The language issue is one of the major problems created by our learned pundits who laid down the Constitution. They fixed an arbitrary date for the replacement

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of English by Hindi as an official language, the date being 26th January 1965. In their superlative enthusiasm and abysmal ignorance about the immensity of the tasks involved in developing a comparatively backward language, by expanding its vocabulary, by equipping it with technical terms and language equivalents which would be acceptable all over the country and by adapting and modifying its grammar and usage to fit in with the exigencies of everyday use by those who are Hindi-speaking by birth, they put down this arbitrary and impracticable date. Besides that, of course, was the colossal task of educating over sixty-five per cent of the people in the use of a new language, which was as alien to them as English, in so far as the Southern areas of the country were concerned. The task of adequately training the teachers for the people speaking any of the other thirteen languages is itself a major task since it would mean equipping at least six lakh teachers with an adequate knowledge of two languages and the skills involved in the teaching of the two media for expression.

The enthusiasts for the supplanting of English by Hindi have not even thought it necessary to evolve a common language for those who live in the Hindi speaking areas. A man speaking the Hindustani used in the upper and wesern parts of Uttar Pradesh would not be familiar with the "refined"—which means crudely Sanskritized-rastrabhasa propagated by the enthusiasts. In any case a wide range of possible variants in Hindi vocabulary and usage should be definitely listed, codified and approved by a really competent body of Hindi literary men and specialists in language teaching.

Then comes the question of teaching equipment such as text books, readers dictionaries, etc. We do not know about other languages, but we are painfully aware of the lack of any adequate and correct English-Hindi and Hindi-English or Bengali-Hindi, Hindi-Bengali dictionaries. There is not one in existence that is either adequate or really correct. Most of them have a grossly and woefully incomplete coverage of technical or highly sophisticated terminology and in many cases the meanings given are misleading in the extreme. The provision of text-books too is inadequate as they have not been drawn up along the lines that are really useful to either the teacher or the learner.

What is needed most of all is an adequate lexicon—or rather two lexicons—for English-Hindi and Hindi-English students. This should be prepared by a really competent body of lexicographers and not merely by men whose knowledge of Hindi and Sanskrit is great but whose acquaintance with technical, scientific and other complex English terminology is inadequate.

Indeed, there is an urgent need for bilingual dictionaries, from English to the fourteen Indian languages, for the purpose of extending the scope of instruction in the regional languages to the higher reaches of education. The dictionaries available at the present day are all inadequate.

It is this sorry state of affairs that has forced our Education Minister Mr. Chagla to declare that English should continue as the link language until West Bengal and South India were in a position to adopt Hindi. His statement in the Lok Sabha was reported as follows :

The Education Minister, Mr. Chagla, declared in the Lok Sabha on Dec. 11 that English should continue as the link language until South India and Bengal were in a position tto adopt Hindi, report UNI and PTI.

Replying to the debate on the annual report of the University Grants Commission, Mr. Chagla rebutted charges that he was gradually changing the Government's policy in regard to Hindi.

The Minister said that the transition from English to regional languages as the medium of instruction in universities "must be careful, slow and well prepared".

"We must work for the day" when the national language would become the link language in universities, but till then English must continue.

He added amidst cheers, "You cannot ram down Hindi through the throats of South India and Bengal".

In the interest of national unity and

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so in the interest of maintaining high ndards of education, English should be veloped so long as it continued to be a rt of the Indian educational system....

The Minister said that no time limit uld be set for the change-over to Hindi. ost States were now preparing to teach glish from the third standard.

The present stand of the Government d been adopted after very careful consideion and had been supported by the Chief inisters, the Inter-University Board, the ttional Integration Conference, the Offi-l Language Commission and the National tegration Council. It had the approval Parliament as well.

His attempt had been "to argue, counsel d persuade" the States to work for the nsition to Hindi.

But, he declared firmly amidst cheers, will not be a party to forcing Hindi upon e South, Bengal or any part of the ntry".

Mr. Chagla's speech was marked by erruptions as well as cheers. At one ge, an S.S.P. protoganist of Hindi, Mr. shan Pattanayak, whose frequent interrupns were resented by many members walkout.

Mr. Chagla said he had been accused Mr. Prakash Vir Shastri and Mr. U. M. ivedi during the debate of having deviatfrom the Government's policy in regard the medium of instruction.

Since the issue was cropping up again d again like King Charles' head, he would tisfy the House as to the Government licy "once and for all".

"The Government has agreed that ultitely the medium of instruction in univeries will be the regional languages (some eers) there is no doubt about that", he d. That must be the logical evolution of e policy of introducing the mother-tongue the medium of instruction in secondary ools.

But—that is an important 'but'—this ain is the policy of the Government that e transition from English as the medium instruction in universities to the regional guages should be gradual, well thought and after proper preparation is made".

The decisions taken at the Chief Ministers' Conference, which took place shortly after Mr. Chagla rebutted the charges of he Hindi enthusiasts in the Lok Sabha, also followed along the same lines. The decisions were as follows:

English will continue to be used for communication between the Centre and the non-Hindi-speaking States, as at present, even after January 26, 1965, when Hindi will be the official language of the Union.

Hindi will, however, be used progressively only in case of communication with the States which have adopted Hindi as their official language.

There should also be a convention that communication between Hindi and non-Hindi-speaking States should be generally in English and if the original communication from a Hindi-speaking State is in Hindi, an authorised English translation should accompany it.

These decisions were taken today at the Chief Ministers' conference which began here today. The two-day conference has been convened by the Union Home Minister, Mr. G. L. Nanda, and today's discussion mainly centred round the implementation of the Constitutional provision regarding the official language of the Union and enforcement of various foodgrains control orders and laws relating to this .

It is to be hoped that those who are trying to force the adoption of Hindi and the discarding of English would come to their senses and understand that they are damaging the cause of Hindi by their obduracy.

Prof. J. B. S. Haldane

With the passing away of Prof. J. B. S. Haldane at Bhubaneswar at the age of 72 on the first of this month, the world has lost a remarkable personality, India a sincere albeit, on occasions, a rather embarrassingly forthright friend, and the world of science a devoted and a distinguished worker.

With a most remarkable academic career behind him, the late Prof. Haldane had, with characteristic breadth of both vision and interest, covered diverse and widely divergent fields of

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learning with consistent distinction although, perhaps, he will continue to be the more well known for his great contributions to the biological sciences.

But what was, perhaps, he most distructive element in his make up was that he virtually broke through the conceit, generally characteristic of most great men of science, that we have known of, that the world of science was the sacred sacntum of only the initiate. He has written a great deal which the novitiate also could not merely follow but even enjoy. Some of his best writings, indeed, appeared in the popular columns of the *Daily Worker*. His wide humanistic outlook made him aware of the shortcomings of certain societies and which often landed him into controversies which he might easily have avoided but did not care to.

It is this element of indomitable courage in him that made this great man of science an intensely human person, this boldness of character that inspired him to stand up for causes which were not often popular with his friends and detractors alike.

To India, which he made his home and his field of activity during the latter part of his life, his will always remain a most colourful character. His attachment to this country may not be easy to explain unless it be that here be discovered a most fruitful field where his ardent scientific endeavours and his humanistic emotions alike could most profitably pursue their objectives. It was at the call of the Indian Statistical Institute that he first came out to and decided to make this country his home. But even when he found himself obliged to break up this beautiful friendship, he remained steadfast to his chosen country and continued to pursue his work in another part of the country and under a different aegis. He imparted a colour and character to the Indian scientific scene which the country would be distinctly poorer without.

It appears now that during the last one year of his life he must have suffered a great deal physicaly. The surgical treatment he had undergone in London was not able to cure him of the metastases which had already been too extensive and to which he eventually succumbed. But wth characteristic courage he gave the last mortal remains of himself to the cause of medical research. This, perhaps, was his last and more enduring testament to a cause to which his whole life was devoted, that of relating science's search to 'society's pressing needs in the task of keeping alive.'

K. N.

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NEW YEAR'S SUBSCRIPTIONS TO *THE MODERN REVIEW*

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Manager, *The Modern Review.*

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Current Affairs

By KARUNA K. NANDI

THE FOOD POLICY

After nearly half a year of vacillations and decisions a national food policy has, at long last, been claimed to have emerged as the result of the so-called unanimous decisions arrived at the Chief Ministers' Conference in New Delhi last month. But, for any coherence in the pattern of this so-called national food policy that is now claimed to have emerged, one looks for in vain.

Concrete Shape

The shape of this so-called policy in concrete terms would now seem to boil down to the following decisions :

(1) The procurement target of rice for the Central Pool shall be 2,000,000 tonnes in 1965, out of which provisions for the buffer stock would be between 500,000 tonnes and 1,000,000 tonnes ;

(2) Coarse grains, for the first time now, would be brought under a national system of distribution on a "State to State" basis ;

(3) Each State will constitute a separate rice zone, and surplus rice from such states as may have it, would be moved to other (presumably deficit) parts of the country on "Government to Government" account ;

(4) The controversy over the proposal to introduce statutory rationing on an all-India basis—it may be recalled that originally Sri C. Subramanium, Union Food & Agriculture Minister proposed that all cities and urban units with populations of one million and industrial complexes would be covered by statutory rationing—appears now to have been resolved by, in effect, leaving the decision in this behalf to the State Governments concerned. Within the framework of an over-all decision that all urban complexes and units with populations of two millions and above would be covered by some sort of rationing, State Governments would decide the method of doing so in their respective States. But while the West Bengal Chief Minister insisted that Calcutta must be covered by full statutory rationing—it is significant that Calcutta is practically the only city in the State with more than a two million population—Bombay, Kanpur and Ahmedabad will go no further than what has been described, euphemistically, as "informal rationing", and eventually, and obviously at the discretion of the State Governments concerned, Madras, Bangalore and Hyderabad may have a "regulated" system of distribution ;

(5) It has been *tentatively* decided to import 250,000 tonnes of rice from the U.S.A. in 1951 under PL 480, although a further 250,000 tonnes may, later, be decided to be imported by paying for it and which, it has been estimated, would cost Rs. 15 crores in foreign exchange ;

(6) The surplus States, together, will procure over 2,000,000 tonnes of rice for the Central Pool which, after providing for the buffer stock, will cover the needs of the deficit states ;

(7) The contributions of the surplus States to the Central Pool shall be : Andhra

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—800,000 tonnes, Madhya Pradesh—400,000 tonnes, Orissa—300,000 tonnes, Madras—200,000 tonnes and Punjab—250,000 tonnes ; Uttar Pradesh also will contribute a small quantity ;

(8) The procurement arrangements in Orissa and Madhya Pradesh will be entirely controlled by the Union Government, while in Andhra it will be handled by the State Government ;

(9) Every state producing coarse grains, whether surplus or deficit, shall contribute 25 per cent of its output for movement to other States on a "State to State" basis ;

(10) The inter-State movement of grain will be free from next March, until when it will be on a "State to State" basis under restricted quotas ;

(11) Movement of all pulses and edible oils will also be free all over the country ;

(12) Decisions regarding wheat will be taken in next March after the next Rabi harvest ;

(13) With a view to check malpractices by the trade as also to allay the apprehensions of deficit States, it has been decided that all movements of grains from State to State shall be entirely on Government account and that, unlike last year, millers will have no part in them. The wholesale procurement and exports to deficit States shall be by official agencies only.

From the above statement of official decisions now taken, it would seem clear that the initiative in handling the present dismal, if not quite critical food situation in the country, is still largely left with the State Governments as heretofore and the outlook on the whole question still remains predominantly regional rather than national as it has been so insistently claimed to be. All that the Centre would seem to have been left with in the matter is the responsibility of only partially handling the procurement machinery in selected surplus States, of supplying the needs of the deficit States from the Central Pool and of handling the imports of foodgrains. In all other matters the States are to be left with large and widely independent discretions in regulating the basic patterns of food distribution in their respective territorial boundaries,—patterns which, it has been agreed will vary materially from State to State.

State Trading

The crux of the whole problem of food distribution in the country is obviously that in view of the marginal nature of food output in the country as well as having regard to the changing patterns of food consumption with progressively widening demands for the finer grains like rice and wheat, some sort of nationwide regulation of distribution would have to be devised to enable the people to be provided with their basic requirements of food at reasonable prices from out of the marginal supplies available to the country. The logic of the whole situation would seem to lead to the inescapable conclusion that, first, all regional thinking in this connection must be replaced by a vigorous national outlook and that, in the matter of food distribution and prices the entire country must be regarded as one single unit. As so clearly enunciated by Sri C. Subramanium, Union Food & Agriculture Minister, the only answer to the situation could be a well devised system of regulated distribution covering the entire country and its vigorous implementation by an efficient and honest administrative machinery, in other words, statutory rationing. And as rationing must necessarily presuppose control over supplies, Sri Subramanium rightly concluded that the State must, at the same time, enter into and regulate the foodgrains trade in the country in a very predominant manner. Statutory rationing without arranging for the primary pre-requisite of control over supplies would be bound to breakdown having especial regard to the hienously anti-social role that the private sector in the foodgrains trade in the country has been playing all through the last several years and, especially with the onset of the national emergency arising out of the Chinese invasion of our northern frontiers in October, 1962.

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That to have any influence upon the free market trends of foodgrains supplies and prices State Trading in foodgrains must assume a predominant and vital role, is too obvious to need any especial emphasis. And this was what was understood to have been at the root of Sri C. Subramanium's clear and objective enunciation of the Centre's food policy some months ago. Very soon after, however, the Union Food Minister, possibly on account of not too well concealed pressures from the Party bosses and from the States, in the highest counsels of which the richer and more resourceful sections of the private foodgrains trade seem to weild considerable influence, began to have second thoughts and eventually increasing pressure from these directions began to undermine what might eventually have emerged as a really *national* food policy. Sri Subramanium declared soon after that the State did not have the resources to take over the entire foodgrains trade or even any substantial portion of it and it must, therefore, confine itself to handling only about 25 per cent of the trade at the initial stages. As regards the initial proposal to take over the entire food processing industry in the country under the public sector such as rice mills, etc., which had, likewise originally emanated from the Union Food & Agriculture Minister, amendmends followed almost immediately afterwards first, in the shape of the announcement that to begin with only some of the larger rice mills would be taken over and, secondly, by the quickly following announcement that there would be no take-over of existing mills which were too outmoded and obsolete, but that in addition to the existing mills in the private sector some 2,000 large and modern mills would be set up in the public sector. In the so-called food policy that now appears to have emerged, there does not seem to be any question of the State entering into the rice mills industry, either by way of take-over of existing mills, or even, as earlier proposed, by setting up some new mills in the public sector.

In fact the basic proposal to introduce State Trading in Foodgrains with effect from the new year, in however attenuated a size, appears now to have been completely by-passed. The Rs. 100 crore Foodgrains Corporation Bill which has, in the meanwhile, been introduced in Parliament, however widely its "Objects and Reasons" may have been drafted will, it appears, be mainly directed to handle the procurements for the Central Foodgrains Pool, and not, obviously, to participate in anyway, in the free market foodgrains trade in the country.

Food Management

In sum, therefore, what appears now to have emerged as what has been claimed as the national food policy, is essentially a non-descript muddle consisting partly of (1) Government procurements covering a quota of upto 2 million tonnes of rice out of which the requirements of building a Central buffer stock and supplies to deficit states would be met ; (2) introduction of statutory rationing of rice, wheat and sugar in selected urban areas—for the present, it seems, the only city intended to be covered by full statutory rationing would be Calcutta and the Durgapur-Asansol industrial complex in West Bengal ; (3) introduction of "informal rationing"—whatever that may mean in concrete terms—in some large cities such as Bombay and Kanpur and some sort of "regulated distribution" in certain other cities of the country ; and (4) promulgation of price controls at the harvest, wholesale and retail levels. It is piously hoped that in view of the above measures, free market supplies and prices would be effectively "influenced" how, no one in authority has cared to explain so far. It may just be a hope and no more that it would be so.

In West Bengal, in view of the decision to introduce statutory rationing in Calcutta and the Durgapur-Asansol industrial belt the State Government would, in addition, raise their levy on the rice mills from 25 per cent to 50 per cent. Rationing in Calcutta alone, it has been officially estimated, would involve a weekly supply of 6,000 tons each of rice and wheat. The situation as regards stocks at the time of our going to press was officially announced to have been still critical—as there was only enough stocks in Government godowns to cover two weeks' supplies only. But with the commencement of large-scale harvesting the situation was expected to improve considerably and the continuing crisis, it was hoped, would be over in course of the next one week or so. As we write, the crisis appears to have visibly deepened especially in the regions on the perimeter of the metropolitan city on account of the failure of the Food Department to maintain supplies to the

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fair price shops under the modified rationing scheme. From personal inquiries pursued in these areas it appears that price of rice in the free market (of the variety of which the statutory retail price was fixed at between 68 nP. and 76 nP. per Kg.) which used to be at the level of Rs. 1.20 nP. per Kg. had dropped, with new arrivals reaching the market about ten days ago, to Re. 1.00 per Kg. but which, during the current week has again hardened to Rs. 1.04 per Kg.

While new market arrivals from the current harvest would, thus, seem to have hardly influened any very substantial downward trends in rice prices towards the wholesale and retail ceilings fixed by Government, reports flowing in from the districts seem to indicate a definite slump in prices, with new harvest arrivals, to levels even below the floor harvest prices determined by Government. This may have been accounted for, at least in some masure, by the reported slow-down in the rate of mills' production in areas coontiguous to large-scale paddy growing centres in the State such as Burdwan and Birbhum and, partly perhaps, by the absence in these areas of cheap and abundant transport facilities enabling supplies to be rushed to dearer markets. The reported slow-down in the rate of mills' production may, in its turn, have been influenced by the Government's decision to raise their levy on mills from 25 per cent to 50 per cent of their production. The structure of supplies upon which statutory rationing in Calcutta is intended to be based is, however, crucially dependent upon the success of Government's procurements programme from the mills. West Bengal mills, together, produce 800,000 tonnes of rice in a normal year and a 50 per cent levy on this production would enable the State Government to procure just enough rice to sustain statutory rationing in the metropolitan city of Calcutta. The further 400,000 tonnes of rice that the State Government expect to derive from the Central Pool, would enable them to cover the needs of rationing in the industrial complexes and, in addition, to meet possible crises in supply in deficit and vulnerable rural areas through Fair Price Shops. If, however, the expected quantum of procurement falls short of current estimates by any substantial margins, the whole structure of controlled distribution would be likely to utterly break down. There would seem to be deliberate design in the whole situation, calculated to vitiate the State Government's purposes vis-a-vis rationing and the possible influence that such a successful system of distribution might be likely to have upon free market supplies and prices. How such a situation can be successfully met without actually launching into a programme of total and wholesale procurement—a measure for which the State Government do not simply seem to have the requisite minimum machinery at their disposal,—is more than we can conceive of.

That Government operations in foodgrains has never been able to "influence" free market prices in spite of fixation of statutory ceilings has been indisputably established over the last one year. Rice has been openly and quite overtly selling in the free market in and around Calcutta at very nearly double the statutory ceiling fixed by Government and, but for merely dispensing that absurdly complacent counsel of perfection that people should not buy at these higher prices, they have been able to do nothing about it. The West Bengal Chief Minister, who also holds the Food Portfolio of his Government, had to frankly admit defeat, at least by implication, when he announced some weeks ago that "according to information at his disposal some 2 million tons of rice had gone underground in this State during the current year." That big business was involved would be too obvious and it was patently beyond the strength of Sri P. C. Sen or even of his counterpart in the Union Government to do anything to effectively curb their activities or to bring them to book. The Government, it is now being claimed, have now armed themselves with fresh powers under a new Ordinance to enable them to deal with food hoarders and profiteers. But such a claim is too transparently dishonest to convince any dispassionate onlooker. All that the new ordinance has provided for is to limit the punishment to hoarders and profiteers to an absurdly nominal sentence. The conviction has been gaining ground that the purpose of the new Ordinance was merely to build up a public relations facade in respect of their handling of food hoarders without any material injury to the latter community, a purpose which could not have been served by the D.I.R. for the courts would then have the power to impose sentences that might really hurt. In fact, according to many, so long as the D.I.R. was in force, Government had ample power to deal with this anti-social

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mmunity, if they really wished to do so, with rastating effect and there was not the least son to promulgate a fresh Ordinance unless it s intended to limit the power of courts so t while a pretence of dealing with food pro- eers effectively could be maintained, the proved ong-doer would not be materially hurt.

That present decisions will also not be able "influence" market arrivals and prices in any preciable degree is also too obvious to need any nment. The central rice pool would cover proximately only 6 per cent, assuming pro- ction at last year's level at 33 million tonnes ly although the prospects of a larger current rvest has already been officially visualized, and defeats all judgment how this may curb arding and profiteering to any extent. In dition, of course, there will have to be pro- rements by State Governments to maintain tioning, statutory or otherwise, where it y be introduced. But the total extent of Govern- nt procurement throughout the country is not tended to be as large as may influence free rket trends. On the contrary, the residual pplies for the free market, after Government have en their share could, it appears only reasonable suppose, could be manipulated by the private tor at will to maintain, even accentuate, nditions of scarcity and by continuing the crisis supplies, to uphold the continuing crisis in ces. Government's buffer stocks which, it has en announced, will be built up to an extent between 500,000 tonnes and 1,000,000 tonnes, not likely to be large enough to be un- ded on the market, in whichever part of the ntry the supply crisis continues, in any sub- ntial quantity to influence the quantum of availability and prices. Even at the optimum el of 1,000,000 tonnes, the buffer stock of would not exceed 3 per cent of total pro- tion, and production being only marginal so this obviously would be too insufficient to uence either supplies or prices.

est Bengal Levies

Taking the case of West Bengal as an ance in point, the decision to raise levies on s to 50 per cent of their production is likely to prove materially helpful. The mills as the oil mills have already done, reduce their production to defeat the Government levies. There are enough indications from past experience to presume that there is powerful financial support behind the foodgrains trade in the country to enable it to manipulate supplies and prices to its own particular advantage. If, as the West Bengal Chief Minister said some time ago that some 2 million tonnes of rice had gone underground out of last year's harvest is backed by facts, a finance of between Rs. 120 crores and Rs. 150 crores must have been necessary to enable it to do so. Such powerful interests may, again, this year also help the mills to reduce their procurement of paddy and quantum of pro- duction to defeat Government's procurement campaign. If Government have so far been unable to unearth concealed stocks of paddy and rice last year, there is no more reason to suppose that they will be more successful in the present instance. As the situation stands today there is every likelihood, that the whole scheme of statutory rationing in Calcutta and the industrial areas which would need only about 600,000 tonnes each of rice and wheat over a twelve month period, may breakdown for a variety of reasons, one of them being their inability to carry out their procurement programme to the estimated extent. It is true that there is an undertaking from the centre that the State's resources in rice would be subvented by another 300,000 tonnes from the Central Pool. But even if rationing in the selected areas can be upheld with the help of these subventions, scarcity and prices in areas beyond those cordoned off by rationing may assume such levels—as they did in 1943 in Calcutta—that it may not be possible to prevent mass migrations to the metropolis and the con- sequent emergence of a devastating famine. The fact that apart from only about 60,00,000 persons, the rest of the State's population are obliged to buy anywhere between six months' to a whole year's requirement of food would seem to indis- putably support such an apprehension. The lesson of 1943, it seems obvious, have been wholly lost on our Government and their counsellors.

But even, hoping for the best, if the State Government were able to get together ample stocks of rice and wheat, by local procurement as well as by subventions from the Central Pool, to enable statutory rationing to be successfully sustained in

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Calcutta, the question as regards the machinery of distribution would still seem to pose a grave problem. Recently pulished press reports have disclosed the existence of thousands of ghost ration cards. In many cases the issue of these spurious cards have been traced to an unholy liason between certain State Government employees and owners of Fair Price Shops through whom rations are being, so far distributed. Tre obvious implication is that the rations being drawn on these spurious ration cards have been going into the black market and the profits derived therefrom were being divided by the State employees concerned and the owners of the Fair Price Shops involved in the racket. The recently announced decision by the Government that distribution would continue to be channeled through these Fair Price Shops and through similar new ones where none exists at present would, on the face of recent discoveries, seem to be a most amazing fact. Obviously, in view of the recently discovered facts, the present Fair Price Shops, are a most unreliable channel of distribution. Likewise the Food and Rationing Department itself would seem to call for a most searching probe and a complete overhaul. Government, however, do not seem to be aware of either of these vital needs and bave been complacently continuing to pursue a course wrich has already been proved to have been studded with dangerous pitfalls !

There can only be either of two reasons for such an obviously callous unconcern to the defects of the present machinery of distribution ; that Government simply do not have the imagination and the resources to conceive of an alternative system : or that they are too chary of challenging the power as well as, perhaps, the interests of the entrenched vested interests in this field. Incidentally they may, perhaps, apprehend that with their poor administrative resources to undertake distribution on the basis of wholesale statutory rationing in a large and thickly populated city like Calcutta departmentally, the contents of either rectitude or efficiency of which do not seem to be conspicuous, might prove a worse folly than to continue to press the Fair Price Shops to service. This would seem to indicate a measure of lack of preparedness to undertake the fullest responsibilities of rationing which would seem to be most amazing in view, especially, of the fact that it was the West Bengal Chief Minister, practically against the entire concensus of his colleagues in other States, who insisted upon introducing full statutory rationing in Calcutta with the new year. Launching into rationing, apart from other reasons, without the requisite minimum administrative resources in terms of both efficiency and unquestioned rectitude—and the latter is by far the more important—may, we apprehend, prove to be a far worse disaster than to leave the consumer to the tender mercies of the conscienceless private trader !

The Remedy

What, then, is the real remedy to the situation. The long-term remedy is, of course, to materially increase food production to, at least, conform to the rate of increase of the population. But that may be such a long-term expedient that we may all be "dead in the meanwhile." Imports of food from abroad can, at best, only be a partial and a very inadequate remedy over a limited period. The only logical and obvious answer to the situation is some measure or measures which will enable authority to (1) prevent withdrawal in any quantity of food from market supplies, (2) to enforce a method by which available supplies, marginal as they are, could be rationed out among the people at a predetermined norm as regards quantum and at legitimate prices ; and (3) to build up central stocks out of available supplies to enable crises occuring at any time could be tided over without any material strain upon the people's already too inadequate quantum of basic nourishment.

Rationing in vulnerable areas and a system of regulated distribution in the rest of the country would seem to be the only available answer to the situation. And the only logic of regulated distribution—under whatever name it may be pursued, real or euphemistic—is a wholesale and blanket control over supplies. The need for state trading, therefore, as the only possible expedient in the circumstances and as originally suggested by Shri C. Subramanium, Union Food and Agriculture Minister, would seem to be an inescapable logic of the situation. Likewise, the enunciation of a national food policy under wholesale Central initiative and direction, under which not merely the whole country would be treated as one and Centrally directed adminis-

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tive unit, but which shall assess individual food quirements and supplies by apportioning them tween the finer and coarser foodgrains ilable is equally an indispensable requirement the situation. If the whole country had to sist on the finer grains like wheat and rice ne, our present production, level on the basis a 16 oz. daily adult ration and half that antity for those in the age groups 0-14 years d 65 years and above, would be found to be rt of basic requirements by as much as tween 37 per cent and 40 per cent. But with coarser grains forming, approximately 40 per t of our total foodgrains intake, we have just out enough to cover our minimum requirements food, seed grains and have a marginal surplus just about a gross 2 million tonnes left over. this whole supply can be regulated under ntral aegis, the present crisis can be tided over thout unduly large reliance on supplies from road.

rty and the Government

But this has been exactly what the Govern- nt were not prepared to undertake or even to pport. The Centre appeared to have been more alistically alive, at the initial stages, of both the ts and the needs of the situation. Unfortunately, ir realism as well as their preparedness to under- e the heavy and onerous responsibilities that situation demanded, has now been effectively d summarily sabotaged. The reason for this y be either that the Party bosses and the State vernments (and party bosses seem to virtually tate policy at both levels and which, obviously more calculated to uphold the powers and pros- ts of the party rather than assume the basic ponsibilities of Government in the peoples' in- ests) were unable to assess the situation for at it really is as well as to conceive of measures essary to obviate its evil potentials or, and s seems more likely in the present case, they e not prepared, happen what may to the coun- and her people, to jeopardise their source of wer which is located in the ever more power- ly growing private sector in both trade and dustry.

And the foodgrains trade in this context has overwhelmingly greater importance than even rich and powerful private sector in industry. Having regard to the fact that agriculture, despite the vigorous process of industrialization of the last fifteen years, still accounts for more than fifty per cent of the total national product and of which foodgrains production alone accounts for well over 60 per cent, invests the private trade in foodgrains with an importance to the present ruling party which is almst without parallel. That the party would be extremely unwilling to endorse any policy that may have the effect of even partially liquidating this sector is understandable. But, as already underlined above, this is the real key to the present situation and it would be wishful thinking of the most criminally complacent variety to hope that there could be any expectation of the present crisis being resolved without curbing the area of discretion and initiative of the private foodgrains trader and the caucus that maintains the Party on its throne of power. So far as the States' unwillingness to endorse the creation of a unitary food administration under Central directive is concerned, the reason is too obvious to need emphasis ; the States, which are directly under the thumb of local party bosses, are not prepared to cede any of their present powers and prerogatives to the Centre.

A Muddle And A Critical Future

What has, therefore, actually emerged in the name of a "national food policy" is obviously the illegitimate child of the power-pressures of parochial origin and is dicated more by parochial power ambitions rather than by a consciousness to conform to larger national interests. The result is a muddle of the most confused variety which is neither the one thing nor the other. The situation virtually remains as it has been traditionally and what may be lurking just around the corner may be anybody's guess. We, for our part, are frankly demoralised by the spectre of a far more devastating crisis as a result, the seeds of which are inherent in the present decisions.

STATE ELECTRICITY BOARDS

The recently reported decision recommending an upward revision of the rates charged by State Electricity Boards to their consumers comes to

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us as something of a shock. As it is, the average consumer rates charged by State Electricity Boards are high enough. The rates of the West Bengal State Electricity Board, for instance, even in areas immediately contiguous to the regions serviced by the Calcutta Electric Supply Corporation, are very nearly double, on an average, of those of the latter. This would, clearly, seem to be an instance how the States have been exploiting their monopoly supply privileges for undue profiteering on an essential consumer item which also provides, in large measure one of the basic infra-structures of industrial development. The reported decision, on the face of it, would, therefore, seem to be quite indefensible.

What, after all, one might pertinently ask, could there be any justification for such a recommendation? If it were that of the high cost of production and distribution, one would be led to an inescapable comparison with the much lower rates charged by the Supply undertakings in the private sector. Costs in both sectors, both of production and distribution, should be comparably similar. If they are not, the inevitable conclusion should be that the higher costs in one sector, larger and immensely more resouruceful as it must be, can only be accounted for by the inferior efficiency of the other or on account of the latter's inability to obviate preventible wastages. If the State Electrity Boards are unable to bring efficiency in working upto comparable levels with large supply undertakings in the private sector that can surely not be an acceptable justification for further enhancement of already much too high a rate structure?

There may be a variety of reasons why State Electricity Boards are not able to bring comparable efficiency to their work. One of these may be thoughtlessly undertaken schemes of extension of their services to areas with demonstrably uneconomic yield-potentials while the demand for extension to areas with immediate higher yield potentials are left pending indefinitely because the requistie political pressures forcing the hands of the Board to accord priority to such areas have not been or could not be mobilized in the latter case. In West Bengal we have known of cases where long distance extensions have been undertaken at enormous public expense just to serve one single domestic consumer because the latter were able to mobilize powerful political support in favour of his request for supply. We have also known of cases where supply lines have been extended at public expense which have been unable to attract even one single domestic consumer for months together while extensions to immediately contiguous areas with nearly half a hundred immediately prospective consumers have been left indefinitely hanging fire on one excuse or another not merely for months but, sometimes, even for years together. We have information about one such case where an extension requiring only ten or eleven poles, which would immediately yield some forty consumers have been left undecided for more than a year while, within a stone's throw an extension has been sanctioned and actually carried out some months ago but which has not, so far, yielded one single subscriber. This is one of the many and obvious causes of the wastes and inefficiencies of State Electricity Boards which, in spite of the already much higher rates charged by them, find themselves still unable to cover costs and have been clamouring for still higher rates.

There is obvious and thoughtless diversion of public funds by at least some of the State Electricity Boards—we have mentioned one or two such cases above dealt with by the West Bengal Board—to serve some uneconomic but powerfully boosted connections. We are not aware of either the quality or the extent of the inquiry carried out into their workings that has now led to the recommendation for a higher rate structure. But we most strongly feel that a thorough, detailed and searching public probe should immediately be carried out into the working of the State Electricity Boards, preferably by Committees of Parliament and the State Legislatures concerned, before the recommendation for a higher rate structure can be or should be implemented. If there have been preventible wastages, misdirection of public funds to serve individual interests or demonstrable cases of neglect and inefficiency—as we strongly suspect there must have been many instances of—the executives responsible of the Boards concerned, should be appropriately dealt with before the recommendation for higher rates is accepted. Officers of the State Electricity Boards should be made to realise that they are public servants accountable for their failures to a public tribunal and cannot be allowed to deal rudely or even indifferently with members of the public from whom they derive both their powers and the munificent competence which enables them to live in comfort.

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THE MEANING OF PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S VICTORY

By KENNETH L. HILL

The overwhelming defeat of Senator arry Goldwater in the 1964 Presidential ection constitutes a mandate for President ohnson to continue to carry out those poli-es, both domestic and foreign, initiated nce the close of World War II. Before oking at some of these policies we should st examine some of the reasons why Barry oldwater was so decisively defeated.

The Senator's view of world politics is a mple one, indeed. His basic assumption is at the world can be neatly divided into o groups : those favouring and those oppo-d to communism. In this simplex scheme ere is no recognition of the pluralism of day's world. He fails to understand the portance of the non-aligned nations and the any contributions they have made to the leviation of international tensions. Whether e agrees or not with some of the policies f these nations, they certainly cannot be nored. That some nations, including our lies, may have foreign policy priorities fferent from those of the United States, is tside the scope of the Senator's imagina-on. Communism, in his view, is so over-helmingly evil that all freedom loving tions should participate in an anti-commu-st crusade. His definition of freedom ving would include all those nations op-sed to communism regardless of their form government. It is comforting to note that t one government in the Atlantic Alliance pported the Senator's views. How the nator could be so close to the decision aking process in Washington for so many years and fail to understand the complexity of foreign policy problems, must remain a mystery.

Goldwater's absolutist conception of international politics leads him to demand the United States and her allies to seek a victory in the cold war. If communism is evil, then obviously there cannot be any compromise with the Communist nations. This view also ignores any differences that might exist among the Communists. There are several weaknesses to this view. In the first place we should have to define victory and this is not an easy task. Victory in the cold war may be a fine campaign slogan but it is not a policy. This slogan also fails to differentiate between the ephimeral and the perennial. If communism could be eliminated this would automatically produce a problem-free world. The two great wars in the twentieth century were not caused by Communist nations. Victory is sometimes very difficult to identify. If we examine just a few of the most important problems in world history, we find they have no easily identified terminal point. Who, for example, won the conflict between the Catholics and Protestants that led to the incredibly destructive Thirty Years War. The defeat of Germany in World War II solved a number of problems but also created some problems. The division of Germany today is directly related to the policies of Adolph Hitler. When the Congo became independent this terminated Belgium's colonial rule but it did not solve that tragic nation's problems.

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Victory in the cold war may very well prove to be an elusive goal.

Senator Goldwater also fails to see the relationship between communist expansionist tendencies and indigenous conditions in many nations conducive to communist exploitation. One of the best ways of containing communism is to deal with problems that nurture its spread. Communist propaganda to be effective must have some relationship to life experience. Communism has an appeal to those people who have been exploited. It appeals to those who have suffered injustice and do not possess even the minimum requirements of economic well-being, These are problems that cannot be dealt with by strengthening American military posture. The American Government has received bipartisan support for most of its aid programmes. Republicans and Democrats have recognized the necessity of these aid programmes and much money has gone to those nations who do not ordinarily support American foreign policy. The goal of these programmes has been to further the independence and freedom of the recipient nations for this is the best defense against communism.

Senator Goldwater has no understanding of the limitations of American power and influence because he cannot see the many conflicting interests evident in the world. He does not recognize that there are somethings the United States cannot do very much about. The United States has made many mistakes in Laos and South Vietnam but our State Department is primarily interested in maintaining the freedom of these two nations. They need not be aligned with the United States but they must not come under the control of Communist China. The basic problem in both Laos and South Vietnam is that they lack viable governments enjoying the broad support of the people. In this kind of a situation there is really very little the United States can do. There is no school in Washington D. C. for charismatic leadership. The people of Laos and South Vietnam must solve their internal problems and they must do so largely by their own efforts. These are basically political, not military problems. Senator Goldwater approaches the problems of South-East Asia in a military frame of reference completely divorced from casual political factors.

Finally, Senator Goldwater dangerously under-estimates the willingness of China and Russia to defend their national interests. He, therefore, advocates a policy of brinkmanship regardless of the thermo-nuclear consequences. The two Communist giants have certain legitimate national interests which they will defend. To expect them to back down because of a thermo-nuclear threat, is a dangerously risky policy. In this respect China and Russia are no different than the United States. All three nations have certain national interests vital to their security. The basic purpose of an accommodation policy is to seek areas of agreement to reduce international tension. This is the policy of President Johnson. Senator Goldwater opposes this approach for he does not believe that the Communist and non-Communist nations can co-exist. But is there an alternative to co-existance? Is there a realistic and sane alternative?

Senator Goldwater does not believe there are any differences among the Communist states. He argues, and quite correctly, that the only difference among the Communist powers is how best to spread their ideology. The difference is however quite important.

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viet Russia, recognizing the dangers of a ermo-nuclear war, has been much more utious than Communist China, for the latter lieves she can survive a war of nuclear eapons. It seems to me that the difference etween these two positions is a very impor-nt one. It involves nothing less than the ture of mankind. The countries of Eastern urope are not as subservient to Russia as ey have been in the past. They have hieved a degree of autonomy which should e encouraged. Each Communist nation ust be treated individually.

The defeat of Senator Goldwater was a eat victory for the American people and e democratic political system. Many mericans are tired of the cold war and the rmanence of crisis. Goldwater's easy lutions to complex international problems ust have tempted a number of people to pport him but they rejected the simple swers for the reality, however unpleasant, the real world. This may not seem to be very great accomplishment but remembering merica's isolationist background the rejec-on of Goldwater takes on a different and ore important meaning for it indicates that e United States is willing to accept its sponsibilities calmly and maturely.

The domestic policies advocated by nator Goldwater also contributed to his feat. There was great fear on the part of me observors that the Senator might receive large anti-Negro vote. This did not aterialize. Although he won the electoral tes of five Southern states his margin of ctory in two of these states, Georgia and uth Carolina, was not very large. Gold-ater's victory strategy was based on winning of the Southern states, a goal he did t come close to accomplishing. Many Americans are genuinely troubled by the racial tensions of recent years, but they are also willing to accept a moderate programme for improving racial relations. If Goldwater had won the Presidential election, the Negro would have suffered a great defeat; for the Republican nominee believes that the states should be primarily responsible for solving their racial problems. Although Senator Goldwater may be sincerely opposed to racial segregation, his policies were supported by those who believe in white supremacy.

There are many problems thet President Johnson must cope with in his new term of office. Most important is the problem of reducing international tension. Whether he succeeds in this task depends not only on his own efforts but also on the willingness of Russia and China to cooperate. South Vietnam and Laos will be the critical test. There is a very definite and a very probable danger that the war in Southeast Asia may escalate if no satisfactory solution is soon found. The time is short, the danger is great. President Johnson favours accommo-dation but not appeasement. It can also be expected that the Johnson Administration will firmly support the Malayasian Federation against any encroachments by Indonesia. He can also be expected to seek the counsel of the Indian government particularly in relation to Asian problems.

President Johnson will also seek to better relations with Soviet Russia and to increasd contacts between the United States and the Eastern European states. Trade between the Communist and non-Communist nations has been increasing and can be expected to continue to do so. Whether there is a signi-ficant improvement in Russian-American relations will be determined by their efforts

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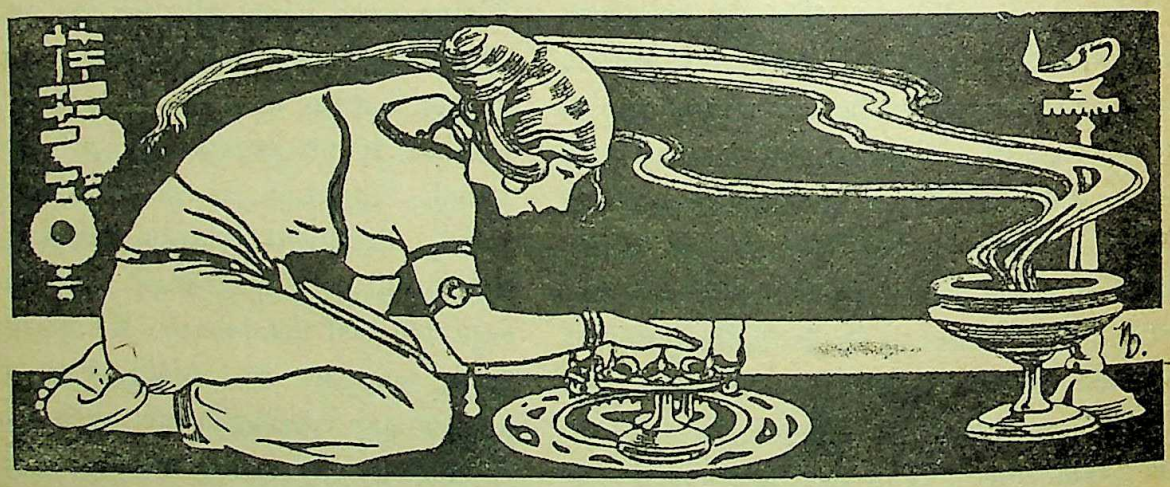
to maintain or change the status quo in Berlin. It is not likely that any new or dramatic steps will be undertaken to improve relations between the two countries until it becomes clear who will rule Soviet Russia. It may take a year or eighteen months before a strong man appears.

A primary goal of the United States will be to strengthen its ties with its Western European allies. This will be difficult to achieve because of the independence of President de Gaulle. But President Johnson might make a bold and dramatic bid to restore unity.

At home, President Johnson's policies should be moderate and prudent but also progressive. We can only hope that the next four years will strengthen the peace. This is the major goal of President Johnson.



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ACHARYA BRAJENDRA NATH SEAL

(1864-1938)

By GOURANGA GOPAL SENGUPTA

Shri Brajendra Nath Seal was born in Calcutta on September 3, 1864. His father Mahendranath Seal was an eminent lawyer of Calcutta. Brajendranath lost his father boefre he came to age. He was brought up at his maternal uncle's house under the care of his mother. At school, Brajendranath distinguished himself as a prodigy in mathematics. While in school, he could work out sums in higher mathematics. Even his teachers did not hestitate to take his help when they could not work out a sum. Brajendranath-passed the Entrance examination of the Calcutta University in 1878 with a Junior Scholarship. He was then admitted to the General Assembly's Institution of Calcutta (now Scottish Churches College). Brajendranath, prodigy as he was, soon drew the attention of William Hastie, the then Principal of General Assembly's Institution. Through his influence, Brajendranath's attention was drawn towards literature and philosophy. As an ungraduate student he soon mastered English literature in all its phases, Philology, Law, Western Theology and Philosophy. Extra-ordinary memory helped him a lot in the earning of so much knowledge in a variety of subjects. Shri Narendranath Dutta—Swami Vivekananda of later years—was a fellow student of Brajendranath in the General Assembly's Institution. When Narendranath was suffering from severe spiritual conflict, his friend and fellow student Brajendranath advised him to read Shelley's poems, Hegelian philosophy and the history of the French Revolution. Narendranath immensely benefitted himself through the advice and guidance of his friend—Brajendranath.

In 1883, Brajendranath graduated with First class Honours in Philosophy and was appointed a Lecturer of Philosophy in his own college. Next year he got his M.A. degree In Philosophy standing first in the first class from the Calcutta University. After passing the M.A. examination, he privately studied Sanskrit, Economics, Hindu Philosophy, Ethnology, Anthropology, Comparative Religion etc. In fact there was hardly any branch of human knowledge beyond the grasp of Brajendranath. He also became well versed in different languages of the world, viz., French, German, Spanish, Italian, Latin, Greek, Persian, etc. He learnt these languages to become acquainted with their classics in original.

After passing the M.A. examination, Brajendranath worked as a Professor of Philosophy in the City College, Calcutta for a year, Next year he took over as Principal of a college at Nagpur. In 1887 he came to Berhampur (West Bengal) as Principal of K. N. College and continued there for about nine years. Then from 1896 to 1913, Brajendranath served as Principal of the Victoria College at Cooch Bihar (West Bengal).

In 1899, Brajendranath represented India as a delegate to the International Congress of Orientalists held in Rome. He inaugurated the Indian section of the Congress with a discussion on the "Test of Truth" and read a paper on "Comparative

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Studies in Vaisnavism and Christianity". In this article he explained Vaisnavism, adopting the historico-comparative method and proved that the Bhakti Cult was of Indian Origin emanating from the Vedic Hymns and the Upanishadas. Here he exploded the popular belief of Western Orientalists claiming Vaisnavism to be an off-shoot of Christianity on the authority of a reference in the Mahabharata to Narada having visited Swetadwipa (Syria, . Egypt region), Brajendranath's contention was that Vaisnavism might have been influenced by Christianity and vice-versa at a later stage of development. But it definitely originated long before the advent of Christianity, at a time when it was impossible for other nations of Europe or of the world to reach such a high level of spiritual thought. This paper was latter on published in the form of a book from Calcutta. In 1903, Brajendranath published a book "New Essays in Criticism" which incorporated his famous essay on the Neo-Romantic movement in literature published in the "Calcutta Review" in 1890-91. This excellent treatise included a chapter on the Neo-Romantic movement in Bengali literature is which the then rising poet Rabindranath was hailed as one of the greatest living lyric poets in the world. Brajendranath's narrative poem "Quest Eternal" composed at this time was published shortly before his death. "Quest Eternal" reveals Dr. Seal as a creative artist of a high order in respect of both form and matter wherein the hero is striving for immortality. The "Quest Eternal" was hailed as a "Modern Faust" by appreciating critics, both in the East and the West.

In 1905, Brajendranath was appointed a member of the Simla Commission for drawing up Calcutta University Regulations. His services proved to be very valuable for the Commission. In later years he also served as a member of the famous Sadler Commission presided over by Sir Michael Sadler who considered him to be a Guru to him in matters relating to educational reforms. Sir Asutosh Mukherjee—the Chief Architect of Calcutta University throughout his stewardship of the University—largely depended on the help and advice of Brajendranath whenever he had any intricate problem for the University to be solved. During the Swadeshi Days when the National Council of Education was started in Bengal, Brajendranath was one of its sponsors and promoters. He was also considered to be the fountain head of a resurgent notionalism in the country.

In 1910, Brajendranath got the Ph.D. degree of the Calcutta University. In 1921, the Calcutta University also honoured him by conferring the degree of Doctor of Science (Honoris causa). In 1911, Brajendranath was invited to inaugurate the first Universal Races Congress held in London. The honour came to him not only as a foremost scholar in Ethnology and Anthropology but also as a foremost creative thinker in the world, believing in universal brotherhood of mankind. In his opening speech, long before the "League of Nations" or U.N.O. came into existence, Dr. Seal remarked that all disputes between nations should be settled at an international level through arbitration and racial conflicts should be thus avoided.

In 1914, Brajendranath was appointed to the newly created post of King George V Professor for Moral & Mental Sciences of the Calcutta University. No better selection could be made by the University as

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Brajendranath had already established himself as a most erudite scholar, deeply versed in the western and eastern methods of philosophical thinking. As a teacher he was endowed with deep analytical powers, cosmic in their sweep, who always adopted critico-comparative methods to enrich the minds of his pupils for the acquisitiou of knowledge in the truest sense. In 1915, Brajendranath published his famous work named "Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus". In this book he conclusively proved on the authority of textual references from the store house of Sanskrit Literature that ancient Hindus were well versed in Physics, Chemistry, Machanics, Biology, Botany, Zoology, Accoustics, etc. etc. They were even familiar with the Atomic theory and conception of Molecular motions. He further established that the orthodox schools of Hindu philosophy and the comparative modern schools of Buddhist and Jaina thoughts were based on the scientific knowledge of the Ancient Hindu race. In 1920, Brajendranath left Calcutta on being appointed Vice Chancellor of Mysore University. For about ten years he served the university as Vice Chancellor with rare ability. He not only served and enriched the University of Mysore but also rendered great service to the princely state of Mysore in educational reforms at all stages. As Chairman of the Commission for constitutional reforms in the Mysore state he ensured the safeguarding of minority interests in the state. As Chairman of the state Commission for Industries, he suggested provision of state aid to the indnstries in the state. His report as Chairman of these two commissions revealed his thorough grip on economic, political and social matters. For sometime he also served on the Executive Council of the Mysore state. The grateful Mysore ruler conferred on him the title of "Raj Ratna Pravin".

In December 1921, Brajendranath delivered the inaugural address when his old friend Poet Tagore formally transformed his school at Santiniketan as 'Visva Bharati'.

In 1925, the Govt. of India conferred a Knighthood on Dr. Seal. In 1930, due to failing health, Dr. Seal left Mysore and settled in Calcutta in retirement. However, his doors remained open to scholars and students whom he continued to teach, guide and inspire with his usual zeal and generosity. When his eyesight completely failed, he continued his studies with the help of a young student who either read out or wrote down for him.

Brajendranath delivered an illumanating address on Raja Ram Mohan Roy in connection with the centenary of his death celebrated in Calcutta in December 1933. He also inaugurated the Parliament of Religions held in connection with the centenary celebrations of Ramkrishna Paramhansa in Calcutta in March 1936.

Brajendranath's 72nd Birth Anniveasary was celebrated under the auspices of the Indian philosophical Congress in session in Calcutta on December 19, 1935 at the Senate Hall, Calcutta. The celebrations were presided over by Dr. Nilratan Sarkar. Dr. Rabindranath Tagore who could not join the celebrations in honour of his life-long friend —composed a long and beautiful poem on Brajendranath revealing the greatness of Brajendranath as a scholar teacher and as a man. Attending the reception, Brajendranath gave vent to his mental auguish—over the outbreak of communal troubles in India during the time. He appealed to all sections of Indian people to

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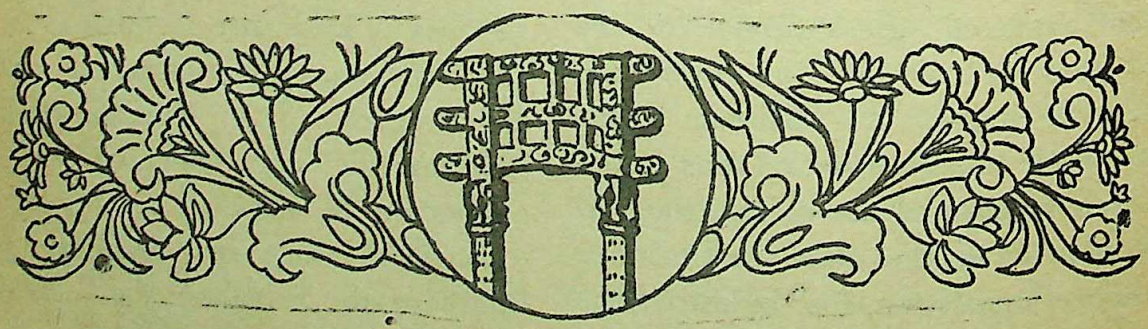
integrate themselves as a nation as a whole and cultivate the feeling of universal brotherhood. Dr. Seal breathed his last at his Calcutta residence on December 3, 1938. His wife predeceased him by about 40 years. He was survived by two sons and one daughter all of whom were well placed in their lives.

It is a pity that the volume of writings of Dr. Seal are slender considering his encyclopaedic learning. However, whatever writings he had left are worth their value in gold. His main attention was centred not on writing himself but on creating a band of scholars to keep the flame of true knowledge burning in his native land. For about half a century in different parts of India he inspired a galaxy of scholars through his teachings. He was an "Acharya" in the truest sense of the term. The University of Calcutta in grateful recognition of his services has renamed the King George V Professorship in Philosophy of which Brajendranath was the first occupant, after Dr. Seal as "Acharya Brajendranath Seal Professorship of Moral and Mental Science" since 1950.

On the appointment of Dr. Seal as Vice-Chancellor of the Mysore University—Dr. S. Radhakrishnan—the present 'Rashtrapati' of India succeeded him as King George V Professor in the Calcutta University. It may be mentioned in this connection that on the death of Dr. Seal, Dr. Radhakrishnan paying tribute to his greatness as a man remarked that "His prodigious learning in many branches of human kdowledge was the admiration and despair of lesser minds." In personal life, Brajendranath was as pure as he was simple in dress and manners. Righteous to the hilt, his heart was filled with the milk of human kindness for all human beings. He professed universal brotherhood and lived upto that standard in day-to-day life. Brajendranath was a deeply religious man. He resembled the ancient sages of India in appearance and in nature also. No tribute paid to this great savant and soul can be too adequate for him.



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SANTHANAM COMMITTEE REPORT : AN APPRAISAL

By BHARAT BHUSHAN GUPTA, M.A., Ph.D.

al Bahadur Shastri, the then Minister for ome Affairs, declared in the Lok Sabha on ne 6, 1964, 'Since we know most of the roblems (of corruption),[1] the real point is take remedial action.'[2]

In pursuance of the above statement, a ommittee on Prevention of Corruption, opularly known as the Santhanam Comittee, consisting of the following members as appointed.[3]

1. Shri K. Santhanam, M.P. Chairman
2. Shri Santosh Kumar Basu, M.P.
3. Shri Tika Ram Paliwal, M.P.
4. Shri R. K. Khadilkar, M.P.
5. Shri Nath Pai, M.P.
6. Shri Shambhu Nath Chaturvedi, M.P.
7. Shri L. P. Singh, Director, Administrative Vigilance Division.
8. Shri D. P. Kohli, Inspector General, Special Police Establishment.

Shri T. C. A. Ramanujachari, Joint Director, Administrative Vigilance Division, as appointed Secretary of the Committee. s is apparent, the Committee was fairly epresentative of Parliament, the Vigilance Commission and the Police Establishment.

The terms of reference of the committee ere :[4]

(i) To examine the organization, set up, unctions and responsibilities of the Vigiance Units in the Ministries and Departments of the Government of India and to uggest measures to make them more ffective.

(ii) To examine the organization, trength, procedures and methods of work of the Special Police Establishment and the difficulties experienced by it, and to suggest measures to further improve its working.

(iii) To consider and suggest steps to be taken to emphasize the responsibilities of each Department for checking corruption.

(iv) To suggest changes in law which would ensure speedy trial of cases of bribery, corruption and criminal misconduct, and make the law otherwise more effective.

(v) To examine the rules relating to disciplinary proceedings and to consider what changes are necessary in order to expedite these proceedings and to make them more effective.

(vi) To suggest measures calculated to produce a social climate both among public servants and in the general public in which bribery and corruption may not flourish.

(vii) To examine the Government Servants Conduct Rules and to recommend changes necessary for ensuring maintenance of absolute integrity in the public services.

(viii) To suggest steps for securing public support for anti-corruption measures.

(ix) To consider special measures that may be necessary in corporate public undertakings to secure honesty and integrity amongst their employees.

A perusal of the terms of reference indicates that the Committee was set up primarily to eradicate corruption from Central Services (including those serving in public undertakings). It was even authorised to suggest changes in Government Servants' Conduct Rules and Indian Penal Code to expedite proceedings against erring officers.[5] The creation of appropriate social climate and the measures to enlist public co-operation

1. Words within brackets are the author's.
2. *Report of the Committee on Prevention of Corruption*, Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi, 1964, p. 1.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 1.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 2.
5. *Report of the Committee on Prevention of Corruption*, Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi, 1964, p. 2. also see Asok Chanda, *Indian Administration*, 1958, p. 137.

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come in only incidentally.[6] It was later stated that there was no intention to restrict the committee's scope of work and the terms of reference were mentioned only to emphasize the lines of the committee's work.[7] Despite this clarification, the committee stuck to its terms of reference. This is borne out by the nature of the Interim Reports hat came in gradually. Recommendations regarding elimination of corruption in other spheres are halting, apologetic and incidental.[8] In a 304-page report (including annexures) only 5 pages have been devoted to creation of a proper social climate. It is true, the committee sees two sides to corruption—the bribe-taker and bribe-giver.[9] Emphasis has been laid on fighting corruption on both of these fronts,[10] but the burden of remaining honest has been finally thrown on the public services. This was perhaps due to want of co-operation on the part of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce.[11]

As I have stated, the major part of the Report has been devoted to measures necessary for eliminating corruption in Central Services. This aspect has also engaged the Committee for the best part of its time. The Committee was hardly well-equipped for its task. It was composed of four Lok Sabha and two Rajya Sabha members and two representatives of Administrative Vigilance Commission and one representative of Special Police Establishment. There was no representative of the Central Services as such on the Committee. There was an assurance that "some members of Parliament and, if possible, other public men would sit with our own officers in order to review the problem of corruption and make suggestions."[12] In accordance with the above, the list of witness[13] that has been consulted by the Committee is fairly representative. It comprises of 73 public men, journalists, and officers (both in service and retired). The last category mostly comprises ex-Comptroller and Auditor General of India, ex-Attorney General of India, General Managers of Railways, Secretaries of Departments, Commissioners of Income-tax, Members of the Central Board of Revenue, Members of the Excise and Customs Department, one Textile Commissioner, one Joint Chief Controller of Imports and Exports, one Director General of Supplies and Disposals, one Executive Engineer and a few Vigilance Officers. One would wish there were a few permanent representatives of Central Services also on the committee to adequately represent them in regard to Government Servants' Conduct Rules and particularly in respect of the procedure to be followed in cases where disciplinary action was necessary. The Committee, therefore, produced a document which tilts against the Central Services to some extent.

The Santhanam Committee recommendations can be split up into two parts:

1. Recommendations for public men.
2. Recommendations for public services.

1. The recommendations regarding public men are halting and apologetic. These are incidental to what is described as the creation of a social climate. Adoption of a code of conduct for Ministers and its enforcement by the Prime Minister and the Chief Ministers in their respective jurisdictons, investigation into allegations against a Minister by a Probe Committee drawn up

6. *Report of the Committee on Prevention of Corruption*, Government of India. Ministry of Home Affairs. New Delhi, 1964. p. 2.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 2.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 13.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 11.
The Santhanam Committee reported that "Corruption can exist only if there is some one willing to corrupt and capable of corrupting."
10. *Ibid.*, p. 12.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 12.
12. *Report of the Committee on Prevention of Corruption*, Government of India, Ministry of Home affairs, New Delhi, 1964, p. 1.
13. See Appendix to the *Report of the Committee on Prevention of Corruption*, Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi. 1964, pp. 291-292.

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rom a National Panel if these are made in riting to the Prime Minister or the Chief linisters by any 10 members of Parliament r a State Legislature, allegations appearing n the Press against Ministers to be referred o the Probe Committee as in case of allegaions that are backed by ten legislators, in ll other cases where allegations are made gainst Ministers there should be perfect reedom for Ministers to institute legal proeedings with state assistance, failure on he part of Ministers to take legal action hould result in their resignation except in are cases where the Minister's integrity is nquestioned, the constitution of a National anel by the President on the advice of the rime Minister, appointment of a Commision of inquiry in case of a *prima facie* case gainst a Minister, immediate dismissal of he Minister and further punitive action, if harges against a Minister are sustained by he Commission, and presentation of the reort to the Parliament or the State Legislaure, as the case may be, curbs on the comrecial activities of the members of Parliaent and State Legislatures, restriction on ollection of funds by political parties and he utilization of the Press and public men n tracing out all cases where corrupt pracices are suspected and in setting a tone to ublic opinion against persons who corrupt ublic officials, are the total recommendaions of the committee in regard to public en.[14]

A perusal of the foregoing recommendaons of the Santhanam Committee leave he enforcement of the code of conduct and he reference of allegations to the Probe ommittee into the hands of the Prime inister or the Chief Ministers who may not e free from party or personal considerains. The Committee leaves to the Prime inister or the Chief Minister's discretion to etain Ministers charged with corruption if hey were satisfied that their integrity was nquestioned. This casts too heavy a burden on the Prime Minister or the Chief inisters. The recommendation of the Santhanam Committee in regard to the fiscal activities of the members of Parliament may be difficult to implement since pressures may be exerted by members of Parliament and members of State Legislatures through subtle and ingenious ways. These curbs cannot be left to the good sense of members. Some other machinery shall have to be evolved to impose restrictions on M.P.s' and M.L.A.s' fiscal activities to keep the Government free from political pressure groups.

2. The recommendations of the Committee in regard to public services are divisible into two sections: curative and preventive. Under the head curative, the Committee in its interim report of May 9, 1963 recommended[15] that superior Government servants should keep a watchful eye over the integrity of subordinate staff, every Government servant should take full responsibility for his actions except where he orders of the official superior are explicit, and amplification of rules in regard to receipt of gifts and conflict between private and public duty is clear. It suggested periodic submission of statements of assees and liabilities includin the value of movable property except articles of daily use, like clothes, utensils, crockery, books and jewellery.[16] It also suggested an amendment of Article 311 of the Constitution to provide for a simplified procedure, in case, members of the former Secretary of State's services were involved in bribery, corruption and lack of integrity charges.[17]

The interim report dated August 23, 1963 made a number of recommendations regarding disciplinary rules out of which some relevant recommendations were, withdrawal of pension, in full or in part, compulsory retirement of a Government servant on completion of 25 years of service or after attaining 50 years of age if suspected of doubtful integrity. It also suggested an appropriate machinery to review all cases

14. *Report of the Committee on Prevention of Corruption*, Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi, 1964, pp. 102-104.

15. *Report of the Committee on Prevention of Corruption*, Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi, 1964, p. 27.

16. *Ibid.*, pp. 27-28.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 113.

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of doubtful integrity where action was called for.[18]

The Committee recommended proper planning and effective implementation of preventive measures, administrative, legal, social, economic and educative. It suggested a thorough review of laws, rules, procedures and practices for the purpose of deciding the level of discretionary powers, the manner of their exercise, control over such exercise of powers, the precautions to be taken at the points where citizens come into contact with the Ministry/Department and the purpose for which they do so.[19]

Other preventive measures recommended by the Committee were the grant of housing and medical facilities, for education of children of Government servants, adoption of an informal code of conduct for different categories of Government servents working in Ministries/Departments dealing with economic affairs of the country (and which spend large sums of money),[20] grant of extension or re-employment to persons of integrity and honesty, prevent sale of information, imposition of a ban on Government servents accepting private or commercial employment for two years after retirement, making of income-tax returns and assessments open, rupture of dealings with firms of doubtful integrity, maintenance of diaries by officers granting interviews, maintenance of regular accounts by companies and businessmen, evolution of effective propaganda and publicity machinery and submission of periodic summary of departmental action or courts' prosecution to the press.[21]

It also made certain general recommendations. It suggested changes in the Indian Penal Code to provide for punishment against social offences.[22] A fresh definition of 'public servant' including Ministers of Union and State Governments was urged.[23] It was recommended that offering of bribe or attempt to offer bribe should be made a substantive offence and should be made non-bailable Possession of disproportionate sources of income should be brought within the definition of criminal misconduct and treated as a substantive offence.[24] It suggested simplification of procedure for prosecution of Government servants charged with corruption.[25]

The Santhanam Committee recommended the reorganization of the entire Vigilance Organization on a proper and adequate basis without undermining the general principle that the Secretaries and Heads of Departments are primarily responsible for the purity, integrity and efficiency of departments.[26] The improvement in Vigilance Organization for Railways was suggested.[27] The setting up of Vigilance Organizations in Public Sector Undertakings[28] and the Judiciary was urged.[29] The Committee suggested the starting of training courses for the Vigilance Officers[30] and the enlargement of the powers of the Special Police Establishment.[31]

The Committee emphasized the significance of a social climate opposed to corruption in the task of purification of public services. This, according to the Committee, should begin from the top. Absolute integrity in the Central and State Ministers is an indispensable condition for the establishment of a tradition of purity in public services.[32] Honest officers should be protected and those found guilty of corruption should

18. *Report of the Committee on Prevention of Corruption*, Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi, 1964, pp. 114-115.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 116.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 118.
21. *Ibid.*, pp. 119-123.
22. *Report of the Committee on Prevention of Corruption*, Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi, 1964, p. 123.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 124.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 124.
25. *Ibid.*, pp. 128-129.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 130.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 130.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 132.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 141.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 132.
31. *Ibid.*, pp. 133-136.

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deprived of their jobs and socially graded.[33]

The Committee has left the problem of ruption in the defence forces to be consi-red by a Separate Committee, and has, as interim measure, recommended that con-ct rules, disciplinary rules, preventive easures and procedural matters connected ith social contacts and purchases could also applied to the Defence Ministry and its tablishments.[34] Exceptions were made out matters covered by the Army, Navy d Air Force Acts.[35]

The Santhanam Committee's recom-endations in regard to public men are lting, incidental and made with a certain servation, but the Committee's recommen-tions in regard to removal of corruption m public services are more than adequate. e Committee has done well to go into both e preventive and curative sides of corrup-n in public services, and most of the re-mmendations are likely to have beneficent ects on integrity and efficiency of Govern-ent servants. Two recommendations de-rve particular mention.

1. The jurisdiction of the courts in fence of public services is sought to be mited under Article 314.[36] In fact, the diciary is a veritable safeguard of public rvants against victimization by higher blic servants. There is no reason why the otection guaranteed to the citizen under hapter III by way of Fundamental Rights ould not be made available to public ser-nts in India. In view of political polari-tion of public services in several States and e movement in reverse, popularly known "de-Kaironization" in the Punjab, it is visible to keep civic rights of public rvants intact. On the other hand, the ght of public servants to seek the protection of the law should be ensured to all which are sought to be limited through the implementation of paras (vi)[37] and (viii)[38] of the interim report of August 23, 1963.

2. The Santhanam Committee suggested that Section 21 of the Indian Penal Code should be amended to re-define the words "public servant" to include 'every person in the service or pay of the Government, a local authority or a Corporation established by a Central or State Act, or a Government Company as defined in Section 617 of the Companies Act, 1956 and/or who is remunerated by fees or commission for the performance of any public duty."[39] This is rather a bold suggestion, for according to this definition, "public servant" would include Ministers, Secretaries and even persons engaged in any trade or industry. Such a broad definition of public servant is desirable in view of the extended socio-economic activities of the Government. As a consequence, the rule of law would be effectively enforced in the country as in the United Kingdom. The Santhanam Committee, however, fails to analyze the far-reaching repercussions of this broad definition on Administration.

The Santhanam Committee submitted its interim reports in 1963 and 1964 as requested by the then Home Minister[40] and the Consolidated Report on March 31, 1964.[41] The Chairman of the Committee on Prevention of Corruption, held that "if the suggestions of the Committee are carried out corruption in the country would be appreciably reduced in the next two years."[42] This may be optimistic but the least the Government can do in the matter is to give the Committee a chance by giving effect to most of its recommendations.

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32. *Report of the Committee on Prevention of Corruption*, Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi, 1964, pp. 101-102.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 106.
34. *The Hindustan Times*, April 4, 1964.
35. *Ibid.* April 4, 1964.
36. *Report of the Committee on Prevention of Corruption*, Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi, 1964, p. 113.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 115.
Also see Annexure IV, pp. 299-300.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 115.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 124.
Also see Annexure IV, pp. 299-300.
40. *Report of the Committee on Prevention of Corruption*, Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi, 1964, p. 1.
41. *The Hindustan Times*, April 2, 1964.
42. Leading Article, *The Hindustan Times*, January 29, 1964.

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SECULARISM IN POLITICS

By Dr. R. T. JANGAM

The article attempts a brief study of Secularism in Politics. Secularism is sought to be defined as an intellectual and moral attitude and socio-eco-political movement in western history. It is contended that Secularism became stronger stage by stage as religion beat its political, intellectual and 'religious' retreat; and that the expansion of the state activities which was broadly in conformity with the growing spirit of Secularism was marked by corresponding decline in the influence of religion. The article touches on the prospects of Secularism in the Indian context vis-a-vis the religious incompatibilities.

Secularism as an attitude or outlook on life or world should be distinguished from the movement corresponding to the attitude which influenced the nature of political institutions and course of events.

As an attitude, Secularism can be said to have three aspects—intellectual, moral and socio-eco-political. On the intellectual and moral levels, Secularism implies individual as an end in himself and an adequate source of values so that there is no need to postulate a religious or transcendental frame of reference for justification of moral values. Secularism may be anti-theistic or may not have any reference to God or deity. Secularism in both atheistic and anti-theistic forms obtained in 19th Century England where the movement of Secularism started (about 1846) under the leadership of G. J. Holyoake ; and incidentally, the movement was more vigorous and flourished remarkably better when it was in its anti-theistic phase. In this sense, Secularism is non-conventional and non-religious. Secularism further implies the individual's right to question, debate or consider on his own the problems that concern his life. This presupposes his reliance on reason as distinguished from reliance on faith or authority. In this sense, Secularism is rational and non-authoritarian.

On the socio-eco-political level, Secularism implies the movement aspect. The movement, as we can see now, purported to minimize or eliminate the influence of religion on the one hand and work out the implications of its intellectual and moral attitude as briefly explained above. The socio-eco-political implications which were earlier touched upon in the natural right theories and contractual states of Hobbes and Locke ("Letter Concerning Toleration") were fully worked out in the socio-eco-political theories of the 18th and 19th Centuries. These theories include the sociological relativism of Montesequieu (or political relativism, for he takes "Sociology" in a wider sense), the utilitarian theories of economics, politics, ethics and jurisprudence especially of Mill, Bentham, Austin and Sidgwick ; and socialistic theories of economics, politics and history including Marxian brand of socialism (communism). In the 19th Century Europe, Secularism received, both on its attitude and movement sides, tremendous impetus from the socio-eco-political events, particularly, the French Revolution (1848) which had profound and far-reaching repercussions in the Western world as promoting the secular goals of liberty, equality and fraternity of men ; the epoch-making attempt at widening the basis of democracy in England by the introduction (1832) of the

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eform Bill; and the contemporary movement of Chartism.

As regards the attempt of Secularism at nimizing or eliminating the influence of ligion in the organization of social, econo- ic and political life, it may be broadly ated that an advance of Secularism was arked by a corresponding retreat of eligion—religion in the sense of a body ctrines and values giving its sanction or nding the weight of its authority and tra- ion to the institutions and practices hich, according to Secularism, were either tmoded or out of place. There was a ne—roughly speaking, the period bet- een 900 A.D. and 1400 A.D.—when ligion determined and controlled not only e religious or spiritual life of the indivi- al but also the social and political life. e scope of its activities was coextensive th the life of society, and the state or litical authority formed only a constitu- t part of the religious domain. However, the events developed later, papal power t the contest for political domination to e regal power; and this marked a begin- g of the process of progressive limitations the activities of religion. Henceforward, ligion was to become less and less of a litical influence.

The intellectual monopoly of religion me to be challenged and broken with the vent of Renaissance and Reformation d with the rise of defiant and radical nkers like Bruno, Spinoza and Galileo o often paid the price for their intellec- al freedom. The movements of Renais- ce and Reformation and the rise of fiant thinkers made it difficult, if not im- ssible, for religion to dictate in the tradi- nal fashion the contents, methods and ds of knowledge. Incidentally, it should noted that the terms Renaissance, Refor- tion and Secularism, though not exactly ntical, are significantly similar in their ntents and orientation, on their attitude d movement sides. This marked a second ge of the process. Henceforward, religion s to became less and less of an intellec- l influence.

Next, even the 'religious' monopoly of ligion came to be challenged by defiant practitioners of religion spearheaded by Luther, Calvin and Zwingli. To be on his own in religious or spiritual matters came to be advocated as a right of the individual. The individual was to have freedom in deciding the nature of relationship between himself and God; and the position, authority or acceptability of scriptures. This was a tremendous blow to the sacerdotalistic or the establishment aspect of religion. This marked the third stage at which the very citadel of religion—the religious domain—came to be shaken. Henceforward, religion was to decline in its dogmatism and exclusivism (even) in the religious domain.

The progressive retreat of religion is linked up with the progressive expansion of the state activities. How far the expansion of the state activities is directly the result of adoption of Secularism is a debatable matter. However, this can be broadly stated that the expansion of the state activities—especially in the democratic countries—presupposes logically and philosophically and is in broad conformity, with Secularism. The modernization of Turkey (about 1920)—the "sick man of Europe"—can be said to be perhaps the closest example of how the expansion of the state activities can be said to be based on the adoption of Secularism and how such adoption of Secularism can throw the traditional religion in the background or noticeably diminish its influence. The functions—and therefore the powers—of the states have increased phenomenally especially during the closing decades of the 19th Century and the present Century on account of the obsolescence of the negative state and the acceptance of the positive and welfare state; and the scientific and technological revolution which has made possible for states to assume positive or welfare roles. The enormous increase in the powers of the state is understandable in the case of monarchies or dictatorships. But even in the case of federal or democratic countries, the states have come to acquire enormous powers on account of war (the two World Wars in particular), depression, and the assumption (by the states) of welfare functions.[1] The net result of such an increase in state powers is that religion has come to

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be one of the institutions in society with a limited role to play. In some countries like Indonesia, Pakistan and Egypt religion is given prominence, but only as an expedient or instrument ; the political systems in these countries are not at the mercy of religion. Not only has religion come to play a limited role, but it is obliged to play the role within the political framework with attendant limitations and restrictions. In multi-religious political systems like ours, religion finds ittself subject to one more limitation, namely, that its practice must be compatible, if not harmonious, with the practice of other religions. In India, on account of the logic of inevitable coexistence of different religions, the religious practice tends to be more private and less public so that the area of conflict due to incompatibility may be reduced. Strangely enough, there is a tendency on the part of politicians and policy-makers to slur over the basic differences of religions or to fight shy of them. The slogan of Secularism tends to underplay the basic religious differences and the traditionally proven incompatibilities among different religions, and to declare abruptly and rather wishfully the oneness, similarity or equality of all religions. It is sought to be assumed naively and superficially that the different religions will somehow coexist happily and the religious freedoms granted by the Indian Constitution can help such a happy coexistence. The assumption, besides being logically untenable, is practically dangerous. Because, through the fault of omission, it seeks to drive underground the religious differences and incompatibilities. These unresolved differences and incompatibilities constitute today a most formidable challenge to those who are seeking the political and cultural integration of India. The exigencies of the Secular state demand, besides the minimum compatibility, a common civil code[2] which would apply to all citizens regardless of their religious affiliation. For example, the law of marriage or monogamy should apply to all citizens. But, this does not happen. Because, apparently it is feared that some religions have not changed or adjusted themselves-doctrinally and institutionally—so as to make possible acceptance and practice of a common civil code. Going a step further we may say that there is a need for adequate secularization of all religions in India. The passage of the Hindu Code Bill highlighted the need for adequate secularization not only of other religions like Islam but Hinduism itself as was evident from the uprorious reactions from the orthodox sections of the Hindu community.

The views of articulate and progressive Muslim leaders like Professors A.A.A. Fyzee and Humayun Kabir clearly show that there is an intellectual minority within the fold of Islam which is struggling to secularize it. There is a feeling[3] in the influential Christian quarters that the Christian citizens, though presumably ripe and ready for

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1. Wheare, K. C. : *Federal Government*, London, Oxford University Press, Third Edition, 1956 ; First Edition, 1946.

Today, it is an established proposition that the federal governments have become enormously unitary or have survived as just quasi-federal governments. Professor Wheare establishes the proposition in the light of massive evidence of the working of the federal systems of India, the United States, Switzerland, Canada, Australia and South Africa in particular. This is by no means the only work on the subject, but is one of the ground-breaking and leading ones.

2. A strong plea for common civil code was made at a Seminar on "The Indian Tradition and Its Significance for Cultural Freedom" organized at Poona on 21,22 and 23 August 1964 by the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom. The Seminar was attended by leaders in different walks of life like Jayaprakash Narayan, M. R. Masani, Laxamanshastri Jshi. This may be said to be a fair cross section of the vocal intellectuals and thinking men who plead for a common civil code.

3. Devandan, P. D. : *Preparation for Dialogue, Bangalore*, The Christain Institute for The Study of Religion and Socity, 1964, pp. 7-8.

The whole book which is a collection of articles has an underlying argument that Hinduism is undergoing a beneficial process of secularization and it is getting priority in this matter for a variety of reasons. The Christian community should no longer be a mere spectator of this process but must do something to participate actively in the process.

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he acceptance of a common civil code, are ot taken into confidence ; and are given the mis)benefit of the doubt because (appa- ently) they have kept quiet and have not xpressly demanded the application of a ommon civil code or of secular legislations ike the Hindu Code Bill which applies to he Hindus.

In the light of the recent attitudes of he Muslim and Christian communities to ecular legislation (or legislation for evolv- ng a common civil code) and the attitude of he legislators to these communities, it seems nlikely that the legislators will take ini- iative in bringing these communities with- n the range of secular legislation. For, uch initiative would entail the risk of nternal reformation (or secularization from ithin) of the communities for which they legislative) are not suited. Besides, the ft-invited duty of giving protection to the eligious minorities is politically more valu- ble and easier to perform. Under the cir- umstances, it appears likely and necessary hat the leaders of the communities will ring about the internal adjustment and evelop increasing understanding with the egislators so that the latter undertake wider ecular legislation and do not take the easy ay out of "giving protection to the mino- ities". Further, it appears likely that the hristian community will become ready for ecular legislation earlier than the Muslim ommunity, although something will have be done to reduce considerably its (Chris- an community's) incompatibility with ther religions, particularly Hinduism hich is the majority religion.

The proselytizing aims and activities of hristianity which essentially rest on com- ulsive preference for the Christian religion nd the resultant desirability (or pro- ramme) of conversion[4] of non-Christians ill tend to bring Christianity into incom- atibility with Hinduism ; more so because induism is pluralistic in outlook, more lerant and not competitively or aggres- vely disposed to other religions because it aintains that God or salvation can be reached by different paths. Against this background, it may be reasonably affirmed and hoped that the prospects of Secularism in India are bright, but the task of realizing the prospects is not an easy one.

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4. (i) The Committee for Special Literature on the Indian Church and Social Concerns : *The Secular State in India—A Christain Point of View*, Calcutta, YMCA Publishing House, 1953, p. 9.

(ii) *Constituent Assembly Debates*, 1947, Vol. 3, p. 480

Conversion is a part of the Christain faith or doctrine. It seeks to go beyond the secular adjustment or compatibility with other religions. The above booklet on Secular State in India says, "Christian tolerance is inspired rather by the conviction that every man is the object of God's tender love and care. Therefore, the Christian's responsibility for those of other faiths does not stop with the securing of justice in human relations. It goes further to seek avenues of service through which the love of God for man can be mediated, and the reality of his forgiveness interpreted in concrete terms of the restoration of the fallen, the recovery of the delinquent and the healing of the infirm." This means that the Christian religion wiil not let other religions alone, especially if the members of other religions are "fallen" or "infirm" and need "healing." From secular point of view, this insistence on conversion is unfortunate, to say the least, how far it is true or false on religious or logical grounds is altogether a different matter. India's recent history does not support the hope that Christianity's conversion activities can be peaceful or non-controversial. There are quite a number of Hindus who feel that the Niyogie Report (1956) is an understatement of the evil effects of conversion activities.

During the Constituent Assembly Debates, Mr. K. M. Munshi, an Assembly member, pleaded that the conversion of underage persons should not be considered legal : "Any conversion from one religion to another of any person brought about by fraud, coercion or undue influence or of a minor under the age of eighteen shall not be recognized by law." A Christain member of the Assembly objected to this, saying conversion which involves spiritual awakening may take place even in a minor person !

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BONUS AWARD AND ITS IMPLICATIONS

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By N. G. Gujar

Historical Background

The practice of the payment of bonus, though not unknown before the Second War, became conspicuous in India in and after the War. Taking advantage of war conditions producers were making enormous profits. These profits were made in spite of the rise in taxes and the imposition of new levies like the Excess Profits Tax. The profits as indicated by the published statements of accounts showed considerable increase. For example, the profits in the cotton textile industry became three-fold during the war period. There were reasons to believe that all the profits that were made were not disclosed. It was natural for workers, specially when the cost of living was increasing, to demand bonus as a share in these huge profits. Some employers were either enlightened or practical enough to grant this demand ; others refused. But all the employers contended that the bonus was an ex-gratia payment, depending entirely upon the goodwill of employers and which could not, therefore, be claimed by workers as a matter of right. But this view of the employers was not supported by various awards of Industrial Tribunals. All post-war decisions of the adjudicators tend to support the view that bonus is not an ex-gratia payment and that it can be claimed as a matter of right by workers, particularly in the circumstances when the workers' wages fall short of the living wage standards and when the industry is making huge profits. The principle underlying this view seems to be that bonus should be related to the profits and that as profits have been earned with the aid and co-operation of the workers in the industry, a part has to be paid to them in the form of bonus as their rightful share in these profits.

Accordingly a large number of workers received bonuses from time to time during and after the war. In some cases bonuses ranged as high as six or nine months' basic wages during a year.

In order to give a systematic basis for profit-sharing the government appointed a committee called Profit Sharing committee, which submitted its report in September, 1948. The Committee came to the conclusion that it was not possible to devise a system of profit-sharing in which labour's share of profit could be determined on a sliding scale varying with production. What is of more interest is : it recommended six industries, viz., cotton textile, jute, steel, cement, the manufactures of tyres and cigarrttes, as the sectors in which the experiment might be tried in the first instance, for a limited period of five years. The committee came to the conclusion that labour's share of the surplus profits can only be determined in an arbitrary way. Taking all factors into account the committee proposed that six percent on paid-up capital plus all reserves held for the purpose of the business would be a fair return on capital invested in the concern. Whatever remained formed "surplus profits." Labourers' share in the "surplus profits" thus understood, should be 50%

The recommendations of the Profit Sharing Committee were shelved and no action was taken, since it was viewed that because of the complicated nature of the problem of profit-sharing and bonus, there was a need to set up norms with the help of

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experts. Thus the question remained to be considered and decided by industrial courts on the merits of each case. Mention may be made of the agreement between the Textile Labour Association and the Millowners' Association in Ahmedabad in June 1955, on the payment of bonus for the five years, 1953 to 1957. According to this agreement, workers were to get a minimum of 4.8 percent and a maximum of 25 percent of basic wages' during the year depending upon the surplus profits that would be available for distribution. Then there was a decision of the Labour Appellate Tribunal in Bombay Mill owners' Association vs. Rashtriya Mazdoor Sangh which laid down a formula for ascertaining the surplus that could be distributed as bonus. But mostly unions were required to raise a dispute periodically and to ask for its adjudication. This resulted into a near chaotic condition in that there were no uniform principles for the calculation of residuary surplus and labour's share therein. Neither has this practice helped in the development of co-operation and friendly relations between the managements and labour. In order to avoid this situation the First Bonus Commission was appointed and the main recommendations of the Commission were made available to the Press in February this year.

Defects in the System of Payments of Bonus

At the outset it has to be realised that the defects in the system of paying bonus had been presented to the authorities before the Commission was appointed. Time and again it had been shown that the efficient and inefficient labourer, the hardworking and lazy labourer, the conscientious and careless labourer, all received the same amount of bonus. Moreover it was pointed out that the workers of badly managed concerns and efficiently managed ones were treated in the same manner where bonus was made payable industry-wise. The system prevailing in the country was a crude one, not found in any other industrially advanced country since in this system the amount paid as bonus was not related to the performance of a worker and, therefore, was not conduccive to improving the productivity of the worker.

But it is doubtful whether it would have been feasible or desirable to abolish this long standing system. The payment of bonus has become a sort of "social commitment" and there is no alternative to it. We have to accept it and the authorities have to introduce safeguards in order to minimise the harmful effects on the economic system in general and on industrial concerns in particular. Moreover the recommendations of the Commission would eliminate, it was expected, bonus disputes as a recurrent source of industrial friction; they would, to that extent, make for industrial stability.

Recommendations of the Bonus Commission

They have defined bonus as a share of the workers in the prosperity of the concern in which they are employed. Such payment of the bonus is desirable when the actual wages are below the living standard and it will import, according to the Commission, an elasticity in the wage structure.

Bonus Formula

From the total receipts of a concern the following items are to be excluded: (a) profit or loss from the sale of immovable property or fixed assets of a capital nature; (b) income from business outside India; (c) income of non-Indian concerns from investment outside India and (d) refund of income tax paid for previous years. What remains is the gross profits.

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From the gross profits, there are certain "prior charges", to be excluded. The prior charges are : (a) Normal depreciation, admissible under the income tax act, should be allowed. (b) Income tax and super tax should be included in the prior charges. (In the case of plantation companies, agricultural income tax also should be considered as a prior charge.) (c) Seven percent on paid-up equity capital and four cent on reserve should be included in these charges.

In the note of dissent by one member, viz., employers' representative on the Commission, it was suggested that 8½ percent on equity capital and 6 percent on reserves should be considered as a fair return on capital and therefore these percentages should be allowed as prior charges. The minute of dissent also suggested that rehabilitation allowance and the super profits tax should be considered as prior charges. The majority report has declined to accept the rehabilitation allowance and the super profits tax as prior charges.

After deducting these prior charges, what remains is the surplus. Of the surplus 60 percent should be made available for bonus. The bonus should be linked to wages and dearness allowance together. Moreover an employee will get as minimum bonus an amount equal to 4 percent of his annual earnings or Rs. 40 whichever is higher. This would mean a compulsory payment of bonus by a concern whether it makes a profit or not, except in the case of new units.

The Commission's formula is applicable also to public undertakings which compete with the private sector. That is public sector undertakings which are not departmentally run and which compete with the establishments in the private sector will be required to pay the bonus according to this formula.

Objections

The employers objected to the recommendations of the Bonus Commission on the following grounds. (1) The exclusion of super profits taxes from the prior charges is not logical. (2) Seven percent return on capital and 4 percent on reserves is too low. (3) The uniform application of the formula to all industries, as if their capacity to make profits and their need for conservation of reserves do not differ, is inequitable. (4) The Commission's recommendation that a minimum bonus must be payable irrespective of whether there is any profit or not is unsound and contradicts its own concept of bonus as a workers' share in the prosperity of their concern. (5) Commission's rejection of development rebate as a prior charge is harsh.

In general the view of the employers was that the majority report was altogether Labour-oriented without any larger economic perspective in that the Commission had ignored the interests of the Community as a whole. If the funds available for the improvement of the techniques of production and for rehabilitation, replacement etc., would be dissipated by way of higher bonus to labour, the progress of the industry and nation would be slowed down. The rate of return allowed on the capital is not adequate ; the company finances are bound to be adversely affected. The division of the "surplus" as 60 percent for bonus and 40 percent for the rest (for gratuity to workers, other necessary reserves, rehabilitation reserve, super profits tax) is inequitable. This would siphon off the greater part of corporate surpluses acting as a drag on any comyany's financial resources. It may, indeed, kill the goose that lays the golden egg.

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Government's Decision

On 27th August, this year, the Government has accepted the Bonus Commission's recommendations, subject to certain modifications. The most important modification is in connection with "prior charges" on gross profits before the amount available for distribution is computed. In modifying the Commission's recommendations the authorities have more or less accepted the major demand made by the employers' representative on the Bonus Commission, in his note of dissent. The rate of return on capital as "prior charge" will be 8.5 percent for paid up equity capital and 6 percent for reserves. (The majority report of the Commission had suggested 7 percent and 4 percent respectively.) For banking companies 7.5 percent on paid up capital and 5 percent on reserves has been accepted as the prior charge by the Government. This suggests realistic approach by the Government. It may be argued that the concept of a reasonable yield on employed capital in the case of tax-tax calculation is more liberal and provides for a 10 percent return. So also, according to this line of argument, the Government should have done well to follow the Tariff Commission's basis of adopting the rate of return on capital, which is 10 percent for both, capital employed in a concern and reserves, in most of the industries.

But then, after deducting "prior charges", there will be a surplus out of which only 60 percent is made available for bonus distribution. At least a part of the rest will be made available for supplementing, if necessary, the 8½ percent as a return on capital allowed in the prior charges. This is all the more important since, now this surplus would be smaller. And that is the second modification made by the Government while accepting the Commission's recommendations. In computing the "available surplus", all direct taxes will be deducted as prior charges. Tax concessions given to the industry to provide resources for development will also, according to this modification, be accepted as prior charges. According to the Commission's recommendations the super profits tax and some of the tax concessions that have been provided, currently, to certain to industries are to be excluded from the "prior charges" for the purpose of arriving at the "available surplus". Now the Government makes it clear that all such concessions, as well as all direct taxes, are to be considered as "prior charges" and are to be excluded from "the available surplus". Of course the Government proposes to take steps to ensure that the amount involved in such concessions are utilised only for the specific purpose for which they are given.

It has been announced, and that is the third modification, that bonus beyond a certain amount would be distributed in the form of securities of one or the other kind and not in cash. In the present inflationary situation part payment of bonus in securities is all the more desirable.

Comments on Government's Decision

Despite these realistic gestures one important anomaly from the Commission's recommendations has not been removed, and that anomaly is : the uniform application of the formula to all industries. The Government has made a distinction between banking companies and others in that separate rates of return on capital have been accepted in both these categories. But the Government has not been consistent since it makes no distinction between one category of industries and another, between industries of one region and another. More particularly, the formula as accepted by the Government does not make any allowance for the difficulties and hazards

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of industries like plantation and mining. Moreover the government has accepted the commission's recommendations in connection with new concerns. The Bonus formula will not apply to them until they have recouped all early losses, subject to a time limit of six years. But there is no reason to believe that the new concerns would be able to do so within the time limit thus prescribed.

There is an important implication involved in the Government's acceptance of the Commission's recommendation in connection with the minimum bonus. A minimum bonus of four percent of the earnings or Rs. 40, whichever is higher, irrespective of profit or loss of a concern has to be paid. This is nothing else but a "straight increase" in wages. There are several objections to such a straight increase in wages. Firstly instead of giving it as a bonus it should have been given as a wage increase. Secondly, this type of payment is not a "share in prosperity" and thus is not consistent with the definition of bonus accepted by the Commission. Thirdly, this type of straight wage increase will mean cost inflation in most of the industries—a dangerous trend in to-day's inflationary economy.

But the most important aspect of this type of minimum payment of bonus is its repercussions on other sectors of the economy. The employees of public sector industries not competing with the private sector industries, and those of Posts, Telegraphs and Railways and of other departmentally run industries, employees of Central and State Governments and those of local self government units will necessarily claim such increases. And to refuse a similar payment to these employees will be discriminating against, not to speak of the discontent it would create amongst them.

In practice when the Government will take steps to implement its decision on the bonus formula it is likely to meet stiff resistance from the side of employees' unions. Leftist trade unions will definitely raise a hue and cry against the Government's decision. They are likely to bring pressure by resorting to strikes of all sorts. Even some of the leaders of moderate organisations like the INTUC has reacted adversely in connection with the Government's modifications of the Bonus Commission's formula. In the short run the Government's modification of the recommendations may lead to serious widespread industrial unrest. But the additional burdens that will be imposed on industrial finances under the commitments of bonus have to be viewed against the cumulative impact of taxes and other levies on profits in recent years. This is a long run aspect of industrial growth and labour leaders can ignore it only at the risk of stinting industrial growth with adverse reactions on employment.

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THE ROLE OF PERSONALITY TEST IN THE RECRUITMENT OF HIGHER PUBLIC SERVICES: A BRITISH LESSON FOR INDIA

By HIREN J. PANDYA

dministration, to be effective and effi-ent, has to have a recruitment system that its premium on the personality of the re-ruits to the higher public services. This is ll the more true in the context of the wel-are state, wherein higher public servants re being increasingly associated with the rocess of policy-formulation, which was, efore, the exclusive preserve of the politi-l executive. It has long been recognised hat mere intellectual ability will not make good civil servant, whose calling places m in diverse and difficult situations of hich he has to be the master. The crying eed of the day is 'administrative statesman-hip' with creative intelligence. The em-hasis on creative intelligence is explained y Emmette S. Redford, who observes, The primary needs, in my judgment are to ecognise the complexity of problems which ust be faced and to emphasise the part hat creative intelligence can play in the olution of problems.....I am using the ord 'expert' comprehensively to include very form of intelligence which can be nployed efficiently in the solution of roblems".[1]

It is one thing to stress the need for eative intelligence in an administrator, nd another, to discover it. The device now sed to sift applicants and obtain the cream f the candidates for the civil services is the ersonality Test. The aim of the Person-lity Test is to assess the emotional balance nd nervous equipoise of those interviewed. serves as a yardstick to measure the initi-ive, intellectual alertness, presence of ind, the power of decision, ability to anti-cipate events and a sense of discretion, which are so vital in a good administrator.

We shall now examine the system of testing Personality as it is used by the British Civil Service Commission, and make a comparison of it with the methods in vogue in India. In conclusion, we shall examine some suggestions for improvement and some modern trends in the sphere of Personality Test. It would not be out of place to begin with a look at the state of affairs in Britain before the present mode of Personality Test became an essential part of the methods used for recruitment to the British Civil Service.

Till the setting up of the Civil Service Commission, by an Order in Council in May, 1855, recruitment to the British Civil Service depended, in the main, on patronage and favouritism. It was another 20 years, however, before the abuses in the recruit-ment system were entirely swept away and party attacks on the work of the Commis-sion ceased. In 1870, another Order in Council made a Test of open competition obligatory, practically throughout the ser-vice. As far as recruitment was concerned, the Civil Service Commissioners were given quasi-judicial powers and they were not subject to outside interference, even from the Treasury. The interview was establish-ed in 1917, on the recommendation of the Committee on Class I Examination, which remarked, "We believe that qualities may be shown in the viva voce examination which cannot be tested by a written exami-nation and that those qualities should be useful to public services." They considered that the viva voce could be made a test of the candidate's alertness and intelligence. While subject to the value of 1000 marks may be offered for the written examination

1. Emmette S. Redford, 'Administrative egulations' in the *American Political Science eview*, Dec. 1954.

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from the various options, the interview was to carry 300 marks. The use of this method, with minor adaptations to suit modern thought, has remained to this day.

Two methods of recruitment are now in use in the British Civil Service, known as Method I and Method II. Method I consists of a full academic written examination with preliminary and final interviews. The preliminary interview is conducted by a single interviewer and carries no marks. The interviewer, however, supplies a Report to the Final Interview Board under the chairmanship of the First Civil Service Commissioner who awards upto 300 markes for the candidate's record and personal qualities. The Board also takes into account the candidate's achievements in relation to his opportunities and also confidential reports from responsible people and from two referees.

Method II has three stages and eliminates candidates at each stage. On the strength of the results of a short written Test, candidates are invited to be interviewed by the Civil Service Selection Board. A series of tests and interviews, lasting two and a half days, follows, known as the House Party or Country House system of personality test. These include written tests, group discussions, committee work, psychological tests and personal interviews. The Selection Board's assessment of the candidate's performance is sent to the Civil Service Commission. The second stage consists of an interview by University professors. The final award depends on the Commission's own interview. School and University records are also taken into account at this stage.

The latter method which came into use after the Second World War, was actually a leaf taken out of the book of the army. Doubtless, the employment of this pattern of recruitment did away with misgivings regarding subjectivity and chance. Further it appealed to those who had some administrative experience at school or college or in the Forces. The method was adopted because the experts were convinced about its efficacy as a means of recruiting the best available candidates to the administrative class. The interview assesses the candidate's suitability for each of the services he has entered for, particular importance being attached to his intelligence, alertness, vigour and strength of charater and potential qualities of leadership.

The significance of the personality test can hardly be over-estimated. At least 800 out of 1300 candidates are very close to each other in ability and hence the interview can be a decisive factor in success or failure. Another point of practical importance is, as Finer says, "It is unlikely, because of the age limits, that a candidate will have more than two attempts so that the interview may be decisive of his whole life."[2] The procedure adopted in Method II implies an interview of longer duration than the method in vogue before 1945 and hence gives a better opportunity to the Board to assess the candidate's personality.

Speaking of the personality test, a report of the Civil Service Assembly says, "**Whatever the form or the ostensible purpose** of the interview may be, it serves one necessary end—to humanise an otherwise bureaucratic relationship. Moreover it often presents an opportunity for engendering goodwill which springs from letting the candidate know that he is being considered as a human entity rather than as an array of skills and talents and similar abstractions."[3] It is designed to place special emphasis on personality and quick-wittedness as opposed to sheer intellectual ability. The psychological tests conducted by the British Civil Service Commission are intended to discount differences in age, education and experience and they seek to provide sound evidence of basic mental capacity. With this object in view, each candidate is interviewed separately by the Group Chairman, the Psychologist and the Observer. While the Observer is mainly concerned with the quality of the candidate's mind, the Psychologist with his personality and life history, the Group Chairman concerns himself "with

2. Finer, H., "Governments of the Greater European Powers" (1956), p. 227.

3. 'Oral Tests in Public Personnel Selection' by the Civil Service Assembly, p. 5.

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all aspects of the candidate, with particular emphasis on how he has spent his time since leaving school, on his leisure pursuits and on his reasons for seeking to enter the public services."[4]

On the other hand, many thinkers are of the view that the interview does not really gauge the candidate's mental prowess. R. C. Oldfield says that psychological tests of the type described above tend to bring a sense of irritation or of disappointment to the candidate, due to the often ill-founded and overhasty conclusions of the interviewers and the candidate's sensitivity to them. The problem is how, without previous acquaintance, upon a particular occasion and within a limited period of time, to arrive at a reliable assessment of the personal qualities of an individual. The question may be asked, "How can we distinguish with scientific confidence, among the persons with the appropriate mental abilities and knowledge, their varying degrees of effectiveness in the interpersonal relations?"[5] It is next to impossible to measure such qualities as tact, persuasiveness and motivations.

What the interviewer judges during the interview is chiefly the attitudes displayed by the candidate, and here the personal qualities of the interviewer himself play a great part. While some interviewers are able to conduct the course of an encounter—to draw out the shy and urge on the reticent, others lack these abilities. R. C. Oldfield considers the choice of the topics for conversation also important. He observes, "The candidates must be led to a state of mind in which well-defined, symptomatic attitudes can be aroused by conversational stimulation."[6]

The factor of bias is the most vitiating influence in the interview. The peculiar characteristics of each person are capable of being looked at in different lights by different people. Personal likes and dislikes of the interviewer affect the outcome of the interview to a greater extent than is generally recognised.

Objections have also been raised to interviews by Boards. The alarming nature of the position in which the candidate is placed makes him nervous and in no fit condition to put his best foot forward. A sense of unjustified, yet inescapable formality has been attributed to the members of the Interviewing Board. The mutual relationships of the several members of the Board may also present some problems. For example, a single member may dominate the questioning and deliberations of a Board or there may be mutual antagonism between the members of the Board.

It has rightly been remarked that suspicion is the candidate's general attitude towards the interview. Written papers with their happy anonymity, are fair, while the test of personal contact is likely to depend on purely subjective opinions. It is surely a fallacy to assume that whereas a human being's brains are a matter of personal credit, and therefore capable of just assessment and of being weighed in a scale against the brains of others, his voice, his looks, his manners, his temper, his vitality and his power to guide and help are given by nature and ought not to be charged for or against him. It may however be argued here that every instrument is fallible in human hands and in the assessment of these rather intangible qualities, the margin of error may just be wider than in the measurement of the brain's capacities. The assessment of personality is difficult in the highest degree but as Mary Agnes Hamilton says, qualities such as "Zest, an interest in the whole business of being alive, an awareness of variety in experience, curiosity as to the world one lives in, tastes, these things do somehow get across."[7] To get the best out of it, interviews should be kept as informal as possible, the conversation being designed to elaborate the information on the application form and then to find out the applicant's views on his career and his plans for

4. Statement of Government Policy and Report by the Civil Service Commission (H.M.S.O.), p. 23.

5. State Personnel Administration—Agenda for 1960's by A. H. Aronson in *Public Personnel Review*, April 1960, p. 99.

6. R. C. Oldfield, *The Psychology of the Interview*, p. 77.

7. Mary Agnes Hamilton, 'Use of Interview in Recruitment and Promotion.'—*Public Administration*, Jan.-Oct. 1937, p. 305.

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the future. Some critics, however, are of the opinion that it is sheer nonsense to say that committees, whatever the degree of informality, are not influenced by the bearing and appearance of the candidates. It follows from this that the candidate's performance itself will not be of great importance, in gauging his personality. And there is no such thing as a perfect Selection Committee.

'Until 1956, the Union Public Service Commission in India had set a great store by the Personality Test in the recruitment of candidates to the public services. A maximum of 400 marks out of a total of 1850, was awarded for personality. Personality, therefore, was a vital factor in determining the candidate's success or failure. Unless he secured qualifying marks in this test, he was not eligible for appointment. A notification of the Home Ministry describes the Personality Test in the following lines:

1. The candidate will be interviewed by a Board who will have, before them, a record of his career. He will be asked questions on matters of general interest. The object of the interview is to assess personal suitability of the candidate for the service or services for which he has applied, by a board of competent and unbiased observers. The qualities to be judged may be broadly summed up as an assessment of the mental calibre of the candidate when the term is understood to include not only intellectual qualities but also social and moral qualities of personality. Some of the qualities to be judged are mental alertness, critical powers, assimilation, clear and logical exposition, balance of judgment, variety and depth of interest, ability for social cohesion and leadership, intellectual and moral integrity.

2. The technique of interview is not that of strict cross-examination but of natural though directed and purposive conversation which is intended to reveal the mental qualities of the candidate. The Personality Test is not intended to be a test eiher of the specialized or general knowledge of he candidate which has already been tested through his written papers. Candidates are expected to have taken an intelligent interest not only in the special subjects of academic study but also in the events which are happening around them both within and without their own State or country, as well as in modern currents of thought and in new discoveries which should rouse the curiosity of well educated youth."[8] The popularity of the Personality Test for All-India and Central Services is vouschafed for by the increasing number of candidates who apply for these examinations each year. The Commission, therefore, devoted increasing care and attention to the conducting of these tests. In its Third Report the U.P.S.C. remarked: "Ministries of Government continue to be insistent that a minimum stand in these tests mut be an indispensible condition of admission to their respective services.'

When the fifteen minutes' interview came for a volley of criticism, the first report of the U.P.S.C. had observed, "No human judgment can claim to be completely free from the element of subjectivity but, after carefully reviewing the matter, the Commission have come to the conclusion that a Board of this kind can be expected to size up the trend of the personal qualities of young people even during a conversation of fifteen to twenty minutes." However, Shri A. D. Gorwala opined that, "A fifteen minutes conversation with laymen, although possessing the wide experience of the Public Service Commission, can be no substitute for expert psychological examinations designed to give a scientific insight into the candidate's mental and emotional make-up."[9]

The U.P.S.C. is well-aware of the shortcomings in the Personality Test conducted by it. It is looking towards Britain and actively considering the adoption of interview methods on the lines of those in use there. The tests may be expensive of time where there are more than 5000 initial applications, but if steps are taken to sift entrants at the initial stage by the use of a

8. Ministry of Home Affairs Notification: Rules, New Delhi, the 12th February 1955 Appendix IIB: Standard and syllabus of Examination.

9. A. D. Gorwala: Report on Public Administration, Government of India, Plannig Commission, 1951.

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Screening Board at the State level, the thoroughly incompetent can be eliminated.

After examining the various methods of assessing the candidate's merit, one has to admit that the perfect and infallible method is still to be devised. As the Tomlin Commission puts it, "Every method of testing candidates is.....exposed to its own hazards."[10] Britain and U.S.A. are going ahead with research into better methods of testing personality. Their untiring efforts may result in a technique providing greater approximation in objectivity and reliability.

In spite of all the criticism levelled against it, the Personality Test seems to have come to stay. There is no gainsaying the fact that its usefulness in estimating the candidate's innate qualities, is unparalleled. In recent years attempts have been made to bring about improvements in the oral test with the object of reducing the element of chance to the minimum. Recently a symposium of Service Psychologists which was convened under the auspices of the Commonwealth Committee on Defence Science observed that, "In view of the established position of the interview among selection procedures, considerably greater effort should be devoted both to elucidating its structure and to applying in practice the results of current research." The lack of consistency and accuracy in interview judgments has to be eliminated as far as possible. Scientifically determined techniques of interviewing are coming into prominence everywhere and there is no reason why some of these techniques should not be applied to the interviewing of personnel for the public services also, with profit.

Dr. Finer, in his book, 'The British Civil Service' has put forth some valuable suggestions to lessen the iniquities of the Personality Test :

1. Its duration should be increased from fifteen minutes to half an hour.
2. It should relate to academic subjects and not to general conversation.
3. It should be a supplementary and not a decisive test.
4. The interview board should include a business and a University administrator.
5. The interview should come after and not before the written examination.
6. Tutor's reports should be consulted only after the interview by way of check and the tutor should exercise self-restraint in giving the testimonials.
7. Interview marks should be reduced from 300 to 150 i.e., half of their present magnitude.

Some of these suggestions have already been implemented in India. While the marks awarded for the interview have been reduced, its duration has been increased.

The need for informality in the conduct of interview cannot be over-emphasised. The room in which the interview takes place should be quiet and comfortable. The atmosphere should be such as to encourage free and friendly communication between the interviewer and the interviewee.

Prejudices should not be allowed to distort the judgment of the interviewers. A study undertaken by the American National Information Research Centre showed that interviewers holding majority and minority opinions on different topics tend to be influenced by their own views, when marking their assessment of the candidate's mental capacities. It is therefore absolutely necessary to keep in mind the possible presence of such bias and take measures to control it so that the interview would yield dependable information about the candidate. Interviewers should be able to develop a sense of objectivity and to assess with complete absense of prejudice, candidates' views which may be diametrically opposed to those which they themselves hold.

Shri W.T.V. Adiseshiah has put forth at length, in his learned article,[11] some key principles for gathering information about the candidate and matching it with his job specifications, so that the interview will not be of a random nature. These principles being of general application and being pertinent

10. Report of the Royal Commission (Tomlin) on the Civil Service (1929-'31).

11. W. T. V. Adiseshiah, 'Selection Interviewing' in *The Indian Journal of Public Administration*, April-June 1962. p. 207.

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to the present discussion, may be summed up here, as follows :

1. **Recollection :** The interviewer should not accept or reject a candidate till the end of the sitting.

2. **Observation of behaviour patterns :** Since some degree of emotional stability is essential for any sort of job, the interviewer would do well to observe behaviour patterns which repeat themselves. "The more repeatedly a behaviour pattern occurs, the more strongly evident is the characteristic expressed by that pattern."[12]

3. **Avoidance of reliance on isolated factors :** A strong impression created by one factor, e.g., the personal charm or ready wit of the candidate, should not be allowed to colour all other evidence.

4. **Avoidance of underrating :** Some candidates tend to overrate the quality of their achievements and sometimes interviewers, allergic to exaggerations, try to offset this marking the candidate low. While it is understandable that the candidates should not be at an advantage by mere force of his impressiveness and grandiloquence, these exaggerations should not place him at a disadvantage either. The interviewer should use fine discretion to take stock of his true merit.

5. **Allow for distortions of memory :** In recollection, people have a tendency to reorganise facts to their own advantage. The candidate's memory might modify his accounts and the interviewer's memory might play him false. The interviewer should therefore guard against these possibilities.

6. **Understanding the language of the candidate :** The interviewer should be proficient in disentangling the 'latent content' of a statement from its 'manifest content'. Though what is said appears perfectly cogent and reasonable, it may really be expressive of deep-seated, irrational hostilities. The ability to categorise the information logically is essential to an interviewer

7. **Assessing non-verbal material :** Candidates come from diverse backgrounds and the interviewer will have to take precautions not to be irrational in his approach to candidates from backgrounds different from his own. This and other personal aspects of the interview should be given due weight while considering improvements to be effected in interviewing techniques.

Finally, and most important of all is the check-up by the interviewer of the value of the assessments made by him. If about 60% of the candidates selected after interview have, in the opinion of their employers, shown competence on the job, the selection technique can be considered satisfactory.

It follows then, that the selection of the interviewer should be as carefully done as the selection of the candidates for appointment. In the words of P.E. Vernon and J. B. Parry, "The main qualities of a good interviewer, and the main factors leading to good rapport are thorough knowledge of the job or other matters with which the interviewee is concerned and of topics in which he is interested, emotional maturity or a well-adjusted personality.....and a reputation amongst previous interviewees for sincerity, sympathy and sensitiveness."

In this article an attempt has been made to examine the British model of Personality Test for recruitment to Higher Civil Service and also some recent trends and thought in the field, with a view to exploring the possibility of deriving some lessons from this for India. Admittedly, outright and wholesale adoption of a practice prevalent in another country, or of suggestions of some expert individual or body may not, perhaps, be feasible or even advisable. However, there cannot be any doubt about the fact that there is great scope for study, research and experimentation in this aspect of Public Personnel Administration in our country.

12. *Ibid*, p. 207.

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SMALL SAVINGS MOVEMENT IN INDIA NEED FOR RE-ORIENTATION

By Prof. P. K. Jain, M. Com.

BEFORE independence the Small Savings Movement in India was regarded only as an adjunct to the war effort. It was as late as in June 1948 that far-reaching changes were introduced in the set-up of the organisation and the Movement was broad-based. As is evident from the following two tables, with the advent of the planning era the Movement has gained considerable confidence of the masses and has come to play a crucial part in financing the development plans of our country.

TABLE I

Small Savings Mobilisation during the thirteen years of planning in India

(In crores of Rupees)

FIRST PLAN		SECOND PLAN		THIRD PLAN	
Year	Net Collection	Year	Net Collection	Year	Net Collection
1951-52	38.5	1956-57	61.7	1961-62	87.0
1952-53	40.0	1957-58	69.2	1962-63	70.0
1953-54	38.0	1958-59	78.5	1963-64	120.0
1954-55	55.1	1959-60	84.3	—	—
1955-56	68.5	1960-61	104.8	—	—
Total :	240.1		398.5		277.4

Source : Prepared with the help of tables appearing in :-

(a) The Reserve Bank Reports on currency aud finance (from 1955-56 to 1962-63) ; and

(b) The Reserve Bank Bulletin—May, 1964, p. 686.

* For this article I am grateful to my respected teacher, Prof. C. P. Srivastava, Principal, D.A.V. College, Kanpur for showing me the line of approach, and to Professor T.P. Rastogi, Maharaj College, Chhatalpur for going thorugh it and correcting its many mistakes.

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TABLE II

Progress of Small Savings Movement in India during the Three Plans

S. N.	Variable	Units	FIRST PLAN 1951-52 to 1955-56	SECOND PLAN 1956-57 to 1960-61	THIRD PLAN 1961-62 to 1965-66 (Target)
1.	Plan Outlay	Rs. Crores	1,960	4,600	7,500
2.	Popuplation at the end of the period	Million	397	438	492
3.	Small Savings (Net) at the end of the period	Rs. Crores	235	400	600
4.	Per capita outlay at the end of the period	Rs.	49	105	152
5.	Per capita income at the end of the period at 1960-61 prices	Rs.	306	330	385
6.	Per capita small savings at the end of the period	Rs.	5.9	9.1	12.2
7.	Average Annual small savings collections	Rs. Crores	47	90	120

Source : *AICC Economic Review*, March, 7, 1962, p. 10.

A close study of the Movement would reveal that since the very inception of the First Plan, constant efforts have been made to devise such securities as to suit every pocket and every psychology. Introduction of Cumulative Time Deposit Scheme and the Prize Bonds has completed the circle. People, who can save but a few rupees in a year, can invest in the Post Office Savings Bank, Prize Bonds, National Defenee Certificates, Defence Deposit Certificates, or in Savings Stamps. Those who have a steady monthly income and can set aside a fixed sum each month can contribute to the Cumulative Time Deposit Scheme. Then, there ate the Fifteen Year Annuity Certificates specially adapted to people who have a lump sum of money to live on and which they would like to be available to them in the form of a monthly pension, as it were. Thus, the security-composition, as such, may be said to be complete in itself. But this is disturbed by the innovations introduced from time to time. These innovations might be good in themselves ; but more often than not they work most unwittingly at cross-purposes. In 1963-64 Budget, the Compulsory Deposit Scheme was introduced. This has, however, been scrapped in the 1964-65 Budget. More recently, with effect from 1st July 1964, the Unit Trust Scheme has been launched. If the report appearing in daily newspapers is any guide, the small investors, who had put their savings in fixed and cumulative deposits, "are now utilising the amount to buy Units."[1] Innovations are both necessary and desirable. But they should not disturb the the existing composition. If at all they do, the existing composition should simultaneously be so re-oriented that they displace spending and not the other forms of saving.

As is evident from the above tables, pespite these attempts towards improvements in the security composition, net collection through

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Small Savings has not exhibited any marked improvement. It has increased but at a snail's speed. One of the most important factors responsible for the slow rise is the absence of the basic inducement provided by an attractive rate of interest. Although the interest rates payable on various schemes have been raised from time to time, they have not moved in line with the changed pattern of the capital market. Even the lottery features of the Prize Bonds have not provided sufficient incentives. "Most of the savings", observes Mr. S. K. Iyengar, "bagged by the Small Savings Staff is on the basis of pressure of one sort or other."[2] Therefore, it is high time that the interest rate structure were examined by an independent committee of experts and adequate financial incentives provided to the small savers to save and to invest. We suggest a minimum interest rate of 5 per cent (compound). It is expected it would have a favourable response. Further, in order to discourage pre-mature encashments and withdrawals, the rate-structure should be so patterned that rates rise as the obligations approach maturity.

Another factor inhibiting the success of the Movement is that the per capita income is below the subsistence level. The situation is further aggravated by the inflationary rise in prices. Duesenberry's demonstration effect adds an irony to it. Between 1956 and 1964 the cost of living index has risen from 96 to 137. It has further moved up to 144 in April, 1964.[3] As per predictions of the Research Bureau of the Economic Times, "The sharpest rise in prices will take place only in the coming months."[4] Nothing would harm the Small Savings Movement in India than these inflationary waves. Infiation results in currency-depreciation which, in its turn, causes the small investors to incur negative interest. It is, however, sometimes contended that "saving itself is a way of arresting increase in the cost of living." It might be. But saving is as much a function of per capita income vis-a-vis the cost of living as it constitutes an antithesis of inflation. Moreover, we may take the horse to the pond, but we cannot make it drink water. Likewise, in an era of rising prices, we may succeed in building up a savings psychology, we cannot process the whole saving into developmental investment when alternative investments like investment in inventories and real estates are apt to be more profitable. It is hoped that if the Government undertakes to return the Small Savings in the form of some kind of index-linked bonds, it will provide sufficient inflationary hedge and will go well with the growth of the Small Savings Movement.

On the organisational side also a few comments are imperative. Although a number of steps have been taken from time to time to strengthen it, it has failed miserably to rise to the occasion. Principally, our Small Savings Movement aims at democratisation of saving and investment in the economy, mobilisation of economic surplus for development plans being the secondary objective. In practice, however, reverse is the case. The Movement has not reached yet the Small Savers in the rural and semi-urban areas and the major portion of the Small Saving mobilised so far has been collected from institutional investors and individuals with substantial savings. This is also supported by the revelations made by the recent studies concerning the volume of domestic saving and the pattern of its flow during the decade

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of 1950s. It has been observed that while the share of urban households in domestic saving has been going up and this has also been accompanied by a rising saving propensity, both the saving of rural households and their saving propensity have remained more or less static around 1.9 per cent of national income and 2.6 per cent, respectively.[6] Professor I.S. Gulati has made an enquriy into the causes of these disparities in ratios and has arrived at a conclusion that "the low rural propensity to save can be said partly statistical, partly economic and partly sociological."[7] He further explains that the rural propensity s not so low as is indicated by the above ratios. Had non-monetised investment been taken into accout it would have been around 3.8 per cent of the national income or 54 per cent of the rural income.[8] This shows that the rural saving is not so low as to cause a concern. But the tragedy of the situation is that a considerable part of it is frittered away either over conspicious consumption or non-priority uses of capital. It is high time that the Small Savings Organisation were streamlined on such lines as to enable it to pick up the thread from this analysis and reach down to the remotest corner of rural and semi-urban areas with an integrated and disciplined policy. Potential savers are easily attracted savings facilities are "pushed right under the individual's nose".[9] It is, therefore, suggested that the P. & T. Department should set up a separate wing like the telephone branch for running the Savings Bank. Mobile Bank Units should be developed specially for rural and semi-urban areas. People save more if they are given "s me acceptable reason for saving".[10] In publicity work, usually, "we tend to underline only the value of having money to fall baek on in times of need. It is just as mportant, however, to lay stress on the positive aspects of living".[11] For this, booklets and pamphlets should be distributed. film shows and dramas exhibited, posters and wall-papers displayed, special postage stamps and tokens issued and door-to-door propaganda groups organised with frequent intervals. People also save more during national crises. Only recently, we have seen how people, in general, rushed with their everything including even their blood towards the National Defence Fund and the Blood Bank under the impact of surging emotion generated in the wake of Chinese aggression. But, unfortunately, this emotion appears to have virtually cooled down, although the threat to our security hangs over us as such. Is not the organisation, if not wholly at least partly, responsible for it? It is incumbent on the Organisation not only to arouse puplic enthusiasm but also to keep it constantly burning.

To cap it all, in a democratic set-up like ours, much depends upon people's willing co-operation. There seems to be no other way than to follow a strong policy of restraints, austerities, and restrictions on all non-essntial expenditure, whether public or priyate, whether developmental or non-developmental. Let eaeh of us develop the urge and capacity to sacrifice our 'today' for a prosperous 'tomorrow'. Then only will be written the concluding chapter of our Savings Movement; then only can we become not only the proud 'Pilgrims of Progress' but the brave 'Soldiers of the Batlle of Field' as well.

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EX-COMMUNICATION—ITS VALIDITY

By P. THANKAPPAN NAIR

I

Introduction

'Data on Caste : Orissa',[1] published by he Anthropological Survey of India is one f the latest authentic books on caste which resents constitutions of a few castes of rissa. The reader of the book will be tartled to note that most of the castes have etained the primitive punishment of ex-ommunication even after the promulgation f the Constitution of India. Adultery, ornication, mesalliance, filing of suits in ivil courts etc., are some of the grounds on hich the punishment of excommunication s prescribed. Thus, the Regulations of the ll-Orissa Committee of Chasa (cultivators), 951[2] prescribe that, 'if anybody disregards n order of punishment passed on him by he caste committee, the committee will be mpowered to out-caste the guilty person'. he current Regulations of the Kulta caste f Orissa provides that 'if a widow or a oman having a husband has sinful contact ith a person belonging to the (Kulta) caste, hen both will be expelled from the caste. ut if the Mahasabha so decide, they or their issues may be readmitted to caste. In a contrary event they and their issues will remain outcasted'.[3] Persons who keep up social contacts with an outcasted person will also be punishable.[4] From the observations of the Conference of Potters of the region of Rampur held at Patharpunji in May 1958, it has been reported that 'a merchant (Bania) of Sanagarh had a concubine of the Potter caste. The girl's father, Khetra Paria, had been outcasted on account of this in the meeting held in Sanagarh two years ago, on the matter having been reported to the meeting. Later on, a potter of the region of Sirei eloped with this girl (to his village). Word was sent to the Potters of Sirei that the man should be outcasted. Then the potter went away with the woman to the town of Puri. There, he is still an outcaste'.[5] Many more instances of excommunication are found in the book which we omit for want of space.

The organization of the caste Assembly of the Gaura or Gopala, cowherds or Milkmen, contains provisions for readmission of excommunicated persons to the caste, an example of which is worth quoting here before we pass on to the question of cognizance of caste offences by civil courts :

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"Even otherwise, when an outcasted person desires to return to his caste, he submits an application to the Mahabhoi. A date is fixed, and punishments of various kinds are meted out to him. These are some examples :

VI. 6.2.1. The guilty person may be asked to carry a vessel of water on his head seven times round the place where the meeting is held.

6.2.1. A variant is when an areca-nut is placed on his head, under the pitcher.

6.2.2. He may be asked to seize his right ear with his left hand twisted round the back of the head, and then circumambulate the place of meeting seven times.

6.2.3. He may be asked to stand on one leg for a specified length of time.

6.2.4. He may be asked to kneel down on pebbles.

6.2.5. He may be asked to prostrate himself on the ground in salutation before the meeting seven times. While he does so, he wraps his napkin on his neck, this being an additional mark of humility or supplication.

VI.6.2.6. Fines ranging from Rs. 3, 5, 10, 15 to 20 may be inflicted on him."[6]

II

Civil Courts and Caste

The government of British India followed a policy of **laissez-faire** in respect of the social institutions of the people of India. The caste system thrived on this fertile ground. Instead of causing the disintegration of the caste system, the perpetuation of the institution now presents a serious bottleneck to the cultural and emotional integration of India into an integrated whole. The British Indian courts were debarred from entertaining suits in which caste questions were involved.

Sir T. Strange's view

The proper and indispensable limits of the cognizance of religious and caste questions by a secular court are indicated by Sir T. Strange. He states :

"A British court exercising ever the most delicate caution is not to meddle with matters of religion, but, and in so far as it happens to be inseparable from the question of right, upon which alone, as it concerns property, or the civil duties of life, is its proper function to adjudicate".[7]

It is our intention to review the policy of the civil courts towards the caste question. We shall divide the subject into two periods, the first part beginning from 1827 and ending with 1951, and the second one after 1951, i.e., after the commencement of the Constitution of India. We shall also present the Bombay Prevention of Excommunication Act, 1949, as an appendix to this article.

Bombay Regulation II of 1827

The Regulation II of Bombay, 1827, and similar Regulations in other Provinces, practically debarred the courts from entertaining suits on caste questions. Section 9 of the Civil Procedure Code also debars the courts from entertaining purely caste suits. The practice of excommunication is not a purely caste question, as civil rights are at stake, and we shall briefly examine Section 21 of the Regulation II of Bombay which remained unrepealed till 1920 and its import. It reads as follows :[8]

"The jurisdiction of the Civil Court shall extend to the cognizance of all original suits and complaints between natives and others not British-born subjects respecting the rights to moveable and immoveable property, rents, government revenues, debts, contracts, marriage, succession, damages for injuries and generally of all suits and complaints of a civil nature ;[9] it being understood that no interference on the part of the court in caste questions is hereby warranted, beyond the admission and trial of any suit instituted for the recovery

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of damage on account of the alleged injury to the caste and character of the plaintiff, arising from some alleged act or unjustifiable conduct of the other party".[10]

A word of explanation is necessary here efore we go in for what is a caste ques-ion. What the Regulation II of Bombay rohibited was non-cognizance of purely aste offences, and when the suit was in he nature of a civil wrong, though inci-ientally it involved a caste question, the ourt had the power to entertain it. "The ording of the Section gave the courts eneral jurisdiction over all suits and com-laints of a civil nature. The wording of he proviso has given rise to many ques-ons of delicate nature and fine distinctions ave been drawn as to what are and what e not caste questions, and what does and hat does not amount to an interference in ch matters within the meaning of the ection".[11]

Section 21 of Regulation II of Bombay as the last straw of the protagonists of caste o the question of the authority of the court n respect of suits in the nature of caste uestions, not to speak of the validity of xcommunication. The Bombay High Court ould not be whittled down by such illogi-al deductions. It has steadily maintained at the "Section does not say that a Civil ourt is not to take cognizance of any case n which a question of a caste rule or of embership of a caste may be raised by ay of answer to a claim for property or n a breach of contract. What it says is at 'no interference on the part of the urt in caste question is hereby warranted' the large class of cases immediately be-re specified as subjects of cognizance, and which question of case law must inci-entally arise from time to time. The ords too, are followed by the exception eyond the admission and trial of any suit stituted for the recovery of damages on count of an alleged injury to the caste d character of the plaintiff arising from me illegal act or unjustifiable conduct of e other party'. Hence it is plain that the vil courts may discuss and deal even with a caste question where the membership and character of a member have been unjustly injured. To take evidence of the customary law of a caste, to recognize the law and the vote of a majority as given effect to by the law, is not to interfere in caste questions it is simply to recognize the existence of castes as corporations with civil rights and an autonomy suitable to the purpose of their existence".[12]

The criterion

The court has to decide, in the first instance, whether a case before it relates to a caste question or not. There must be some criterion by which it could reject or entertain a suit. The criterion which the court applied was : is the taking cognizance of the suit an interference with the autonomy of the caste ? What is the autonomy of the caste is at best debatable and students of law may keep off from the field, as anthropologists or sociologists may find it a rewarding intellectual experiment in investigating what actually constitutes the autonomy of the caste. The test of the court by which it rejected or entertained a suit may be noted here.

The test which ought to be applied is that applied by Sargeant C. J. in **Murari Vs. Suba**[13] (ILR, Bom. VI, p. 725), namely, "Would the taking cognizance of the matter in dispute be an interference with the autonomy of the caste ?" Will the court be deciding a question which the caste as a self-governing body is entitled to decide itself ?

Autonomy of a caste means that where rights to property are not involved all matters of internal management must be left to the decision of the caste. Where there is a question in dispute between the caste and a section of it, it is outside the jurisdiction of the court. A court will not grant a decree for the enforcement of a privilege granted by a caste because such a privilege may be taken away by the caste at any time and the decree may be rendered nugatory. The proper tribunal in such cases is the caste itself, not a civil court.[14]

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Definition of Caste

In our enthusiasm, we have omitted to give a definition of caste. Popular definitions are plenty and juristic definitions scanty. Caste is beyond definition, but it may be described as 'a voluntary association of persons for certain purposes. It is open to a person to leave it. But every Hindu, at any rate, the majority of them, are born into some caste or other. Their status and their relation towards other castes are defined and fixed by the caste to which they belong. Their matrimonial relation, their laws of inheritance and generally their religious and social rights and duties also are determined by their caste".[15]

A better definition of caste is the one given by Farran, J :

> "The caste is a social combination, the members of which are enlisted by birth, not by enrolment. Its rules consist partly of resolutions passed from time to time but for the most part of usages handed down from generation to generation. The caste is not a religious body, though its usages, like all other Hindu usages, are based upon religious feelings. In religious matters, strictly so called, the members of the caste are guided by their religious preceptors and their spiritual head. In social matters they lay down their own laws".[16]

What is a caste question ?

Excommunication must be decorticated from other caste questions. It is difficult, as we have stated already, to pronounce a judgment beforehand as to what amounts to a caste question and what does not. Any such question must have to be decided upon its own merits. Generally a caste question means the one which relates to matters which affect the internal autonomy of the caste and its social relations. "Claims between rival factions of the same caste to common caste property, claims to leadership of caste, claims to require voluntary offerings and honours and presents to be paid to particular members, claims to officiate as priests against the consent of the caste, claims for compulsory invitations to dinners etc., are some of the matters which affect the autonomy of the caste and its social relations and suits in regard to them have been held to be barred by Section 21 of Regulation II of Bombay and similar enactments in other parts of India."[17]

Tortious Nature of Excommunication

Let us turn our attention for a while to the realm of Tort and see if excommunication is liable to be impeached on that count. The principle that applies to excommunication is **Injuria sine damno.** Damnum means damage, in terms of loss of money, comfort, service, health or the like ; it need not be wilful or malicious, for though it be accidental if it be tortious, an action will lie. Every person has an absolute right to reputation. Excommunication is an act of infringement of one's right to reputation. The caste owes a duty to one of its members that he is not deprived of his social intercourse by lowering him in the estimation of his fellow-caste men. Excommunication is an injury in the legal sense. "Every injury imports a damage, though it does not cost the party one farthing, and it is impossible to have the contrary ; for damage is not merely pecuniary, but an injury imports a damage, when a man is thereby hindered of his right."[18] Excommunication is therefore an actionable wrong.

It is a Tort in wrongly excluding a man from proprietory rights, and that if the special damage alleged is not proved, the plaintiff is entitled to general or at any rate nominal damages. "Malice is not an essential ingredient of a tort of this character and damages are recoverable".[19] No doubt an individual member owes a duty to his fellow-casteman and the caste at large to protect the interest of the caste, but the caste also owes a duty to one of its members not to injure him without legal justification. "A person who owes conflicting duties does not commit a wrong even though the result of what he does is to cause damages to another, if he can establish a legal justification or excuse by prov-

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ing that he honestly did what he bona fide and reasonably believed to be his duty. Where a person deprives another of his rights and privileges as a member of the community and of his civil rights in the property upon no evidence and for an offence which is not a caste offence, without giving him notice of the charge, and without employing the rule of procedure laid down by the caste, the aggrieved party is entitled to damages even though no malice is proved on the part of the opposite party".[20]

In the realm of Tort, excommunication is also liable to be impeached on the score of defamation. "A member of a caste is entitled to have his own views about the propriety or otherwise of the conduct of another person as regards real or supposed caste customs or usages and if a member of the caste in his individual capacity boycotts another member for what he considers to be transgression of caste rules, he may at best desist from associating with him. But if he causes his views published and the opposite party is boycotted by him, the aggrieved party has a remedy in civil courts. Words which are intended to bring about disastrous consequences resulting from the loss of caste such as deprivation of religion and social communion, by imputing unworthiness to any person to continue as a member of his caste are **prima facie** defamatory and give rise to a cause of action. They certainly may lower him in the estimation of his own caste and of other castes".[21]

Words that indicate that a person has transgressed caste rules and a purification ceremony is required for his readmission to the caste certainly cast aspersion on the character and standing of the person. A purification ceremony for a caste offence as a condition for readmission into religion or social communion implies provisional excommunication which is removed when the purification ceremony is performed. When the meaning of the imputation is ambiguous, evidence is admissible to explain its meaning.[22]

The publication of an act of excommunication by a caste assembly is not a privileged communication. Though the principle followed by the court is that 'where a domestic tribunal has been appointed for the regulation of the affairs of a community, the court has no jurisdiction to interfere with its decisions if it acts within the scope of its authority and in a manner consonant with the ordinary principles of justice', excommunication being beyond the scope of the authority of a caste, it is liable to be invalidated on the application of the aggrieved party.

"There is a dividing line between the passing of a resolution at a caste meeting and its communication by the authorities of the caste to its members in the discharge of their social duty. If any member of a caste publishes to all its members a caste resolution in such discharge of duties the law will hold the occasion of the publication to be privileged. The member who publishes it is bound to publish it and the members of the caste have an interest in hearing it. But there must be good faith on the part of the member who publishes, that is, it must be proved that the publication was made with due care and attention."[23]

One test of good faith is whether the circumstances of the case show that the accused made the imputation having reasonable grounds to believe it to be true.

Publication of true statements regarding an individual does not constitute a cause of action in a civil court, though, if the publication be unjustifiable, it may be an offence under the provisions of the Penal Code. If the publication is made in a caste meeting it is justified if the publication is of matters relating to the caste which it is the common interest of the caste to know. So long as the caste passes a resolution for the enforcement of social caste sanctions, and does not seek to deprive a man of property or legal rights for disobeying it, the court generally desists from inquiring into the nature of the rule, for a civil court cannot dictate to the caste what rule it shall, and what it shall not, lay down for its guidance.

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Equity and Excommunication

We have tried to indicate how an act of excommunication is liable to be attacked on the basis of tort. We shall now try to present in the following few paragraphs the equitable grounds on which an act of excommunication is likely to be impeached.

"A person cannot be deprived of the membership of the caste except in accordance with caste usage. The caste as a body or the majority of them may, no doubt, expel him, but if they do so without giving him an opportunity of explanation, the civil court will interfere. .. ..The procedure must be in accordance with usage and the excommunication must not be opposed to natural justice. A man may be excommunicated or otherwise punished for a caste offence. But that jurisdiction must be exercised by the caste only with due care and in conformity with the usage of the caste. An individual member has no right to excommunicate another individual member.

"Where a domestic tribunal has been appointed for the regulation of the affairs of a community, the court has no jurisdiction to interfere with its decision if it acts consonant with the ordinary principles of justice".[24] But "the court would not assist the majority by its decree to deprive without cause the minority of their right..... it would not give effect to a resolution passed in violation of the rules of natural justice".[25]

The pronouncements quoted above should not be taken as indicative of non-intereference of courts in respect of an act of outcasting. Excommunication is opposed to natural justice as it strikes at the very root of the caste itself. The caste panchayat or head of the caste may have power to regulate the social intercourse of the members of the caste **inter se**, but when it is sought to extend a civil sanction to an ecclesiastical offence, by enforcing an order of excommunication and thereby depriving persons of their civil rights which otherwise they would be entitled to exercise it must always be open to the civil courts, whose aid is invoked to enforce it, it is open to the court to enquire if the order of excommunication was passed in consonance with the canons of natural justice. Ex-parte nature of the enquiry by which an individual member of the caste is excommunicated is a ground that is against natural justice, as the accused is precluded from defending his case. If the proceedings of a caste panchayat are not conducted with fairness, the order excommunicating one of its members is liable to be declared as **void ab initio** by the court. The court is the ultimate tribunal that decides whether any decision arrived at is in keeping with natural justice or if it is ultra vires or intra vires of the social fabric or the decision is bona fide or mala fide.

In short, the criterion by which a Civil Court shall interfere in suits of excommunication is, was the sentence passed on justifiable grounds and after fair and proper enquiry ?

Complications arise when a person is denied of his civil rights by excommunicating him. The courts take a very broad view of civil rights, for to take a simple example, the right of exclusive worship of an idol at a public place set up by a caste is a civil right for adjudication by the civil court and when it is questioned on the ground of excommunication, it is competent of the court to inquire into the defence, and they are bound, when it is necessary, even to examine the religious foundation on which the excommunication is based.

Even if an act of excommunication is passed in exercise of the jurisdiction according to caste usage, and such exercise of jurisdiction is manifested with due care and in accordance with custom, the civil courts will interfere, if it is based on a mistaken belief of facts. A caste custom permitting expulsion without notice would be invalid. "The caste institution is not above or outside the law. Usage and custom exist only under, and not against, the law."

Where a man's character and station as a member of a caste is called in question, and on the strength of an alleged excommunication it is sought to deprive him of the use of an office with perquisites, the courts will inquire into the factum of ex-

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communication, and see that the expulsion was in accordance with caste usage and in conformity with natural justice. It may not be possible for a court to determine the adequacy of the religious grounds on which the excommunication is based, but it can and ought to satisfy itself that there are fair and **bona fide** grounds for such action. Excommunication resorted to in order to compel obedience is invalid.

Caste and Clubs

Courts, as we have seen, are generally precluded from entertaining suits in the nature of caste questions. Excommunication needed prevention and the courts have consistently held that the general principles applicable to expulsion of members from a club govern cases of expulsion from caste. These principles, so far as relevant, involve that the expulsion must be in accordance with the rules of natural justice which means primarily that the accused must have a fair hearing and that the expulsion is in accordance with the rules. Briefly speaking, there must be **prima facie** a caste offence, that the rules of procedure of the caste, if any, must be complied with, that notice of the charge and of the meeting at which it is to be dealt with must be given to the accused, and full opportunity afforded to the accused to defend himself, and that notice must be given to the members of the caste of the meeting and of what is intended to be dealt with at the meeting. The distinction between the case of a caste and a club should not be overlooked, because in the case of a club there is no power of expulsion unless such power is given by the rules. We shall not try to go into the details of the comparisons of a caste and a club.

It is not our intention to institute a comparison between a Hindu caste with that of an English corporation, though it has been done several times. "That unique aggregation, the Hindu caste is so wholly unknown to the English law that, as it seems to us, English decisions concerning English corporations and partnerships tend rather to confusion than to guidance. A Hindu caste may have points of resemblance to English corporations and partnerships, but its points of difference appear to us more numerous and more radical".[26]

Collective excommunication

Civil courts are the guardians of the society and it is their duty to see that the society is not led to disintegration by rival factions of a caste or community. After all laws are made not only for the enforcement of discipline, but it is also meant for the lubrication of the social machinery so that there is harmony and smooth functioning.

If a particular caste practices collective excommunication, an altogether unwholesome atmosphere is created. "The large number of outcastes so created lead to difficulties in the caste over betrothals, marriages and the status of widows. As a consequence of excommunication betrothals are denounced, marriages refused and widows recalled to their parents' houses".[27]

Caste is a peculiar institution to India at present and such an institution must depend naturally upon its members for its existence. If a faction of the institution is excommunicated, it could no longer survive, and it is in effect an attack upon the institution itself.

III

In the foregoing pages we tried to impeach the validity of excommunication on the basis of tort and equity. In the subsequent pages of this essay, it is our intention to give a juristic meaning of excommunication. We shall also examine the validity of excommunication in the light of the provisions of the Constitution of India. There is no more uncertainty about the law. A few introductory words will be followed by exposition of our view-point supported by the decided case-law.

Constitutional validity of excommunication

In a recent all-India survey conducted by a scientific organization on the present

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condition of the caste panchayats, it has been found that caste panchayats which served many a useful purpose in the past are now in the jaws of death or are in a moribund state. The main cause of such a state of decay is that most of the caste panchayats have become of late powerless to enforce their decisions as the elders of the caste are afraid of 'law'. No social institution can function effectively unless it has the means to enforce its decisions. Excommunication was a powerful weapon in the armoury of the caste panchayats. When it cannot use it effectively, caste panchayats are bound to die.

Meaning of excommunication

The secular use of the term 'excommunication' is but an analogical extension of the same in theology. In popular conception, it may mean the action of excommunicating or cutting off a member from the fellowship of a community, or rather expulsion of an offending member from the particular community. As we are neither concerned with its secular usage, nor confined to its popular meaning, we pass on to its legal meaning. Before we do so, it will be instructive to indicate the nature of excommunication in the changed context.

Excommunication is a punishment meted out to a transgressor of the customary laws of a particular community, a religious denomination, caste or sub-caste—whatever may be the organization. It is the severest punishment which a caste organization can award. Any and every transgression of the moral code is not punishable with excommunication. Serious or aggravated forms of crime are the only offences that call for excommunication. The offence committed must be one which the community or caste considers fundamental for its existence and excommunication is not awarded when the dispute is between an individual and another, both counted as individuals composing the community. In juristic conception, this form of punishment is awarded when the rights **in rem** of the community are violated, and not when right **in personam** of its members are broken.

The rights **in rem** which a caste enjoys have already been noted briefly when we explained what is meant by the autonomy of caste. Rights **in rem** in respect of a particular community or caste are either antecedent or remedial, the existence of the former being apart from any wrong having been committed and the latter when the enjoyment of the antecedent rights have been disturbed. No doubt the community enjoys certain rights **in rem**, but we cannot overlook the rights **in rem** which a particular member of the community enjoys apart from the community, but within the framework of the organization. As the topic of a person having a right above, and apart from, the community being beyond the scope of this essay, we shall pass on to the antecedent rights **in rem** of a particular member of a caste.

If a certain course of action is viewed with general approbation, and the contrary course with disapprobation, we shall say that he has a right. The right **in rem** of a person are available for his benefit against the whole of the world. Such rights may conveniently be included in the (1) right to personal safety and freedom, (2) right to the consort of his spouse, (3) right to exercise one's calling, (4) right to possession and ownership (if private property has developed in, and acknowledged by, the community) etc. etc. The rights **in rem** mentioned above may be taken as illustrative and not as in any way exhaustive. If anyone's rights **in rem** are violated, he shall have a remedy.

Fundamental Rights and the Constitution of India

Right to equality before law (Art. 14), right against discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth (Art. 15), right to equality of opportunity in matters of public employment (Art. 16), right to (a) freedom of speech and expression, (b) to assemble peaceably and without arms, (c) to form associations or union, (d) to move freely throughout the territory of

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India, (e) to reside and settle in any part of the territory of India, (f) to acquire, hold and dispose of property, and (g) to practise any profession, or to carry on any occupation, trade or business—all of which are subject to certain reasonable restrictions mentioned in Art. 19, right to protection in respect of conviction for offences, life and of personal liberty, and against arrest and detention in certain cases (Arts. 20, 21, & 22) etc., etc., are some of the fundamental rights guaranteed by the Constitution of India. These rights are fundamental in the sense that they are justiciable and fundamental for the very existence of a citizen. Some of the fundamental rights guaranteed in the Constitution are rights **in rem**. These rights are granted to a citizen, irrespective of the fact that he belongs to a particular religion, caste or community, but on the strength of his very citizenship. These rights cannot be taken away except by way of the procedure laid down in the Constitution. Constitutional remedies by way of **habeus corpus, mandamus**, prohibition, **quo warranto** and **certiori** are also guaranteed. The sacrosanctity of the Constitution demands that all other laws must conform to it.

Religious Freedom

Art. 25 of the Constitution Guarantees: "Subject to public order, morality and health.....all persons are equally entitled to freedom of conscience and the right freely to profess, practise and propagate religion, subject to reasonable regulation by the State.

Art. 26 of the Constitution provides "Freedom to manage religious affairs: Subject to public order, morality, and health, every religious denomination or any section thereof shall have the right—

(a) to establish and maintain instituions for religious and charitable purposes,

(b) to manage its own affairs in matters of religion,

(c) to own and acquire moveable and immoveable property, and

(d) to administer such property in accordance with law".

After having a preliminary survey of the fundamental rights enshrined in our Constitution, we are now in a position to examine the constitutionality of excommunication. Before we do so, it is necessary to explain the legal meaning of the term excommunication which has been left unexplained so far.

Legal Meaning of the Term Excommunication

The term excommunication has been defined in the Bombay Prevention of Excommunication Act (42 of 1949). As the Act itself is being reproduced here as an appendix, we will rather profit by its judicial notice in **Syedna Taher Saifuddin Vs. Tyebhai Moosaji Kocha and another.**[28] Excommunication being the deprivation of the rights of a member of a community, it is inadvisable to leave the term also unexplained here. We cannot better explain these terms than merely reproduce the masterly judgment of Chagla C.J. here in the case cited above in which the Bombay Prevention of Excommunication Act was impugned.

> ".....Community has been defined very broadly—Birth, conversion or the performance of any religious rites are all factors which go to constitute a community and therefore, when a member belongs to a community, he does not cease to be a member of that community merely by the act of expulsion of excommunication, but what the act of expulsion or excommunication does is to deprive him of certain rights and privileges and the Legislature felt that in the spirit of changing times it was not proper that any member of any community should be deprived of his rights and privileges. Further it is an error to read the expression 'excommunication' used in the Act as the act of turning out a person from a community or society, or the decision regarding excommunication. The expression excommunication has a much wider implication and the implication is that excommunication does not merely

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refer to the point of time when the person is expelled from a community but it refers to a continuing state during which a member of a community is deprived of his rights and privileges. Therefore, in the context of the Act, 'excommunication' means the condition of being expelled, and 'in reference to a member of a community' means the continuing state during which he is deprived of his rights and privileges.

"If this be the true meaning of the expression 'excommunication', then it is clear.....that although the Act may be prospective, it still protects the rights of members of the community although by an order of excommunication or by decision with regard to excommunication they might have been expelled from the community long before the Act came into Act to prohibit excommunication is force. Therefore, in this context, the an Act to prohibant deprivation of the rigghts and privileges of a member of a community".

Consequences of Excommunication

It is perfectly clear from the judgment of Chagla C.J., the excerpts of which are given above, that the consequences of an act of excommunication, interpreted legally, are the deprivation of rights and privileges and will have no effect at all. Therefore, "although in law a member of a community might have been validly excommunicated.. (but he) could no longer be deprived of his rights and privileges of being a member of a particular community, and he can claim his rights and privileges....."

Application of Arts. 25 & 26

In the suit under reference, the defence counsel relied on Arts. 25 and 26 of the Constitution and the validity of the Bombay Prevention of Excommunication Act was challenged on constitutional grounds. The scholarly judgment in this case is illuminating the points raised and we shall rather be doing injustice, if we do not quote that portion in its entirety.

After drawing a sharp distinction between the religious faith and belief on the one hand the religious practices on the other hand, the judgment continues :—

"What the State protects is religious faith and belief. If religious practices run counter to public order, morality, health or a policy of social welfare upon which the State has embarked, the religious practices must give way before the good of the people of the State as a whole. Here also, our view is that the right to excommunicate a member of a community is not part of religious faith and belief. At best, it can only be a religious practice, and if in the opinion of the Legislature such a religious practice runs counter to public order, morality, health or a policy of social welfare upon which the State has embarked, then the religious practices must give way and legislation must prevail against the practice."

The judgment has further explained the scope of Art. 26 of the Constitution. Delineating the Art. 25 from Art. 26 His Lordship observes :

"It is only subject to public order, morality and health, and therefore so long as a religious denomination manages its own affairs in matters of religion, and that management is not interfering with public order, morality and health, the Legislature cannot interfere with the rights of the religious denomination. Now, the question is, what exactly is the meaning of the expression 'management of its own affairs in matters of religion'? Does it mean that the religious denomination can manage its own affairs in such a manner as to deprive a member of that denomination of his legal rights and privileges? Surely, that cannot be the meaning to be given to the language used in the Constitution. To manage its own affairs in matters of religion can only mean that in domestic matters of a religious denomination, where these matters are concerned with questions of religion, the Legislature cannot interfere unless the denomination is managing its affairs in such a way as to interfere with public

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order, morality and health. But when a religious denomination seeks to deprive a member of his legal rights and privileges, it is doing much more than managing its own affairs. It is interfering with the rights of its members, and the Constitution has not protected a religious denomination and has not given its imprimatur to the acts of a religious deomination which deprives its members of their legal rights and privileges. Further, it does not seem to us that when a religious denomination claims a right to expel or excommunicate a member, it is managing its own affairs in matters of religion. Religion has nothing whatever to do with the right of excommunication or expulsion. As we have said earlier while referring to Art. 25, it is more a question of religious faith or belief and the distinction between religious practice and religion is sharp and clear. Religion is a matter concerning a man's contact with his Creator. It has nothing to do whatever with the manner in which a practice is accepted or adopted as forming part of a particular religion or faith. Therefore, in our opinion, the defendant can't claim the right conferred upon a religious denomination under Art. 26 to manage its own affairs in matters of religion in order to put forward the claim of excommunicating or expelling its members and thus depriving them of the rights and privileges which attach to the membership of that denomination".

Conclusion

It is clear from the extracts quoted above, that excommunication is ultra vires the Constitution of India. Unconstitutionality of the act of excommunication can also be arrived at by a different process of reasoning.

When a caste panchayat excommunicates a person, it deprives a member of the caste the fundamental rights guaranteed to him in the Constitution. To deprive a person of his fundamental rights is not within the right guaranteed under Art. 26. Except by way of an amendment of the Constitution, or otherwise provided in it, no one can be denied of his fundamental rights. An act which is declared unconstitutional is **void ab initio** and shall not render anyone deprived of his fundamental rights.

Another reason for the unconstitutionality of the act of excommunication is furnished by Art. 21 which states: 'No person shall be deprived of his life or personal liberty except according to procedure established by law'. An act of excommunication takes away one's right to move freely among his community and his personal liberty in so far as it manifestly does not allow him to move freely or do anything of his choice within the jurisdiction of the caste panchayat. Though the American conception of 'due process of law' has not been followed by our courts, the very fact of excommunication restrains a member of a caste of his personal liberty. The Constitution expressly provides that the right to freedom of movement etc., cannot be restricted except according to 'procedure established by law'. A procedure followed by a caste panchayat is not 'established by law', for the verb 'established' means 'enacted'.

The punishment inflicted by way of excommunication being arbitrary, it is further liable to be attacked under Art. 14, since a rule of procedure also comes within its purview as any rule of substantive law.

The Constitution of India has not sanctioned excommunication and an act of excommunication passed by any caste, religious denomination, sub-caste, or even a sect does not deprive a member of the organization concerned of any of his rights and privileges which he enjoys under the caste organization and under the Constitution of India.

Appendix

BOMBAY ACT No. XLII of 1949
(THE BOMBAY PREVENTION OF EXCOMMUNICATION ACT, 1949)

1st November, 1949.

AN ACT TO PROHIBIT EXCOMMUNICATION IN THE STATE OF BOMBAY

WHEREAS it has come to the notice of

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Government that the practice prevailing in certain communities of excommunicating its members is often followed in a manner which results in the deprivation of legitimate rights and privileges of its members;

AND WHEREAS in keeping with the spirit of changing times and in the public interest, it is expedient to stop the practice;

It is hereby enacted as follows:

Short title and extent—

1. (i) This Act may be called the Bombay Prevention of Excommunication Act, 1949.

(ii) In this Act, unless there is anything repugnant in the subject or context,

Definitions—

(a) "community" means a group the members of which are connected together by reason of the fact that by birth, conversion or the performance of any religious rite they belong to the same religion or religious creed and includes a caste or sub-caste;

(b) "Excommunication" means the expulsion of a person from any community of which he is a member depriving him of his rights and privileges which are legally enforceable by a suit of civil nature by him or on his behalf as such member;

Explanation—For the purposes of this clause a right legally enforceable by a suit of civil nature shall include the right to office or property or to worship in any religious place or a right of burial or cremation, notwithstanding the fact that the determination of such right depends entirely on the decision of the question as to any religious rites of ceremonies or rule or usage of a community.

Excommunication not to be valid and of any effect.—

3. Notwithstanding anything contained in any law, custom or usage for the time being in force, to the contrary, no excommunication of a member of any community shall be valid and shall be of any effect.

4. Any person who does any act which amounts to or is in furtherance of the excommunication of any member of a community shall, on conviction, be punished with fine which may extend to one thousand rupees.

Explanation—When any person alleged to have committed an offence under this section is a body or an association of individuals, whether incorporated or not, if the offence is alleged to have been committed at a meeting of such a body or association, any individual who has voted in favour of the decision regarding the excommunication shall be deemed to have committed the offence.

Jurisdiction under this Act—

5. Notwithstanding anything contained in the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1893, no Court inferior to that of a Presidency Magistrate or a Magistrate of the First Class shall try any offence punishable under Section 4.

6. No Court shall take cognizance of an offence punishable under Section 4,—

(a) after the expiry of one year from the date on which the offence is alleged to have been committed, and

(b) without the previous sanction of the Provincial Government or any officer authorised by the Provincial Government not below the rank of the Commissioner of Police in any area for which a Commissioner of Police has been appointed and the District Magistrate elsewhere".

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    Also see Parsons, **J. Appaya Vs. Padappa**, ILR, Bom. XXIII, 1899. 122-131.
13. See—11 above.
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17. Ranade, J.—**Appaya Vs. Padappa**, ILR, Bom. XXIII, 1899, pp 122-131. Reference to case-law omitted.
18. Holt, C.J.,—**Ashby Vs. White**, 1 Sm. L.C.
19. Based on the judgment of Blackwell, J.
20. **Abdule Razak Haji Mahomed Vs. Adam Haji Usman Noorani**, AIR, Bom. 1935.
21. Adapted from M.L.J. 1909 referred to in 15.
22.
23. **Emperor Vs. Virji Bhagawan**, BLR, XI. 1909.
24. **The Advocate General of Bombay Vs. David Haim Devaker & ohers.** ILR, Bom. XI, 1887.
25. **Haroon Haji Vahedina Vs. Haji Adam Haji Oosman Nurani.** BLR, XI (1909).
26. **Beaumount, C.J.—Nagindas Vs. Somnath Premchand**, AIR, Bom. 1932.
27. Murphy, J.—**Devchand Totaram Kirange Vs. Ghanasyam Sakharan Choudhury**, AIR Bom. 1935.
28. AIR 1953, Bom. 183.
    Facts of the case—One Syedna Taher Saifuddin (appellant) was excommunicated by Tyebhai Moosaji Kocha, the Head Priest of the Dawoodi Bohra community on 28.2.1934 and Bombay Prevention of Excommuniagain on 28. 4. 1948. When the cation Act came into force the appellant sued the responded. The appellant won the case.
29. As adapted after the bifurcation of Bombay State and enacted by the Bombay Legislature in 1960 under the title Bombay Act No. II of 1960. For report of the Select Committee see Bombay Government Gazettee Part V, 1949, (Jan-Dec.) p. 169-171.

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SCIENCE & RELIGION

By Prof. S. R. KHASTGIR

Recent achievements in science are indeed remarkable. The furthest corners of the universe have now been scanned with precision by powerful optical and radio telescopes. In the modern days of rockets and artificial satellites, there is every promise of space travel and it is certain that the space research will yield wonderful results. As in the realm of the large, so also in the realm of the minute, the scientists have probed into atoms. Atoms have been smashed and during the process there are withdrawals, readjustments and infiltrations of the positives, negatives and neutrals inside the atoms and the result is a complete change —the establishment of a new atomic order. The alchemists' dream of the transmutation of matter is now a reality. With the discovery of nuclear fission and fusion we have now atomic bombs which have been used for mass destruction. The stupendous nuclear energy has also been effectively employed for peaceful constructive purposes. On the theoretical side, on the other hand, the advance is indeed of a far-reaching character. The old classical ideas about the physical basis of the universe have now changed beyond recognition. The scientists of to-day have gained knowledge but have lost their faith in basic concepts. To understand the significance of this statement, it is necessary to trace the sequence of scientific thought arising out of the recent discoveries of modern science. In my attempt in this direction, I shall confine myself to physical science, as the most fundamental changes in scientific thought have been due to discoveries in Physics.

The law of causation as a guiding principle in Nature was a triumph of the 17th century—the great century of Galileo and Newton. What is this causal law? What happens at any instant follows by inexorable laws from the state of things at the preceding instant. And this state of things is in turn determined by an earlier state, and so on. The whole course of events is thus uniquely determined by the state of the world at the beginning of the creation. The causal law led in this way to the principle of determinism which proved to be a great success in the field of astronomy. The physicists had taken Newton's dynamical laws in the equations of celestial mechanics as their model. Subsequently when the atomic theory gained universal acceptance and matter resolved into minute fundamental particles, these laws were applied to the ultimate particles. Thus if the mass, position and velocity of all the particles were known, these data, along with a knowledge of the forces acting on them, determined their position and motion at any subsequent instant with the help of Newton's dynamical laws. The principle of determinism thus extended itself and out of this emerged a movement to interpret the entire physical world in terms of mechanical models. This mechanistic principle gained in strength and culminated in the latter half of the 19th century. It was then that Helmholtz affirmed with all emphasis that "the final aim of natural science is to resolve itself into machanics." It was then that Lord Kelvin failed to understand anything of which he could not make a mechanical model. It was the age of the Engineer—Scientists who were busy in their workshops with cranks and shafts and cog-wheels to make mechanical models of the entire universe.

The phenomenon of light did not at first fit in with this mechanistic scheme. Light regarded as a stream of high-speed corpuscles could not possibly produce such effects as interference etc. The well-known wave-theory originated by Huyghens and perfected by Maxwell explained these optical phenomena. With the discovery of the electron as a universal constituent of matter, Maxwell's optical theory changed into an

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electronic theory at the hands of Lorentz.

To Newton's dynamical laws, as applied to electrons, were added the electromagnetic field equations of Maxwell, as applied to radiation and the combination gave an exact formulation of the causal law. The equations could be applied individually as well as collectively. In the latter case we got statistical laws, which proved so helpful in the study of matter regarded as a collection of an enormous number of particles in rapid motion. It was, however, tacitly believed that if it were possible to obtain all the necessary data regarding all the particles, each and every particle would give us an exact fulfilment of the causal law. A belief in the causal law and in the continuity of events constituted the basis of the deterministic outlook.

The first sign of a rift in the solid bedrock of causality and determinism appeared in the opening year of the 20th century. Facts were discovered which knocked down the fundamental equations which justified our belief in determinism. In 1900 Max Planck discovered that the interchange of energy between matter and radiation must take place in discrete units or 'quanta'. This revolutionary idea of energy-quanta could only restore our house to order. The new idea found immediate application in Bohr's theory of atomic structure, where the electrons were supposed to be moving in different orbits round the atomic core. According to Einstein, an electron-jump from one orbit to another gives rise to emission or absorption, each being a discontinuous process. Indeed this quantum theory furnished solutions to various puzzling problems. Nevertheless the very idea of a discrete unit or quantum of energy gave a rude knock at our belief in continuity. Moreover, it became increasingly clear that the dynamical laws and the laws of electromagnetism failed to account for atomic processes. Definitely there was a need for new laws and extensive theoretical researches were carried out for the purpose.

The dual aspect of energy—its wave aspect showing a periodicity and its quantum aspect was implicit in the old quantum theory. In the new quantum theory which soon emerged we got a synthesis or unification of these two aspects by deBroglie, Heisenberg, Dirac and Schrodinger. A moving particle of matter is now regarded as a group of waves, just as radiation is looked upon as quanta or photons moving with the velocity of light. With the formulation of the new quantum theory, it was hoped that by a radical modification of our ideas about a particle of matter or energy, it might be possible to rehabilitate the causal law and determinism. But all such hopes soon faded away. Heisenberg, on the other hand, postulated a principle of indeterminacy. The principle can be stated as follows: With regard to any particle, either of matter or of energy, it is possible to find either its position or its velocity, but not both in any exact sense. According to the old science, if we know the position and the speed of a particle at any instant, these data together with a knowledge of the forces acting on it from outside determine the entire past or future of the particle. According to the new science, as interpreted by Heisenberg, it is impossible to procure these data. If we know that a particle is at a certain point in space, it is not possible to know exactly its speed, whereas if we know its speed, we have no precise knowledge of its position. Thus in new science there is no determinism of events when individual atoms and electrons are involved. Physics is thus no longer pledged to a scheme of deterministic laws. Determinism has dropped out altogether in the latest formulation of theoretical Physics. It is doubtful whether it will ever be re-established.

What is the outcome of this radical change in the outlook of modern science? We depended on logic or reason which ultimately rested on the acceptance of the causal law and determinism.

What now will our every day life be reduced to, if we have to discard logic or reason? It is indeed fortunate that we live and have our being in a world of finite dimensions. The physics of bodies having finite dimensions is only very slightly affected by the principle of indeterminacy. It is only when we are concerned with atomic dimensions, the principle asserts itself

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and makes space-time description impossible.

The scientists' desire for knowledge and analysis has thus led them to a rather difficult situation. In physical science, we define the properties of a body in terms of physical quantities. When we do so, we impart a knowledge of the responses of the various metrical indicators like weighing machines and other measuring instruments. What would the responses of these indicators mean? When we proceed to study the fundamental particles of matter, it is known that the measuring instruments have an essential influence upon the final results and it is not possible to compute separately the contribution of the instruments and that of the object itself. There is thus an amount of uncertainty in our study of matter. We have, therefore, to admit that by the very nature of things, it is not possible for physical science to determine the nature of the physical world. The real and intrinsic nature of the physical world thus remains undetermined. The 19th century scientist strongly asserted that he knew what he was talking about regarding matter but now it is realised that science has nothing to say as to the intrinsic nature of matter. It is not defeatism to say so. The present-day scientist lives and moves in a world where he deals with manifestations, appearances, responses or shall we say, symbols. The scientist is thus concerned with only a symbolic world. His mission is to work for a unified picture of this symbolic world, where he fags for facts and figures and ever strives for their co-ordination and synthesis. Reality is not the scientist's goal. The scientist today is modest and honest enough to recognise his jurisdiction. This is the basis of Eddington's new Epistemological outlook of science. We deal with shadows and not with substance—we deal with the tune and not with the player. The scientist's world is a world of symbolic knowledge. This symbolic knowledge is only subjective. Such characteristic as the objective reality does not enter into the scheme at all.

Now that the jurisdiction of science is clearly defined and recognised, the age-long clash between science on one side and art, religion and spirituality on the other, should disappear altogether. Having realised the boundary of the domain of science and recognised that science deals only with symbolic knowledge, the scientist today admits that there are other experiences which must be on the same footing as the experiences of his own world. Max Planck, the originator of the quantum theory, clearly expressed the modern scientists' view, when he said: "There are realities existing apart from sense perception and there are problems and conflicts where these realities are of great value." When a man is a mere scientist, he confines himself to his world of symbolic knowledge but a man is very much more than a mere scientist. He is not satisfied with a symbolic knowledge. He seeks for an intimate knowledge, as Eddington puts it. The world of intimate knowledge is a world of realisation, feeling and values which constitute the basis of art, religion and spirituality. Let me quote, **in extenso**, from Eddington:

"The intimate knowledge will not submit to codification and analysis; or rather, when we attempt to analyse it, the intimacy is lost and it is replaced by symbolism....Suppose that we are offered an alleged joke. We subject it to scientific analysis as we would a chemical salt of doubtful nature and perhaps after careful considerations of all its aspects, we are able to confirm that it really and truly is a joke. Logically I suppose, our next procedure would be to laugh, but it may certainly be predicted that as a result of this scrutiny, we shall have lost all inclination we may ever have had to laugh at it. .....The analysis concerns a symbolic knowledge of humour which preserves all the characteristics of a joke except its laughableness.....I think this is a not unfair analogy for our mystical feeling for Nature and I would venture even to apply it to our mystical experience of God. There are some to whom the sense of a divine presence irradiating the soul is one of the most obvious things of experience. In their view a man without this sense is to be regarded as we regard a man without a sense of humour. .....We may try to analyse the experience, as we analyse humour, and

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construct a theology.....But let us not forget that the theology is symbolic knowledge, whereas the experience is intimate knowledge....Primarily this world of intimate knowledge is not a world to be analysed but a world to be lived in."

Besides this outlook, so ably expounded by Eddington, Whitehead gives another way of meeting the difficulty of the modern scientists regarding their failure to find the intrinsic nature of the physical world. The difficulty is ascribed to the inadequacy of the primary abstractions in physical concepts. According to Whitehead, the conception of a 'substance' possessing a location in space and time is inadequate to the needs of modern science. What we perceive is a 'relationship of conformation'. Things do not simply 'occur', they conform to previous occurrences. According to this view, the notion of matter is replaced by the notion of an 'organism.' An organism is defined as the realisation of a definite shape of value.

I am not competent to speak on Whitehead's philosophy and I am not sure whether I have represented it correctly.

I am aware that the positivistic school of philosophy is generally critical of the theistic interpretation of the Universe. Julian Huxley writes: "God has become more remote and more incomprehensible and most important of all, of less practical use to men and women who want guidance and consolation in living their lives. A faint trace of God, half metaphysical, half magic, broods over the world. But the growth of a psychological knowledge will rub even that from the Universe.....The fading of God does not mean the end of religion—it means a recasting of religion.....the shouldering by man of ultimate responsibilities which he had pushed off to God." This view of Julian Huxley appears somewhat similar to Compte's positivism, the central position of Humanity being replaced by that of Evolution in it.

Whatever be the positivistic outlook, the failure of modern science to get at the root of the Universe does not connote a denial of the mystical outlook. The failure, as I have elaborated before, has clearly marked out the jurisdiction or the domain of science. When we follow up sense-impressions or pointer-readings, we deal with an external world discussed by science. But a scientist today does not gainsay that feelings, purpose and values make up our consciousness as much as sense-impressions. These lead us to the world of art, religion and spirituality. A scientist may not have a direct experience of this world but when he does have such an experience, he represents the whole man. The material and the transcendental aspects of human experience constitute a complete picture of man.

Let me conclude by quoting from Rabindranath Tagore: "The details of reality must be studied in their differences by science, but it can never know the character of grand unity of relationship pervading it which can only be realised immediately by the human spirit. And therefore it is the primal imagination of man—the imagination which is fresh and immediate in its experience that exclaims:

Wisdom and spirit of the universe!
Thou Soul, that art the eternity of thought
And giv'st to forms and images a breath
And everlasting motion."

The Seers of the Upanisads referred to this realisation of intimate knowledge when they proclaimed: "Raso vai sah" रसो वै सः —The infinite is love itself—the eternal spirit of Joy. "Tam vedyam purusam vedah", (त्यम् वेद्यम् पुरुषम् वेदः) Know him who is to be realised. "Esha devo Visvakarma Mahatma sada jananam hridaye sannivistah." (एष देवे विश्वकर्म महात्मा सदा जनानाम् हृदये सन्निविष्टः) This is the divine being, the World-maker, the great soul ever dwelling inherent in the hearts of all men. "Yah etad vidur amritasto bhabanti. (यः एतद् विदुरमृतस्ते भवन्ति) Those who realise him transcend the limits of mortality.

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THE MAHILIS

By P. C. ROY CHOUDHURY

The Mahilis, a "Scheduled Tribe" in Bihar are found scattered in several districts of Bihar, namely, Monghyr, Bhagalpur, Santal Parganas, Hazaribagh, Ranchi, Singhbhum and Dhanbad. The bulk of them are in the districts of Chhotanagpur Division and Ranchi district has the largest concentration of them. They are mostly scattered in the villages. In 1872 Lohardaga district, which then consisted of the present Ranchi and Palamau districts had 8,999 Mahilis. In 1881 there were 7,510 Mahilis.[1] The total population in Ranchi district according to 1941 census was 19,681 (males 9,932 and females 9,749).[2] There has been no tribewise census in 1951. In 1961 census the present population of the Mahilis in Ranchi district is 24,359.

It is unfortunate that the Welfare Department of Ranchi District Collectorate or the Welfare Department of the Government of Bihar or the office of the Assistant Commissioner, Scheduled Tribes and Castes under the Government of India have no authoritative information regarding the village-wise break-up figures of the population of the Mahilis. Since the Community Development Projects have now covered the whole of Ranchi district and every Village Level Worker is expected to have got a **Paribarik Pustika** or a register of the families of the villages under him, there should be no difficulty in compiling the figures. It is not known how effective welfare schemes could possibly be framed and implemented when there are no reliable statistics.

A study was made of the Mahilis in two villages, Chutupalu and Dahu in Ormanjhi police station of the Sadar sub-Division of Ranchi district. During the investigation the following Mahilis were examined at villages Chutupalu and Dahu :

Village Chutupalu

Name of the person	Father's name	Age
1. Rajju Mahili	Birua Mahili	65 years
2. Beldeo Mahili	Manhgu Mahili I	50 years
3. Sahdeo Mahili	Manhgu Mahili II	40 years
4. Jagdish Mahili	Lalchand Mahili	24 years
5. Dukhu Mahili	Manhgu Mahili	45 years
6. Damru Mahili	Hirua Mahili	60 years
7. Ladu Mahili	Manhgu Mahili	36 years
8. Churta Mahili	Dubraj Mahili	25 years
9. Mosamat Daulitia	w/o late Deo Nath Mahili	55 years
10. Ram Das Mahili	Dubraj Mahili	20 years

1. H. H. Risley—*The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, 1891, Vol. II, p. 43.
2. *Census of India*, 1951, Vol. VII, Bihar, Tables, p. 66.

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1.	Khiro Mahili	Ramlal Mahili	60 years
2.	Subram Mahili	Shyamlal Mahili	28 years
3.	Bheku Mahili	Chhatu Mahili	55 years
4.	Matno Mahili	Ghangru Mahili	40 years
5.	Parsu Mahili	Shiblal Mahili	40 years
6.	Dalu Mahili	Lalit Mahili	60 years
7.	Sadhu Mahili	Sumra Mahili	55 years
8.	Sukhdeo Mahili	Sohrai Mahili	35 years

Regarding the origin of the Mahilis here has been much speculation without ny definite conclusion. Sir Herbert Risley ad mentioned that the Mahilis form A Dravidian caste of labourers, palanquin-earers, and workers in bamboo found in hotanagpur and Western Bengal. They re divided into five sub-castes—**Bansphor Iahili**, who make baskets and do all kinds f bamboo work; **Patar-Mahili**, basket-akers and cultivators; **Sulunkhi-Mahili**, ho are cultivators and labourers; **Tanti-Iahili**, who carry palanquins; and **Mahili-Iunda**, a small outlying sub-caste confined Lohardaga".[3] At villages Chutupalu and Dahu only **Bansphor Mahilis** are found. Risley conjectures that the main body of he Mahilis consisting of the groups **Bans-hor**, **Sulunkhi** and **Tanti** Mahilis are more llied to the Santals. He, however, men-ions that the Santals are allergic to mak-ng baskets and carrying palanquins which re the main occupations of the Mahilis. He hinks that the Mahili-Munda group of the Iahilis probably parted from the Munda ribe for similar reasons. Risley's opinion not substantiated and is not very accept-ble. It is not probable that three branches f the same tribe will have a Santal origin hile the two others will have a Munda rigin.

The District Gazetteer of Ranchi (1917) oes not throw any further light on the rigin of the Mahilis. It mentions "The Iahilis occur in very old Munda traditions, and even in their mythology, and are said to have been out-casted for unclean eating. They eat beef, fowls, and pork, and though the latter is the totem of the race, they avert the consequences of breaking of the taboo by throwing away the head. They are also much addicted to spirituous liquor. The religion is a mixture of half-forgotten Animism and Hinduism imperfectly understood. They worship **Bar Pahari** (the mountain God of the Mundas), **Manasa**, the Snake Goddess and other Godlings of the animistic tribes. They have not yet risen to the dignity of employing Brahmans. The Mahilis have a bad reputation as thieves, and have a sort of thieves' jargon of their own."[4] If M. G. Hallet's observations in the Ranchi Gazetteer were based on observation and study, the Mahilis have undergone substantial changes since 1917.

In spite of a certain incidence of acculturisation and adoption of Hindu religious customs and beliefs, the Mahilis still retain their original occupation of basket making, bamboo work, a little cultivation and working as a day labourer.

Risley much earlier to Hallet had ranked the Mahilis socially with the Bauris and Dosadhs, who are traditionally very low in the caste-hierarchy and work as labourers. He mentions that they will eat cooked food with the Kurmi, the Bhumij, and the Deswali Santals. Even Risley had mentioned that the Mahilis worship the Hindu Gods but they did not employ the Brahman priests. But at the moment the impact of

3. H. H. Risley—*The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Vol. II, (1891), Ethnographic Glossary, p. 40.

4. *District Gazetteer of Ranchi*, (1917), p. 88-89. The District Gazetteer of Ranchi is being re-written.

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orthodox Hinduism seems to have been deeper on the Mahilis and there is a definite change in their habits, beliefs, diet and dress. The Mahilis do not take any beef or pork now but there is no restriction to eating them. They worship the Hindu Gods and Goddesses, and freely take part in the main **pujas** of the Hindus. On an enquiry it was ascertained that Risley's observation that the Mahilis do not employ the Brahman priests does not hold good now. The Mahilis have started performing the Satyanarain juja of the Hindus in their houses and employ Brahman priests but in other festivals they do not employ Brahman priests. Their dress is now like that of the Hindus according to their economic status and the women wear **sari** and **jhula** (blouse). The Mahilis never had any separate language or dialect and they speak **Nagpuria Hindi** or what is known as **Sadani Hindi**. They are not thieves by nature at all as was mentioned in the Ranchi District Gazetteer (1917) and certainly have no thieves' jargon. On an investigation it was ascertained that they are extremely peace-loving and form an useful element in the village economy being good artisans. The police case records and statistics do not substantiate that the Mahilis are thieves.

They are also fond of music and dance. During the **Karma** festival, both men and women freely take part in dance and music. Their dance and music do not differ substantially from the dance and music of the Mundas and Oraons. Levirate and Sororate are also practised. The dead bodies are both buried and cremated. It seems that cremation is a later idea and has been, more or less, adopted due to the impact of Hinduism.

Although the Mahilis take part in the **pujas** of the Hindu Gods and Goddesses they have not yet given up the **Surji Devi** which is not mentioned in the last District Gazetteer of Ranchi and mentioned in "Land and People of Tribal Bihar" published by the Bihar Tribal Research Institute. The **Surji Puja** is performed in the month of **Baisakh** (April-May). It is the worship of Sun God. Goats, pigeons and chickens are also sacrificed by their priest in the **Jaherthan** (sacred place). The sacrificial meat is shared. Unlike some of the tribals the Mahili women also take part in the **puja** and share the sacrificial meat. This **puja** is regarded as the most important one by the Mahilis. It is mentioned in the book "Land and People of Tribal Bihar" that the **Surji Puja** is performed after twelve years for the good of the village and the people. But on an investigation it was ascertained that that was not correct. Rather they perform it when they make a vow **(Manta)**. They do not observe **Mansa puja** as was mentioned in the District Gazetteer of Ranchi (1917) and 'Land and People of Tribal Bihar' published by the Bihar Tribal Research Institute, Government of Bihar, Morabadi Road, Ranchi (1961). A specific enquiry on this matter was made at both the villages visited.

A clear impact of Hinduism is seen in the fact that the Mahilis take great interest in **Durga puja** and this **puja** is also performed by them in their villages. Here also a he-goat and one or two pigeons are sacrificed. They do not engage any Brahman for performing the **puja** and they do not instal any image of Goddess **Durga.**

A most interesting result of the recent investigation on the Mahilis in Ranchi district was that the present day Mahilis do not seem to be even conscious of many sub-sects that have been listed by Risley.[5] Some of the Mahilis replied to the investigators that they do not know of the sub-sects like **Charber** (a tree), **Dhilki, Dumriar** or **Dungri** (wild pig), **Goondli** (grain forbidden), **Kathergach** (jack tree), **Kerketta** (a kind of bird), etc. But during the investigation it was gathered that according to the Mahilis examined in the villages there are six sects which they know. They are **Kantiar, Dumaria, Tundwar, Mendriyar, Hansdagia** and **Kesriyar.**

The Mahilis do not appear to have got a very effective tribal **panchayat** probably

5. H. H. Risley—*The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, (1891). Vol. II—Appendix I.

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due to their small number in the villages. In this respect our investigations do not confirm some of the recitals in the book 'Land and People of Tribal Bihar' published by the Bihar Tribal Research Institute in 1961 that their **panchayats** decide feuds and disputes.[6] In the village investigated there was no effective village **panchayat** and crimes, major or minor were not found to be settled by the **panchayat.** Nor was there any support to the fact mentioned in the 'Land and People of Tribal Bihar' in the following: "The young Mahilis are made to stand an ordeal to find place in the tribe only after they are given five, seven, nine or eleven cicastrization marks on the left arms. This is a test of endurance for the young Mahilis. Similarly, the young Mahili women are given tattoo marks on their forehead, chin, arm and ankle like some other tribes of the State. This considered essential."[7] The investigation in the villages visited disclosed that this fact mentioned in the book 'Land and People of Tribal Bihar' does not hold good now. The Mahilis are not made to stand an ordeal to find a place in the tribe. It was personally observed that the Mahili women are not given tattoo marks on their forehead, chin, arm and ankle. It is further gathered by personal investigation at the two villages mentioned that a pregnant Mahili woman does not follow the taboo of going out alone and for holding some iron pieces to ward off the evil as is mentioned in the book 'Land and People of Tribal Bihar.'[8] Both Mahili men and women at the two villages visited contradicted this alleged taboo. It was further gathered that **pontika** (bride-price) in cash is normally not realised from the bridegroom's party. The normal practice is to present five **saris** and the **sari** for the would-be mother-in-law is more costly. If **saris** are not available which is a rare contingency, money in lieu may be presented.[9]

It will also not be correct to state that the Mahilis are buried in the burial ground (**sasan**) of the Santals or Mundas of the village as mentioned in the Land and People of Tribal Bihar.[10] The burial of a Mahili corpse is done near the **sasan** of the Mundas or Santals but certainly not in the same **sasan.**

Economic Condition

Our investigation did not show that the Mahilis have very much benefited through the welfare schemes sponsored by the Government or because of the Community Development Projects. At villages Chutupalu and Dahu of Ormanjhi police station investigation was made into 22 and 28 families respectively. The average number of the family was 4.5 members out of which two or three are the earning members. But in spite of the smallness of the size of the family the economic condition was found to be extremely poor. As a class the Mahilis are landless and their main source of livelihood is artisanship. The average size of the holding of a Mahili family varies from 5 to 1 acre. Very few Mahilis have cultivable land for growing paddy or seasonal vegetables. Even in the case of some with small pieces of cultivable land it was found that they had given away the **batai** (the sharing of the crop with the owner of the land). The Mahilis are found to be somewhat allergic to hiring themselves out as day labourers. At Chutupalu village this allergy was particularly marked. On the average a Mahili earns Re. 1|- to Rs. 1.50 or Rs. 2|- per day by making bamboo baskets, **sups,** umbrellas,

6. *Land and People of Tribal Bihar,* Bihar Tribal Research Institute, Ranchi, p. 144. The book does not mention the name of any village where the enquiry on the Mahilis was done.
7. *Land and People of Tribal Bihar,* Bihar Tribal Research Institute, Ranchi, p. 145. It is not mentioned in what villages this enquiry was conducted.
8. *Ibid,* p. 145.
9. *Ibid,* page 146.
10. *Ibid,* page 146. Here also it is not mentioned where the investigation was done.

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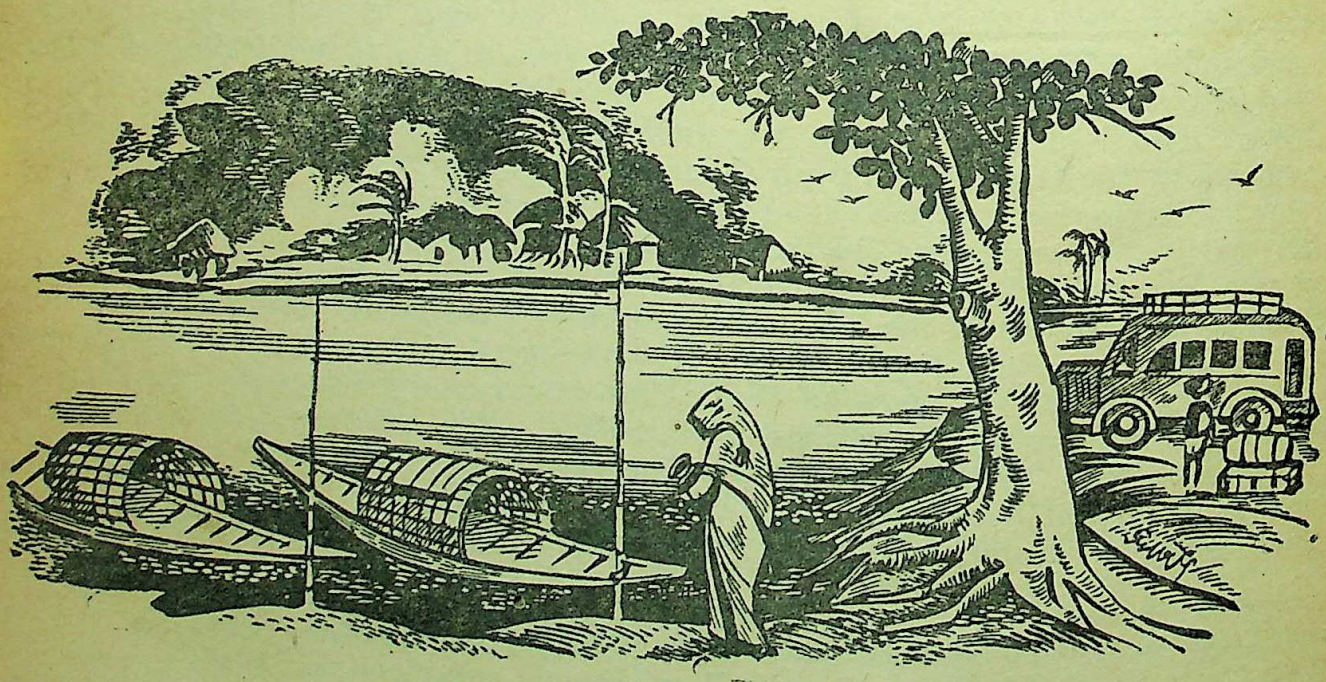
brooms, etc. Hence on the average the total income of a Mahili family ranges between Rs. 2|- to Rs. 4|- per day. After deduction of the cost of the raw materials the real earning of a Mahili family does not exceed Rs. 2|- to Rs. 4|- per day i.e., the average monthly income varies between Rs. 60|- to Rs. 120|- and they maintain their livelihood within their income. The manufactured goods are sold in the weekly **hats** or the neighbouring villages where there is a demand for such goods. In the rainy season the new off-shoots of the bamboos come out and therefore the bamboos are not cut during that season in the forest. The price of the bamboo goes up and the rainy season is generally a slack season for the Mahilis. They generally remain idle for about three to four months in a year. In addition the Mahilis, men and women alike, are addicted more to country liquor. Owing to the ready availability of country liquor shops they have given up brewing their own rice-beer **(Pachwai)**.

A remarkable fact found out of the investigation was that in spite of this poor economic incidence the Mahilis were comparatively free from indebtedness. At both the villages Dahu and Chutupalu there were Bamboo Co-operative Societies and some of the Mahilis had been advanced loans for buying bamboos. The Mahilis are found to be quite prompt in repaying their debts.



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DEMOCRACY AND THE HUMAN RELATIONSHIP IN THE POETRY OF WALT WHITMAN

By K. C. DEB, M.A.

Walt Whitman has been hailed as the 'uncrowned poet-laureate of democracy'[1] and his **Leaves of Grass** as its very Bible. He is, indeed, a people's poet, singing what W. M. Rossetti called the 'pen of natural man.' The dominant note in his poetry is the note of faith and joy in life and of delight in 'all the men and women of all sorts' living in this wide world. In the **Song of Myself** and **Sault Au Monde**, two of his very characteristic poems, he travels all over the world seeing things, and hearing things, and discovering in the depth of his heart an answering sympathy with all the varied spectacles that the world presents. He professes to sing of 'life immense in passion, pulse and power',[2] accepting everything and rejecting nothing. His poetry is not a criticism of life; it is the poetry of the celebration of life.[3] He is the poet not only of goodness, but 'the poet of wickedness' also, the 'poet of the Body', as also 'the poet of the Soul'. He 'speaks the password primeval and gives the sign of democracy'.[4]

Democracy was to him more than a political concept. As Basil de Selincourt has put it, "Democracy to him meant certain spiritual conditions out of which the great individuals were emanating. These individuals were so great, they were filled with so much spontaneous good feeling for one another and the world, that government became a dead letter."[5]

Walt Whitman's attitude to democracy has to be understood in the context of the political history of the United States of America. Starting as a loose confederacy, which the colonies had formed to win their freedom, the United States adopted a constitution in 1787 'to form a more perfect union'. The Constitution gave each state the right to develop according to its own need and nature, and at the same time ensured that the union would be 'strong enough to maintain peace and friendly co-operation between the various states, and respect and prestige for itself among the nations of the world'.[6] The result was the emergence of a truly national culture. America became 'the continent of glories and of the triumph of freedom and of the Democracies':[7]

> Center of equal daughters, equal sons
>
> * * * *
>
> A grand, sane, towering, seated Mother
> Chair'd in the adamant of Time.[8]

When Washington said in his Farewell Address to the nation in 1796:

> "Observe good faith and justice toward all nations. Cultivate peace and harmony with all.....Harmony, liberal intercourse with all nations are recommended by policy, humanity and interest,"

he was placing before the nation the ideal of universal brotherhood and toleration on which democracy is, and should be, found-

---

1. Emory Holloway—Introduction to the Everyman Edition of *Leaves of Grass*.
2. One's-self I sing.
3. "Inflating my throat, you divine average, you earth and life till the last ray gleams I sing" *Song at Sunset*.
4. *Song of Myself*.
5. *Selincourt*: *Walt Whitman*: *A Critical Study*.
6. *Holloway*: Introduction to *Leaves of Grass*.
7. *Thoughts*.
8. *America*.

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ed. Whitman, too, recognized that America offered a pattern of democratic life where unity reigned in the midst of diversity.

> "America illustrates birth, mascular youth, the promise of sure fulfilment, the vehement struggle so fierce for unity in one's-self.[9]

It is the mission of America to integrate all and to forge 'one common indivisible destiny for All'.[10]

> "With Victory on thy left, and at thy right hand Law; The Union holding all, fusing, absorbing, tolerating all, Thee, ever thee, I sing".[10]

In the **Preface** to the **Leaves of Grass** he called the United States 'the greatest poem':

> "Here at last is something in the doings of man that corresponds with the broadest doings of the day and night. Here is not merely a nation, but a teeming nation of nations. Here is action untied from strings, necessarily blind to particulars and details, magnificently moving in vast masses.....America is a race of races".[11]

This 'Nation of nations, this race of races' could live together in peace and amity, because democracy offered them freedom and equality. Men of different trades and professions, of diverse culture-patterns with their 'contempt for statutes and ceremonies' and with their 'boundless impatience of restraint' provided a refreshing spectacle of human life. If there were a 'Law of mystic evolution' leading mankind from the 'imperfection's murkiest cloud' to 'health, peace, salvation universal', it was operative in American democracy:

> "And thou America,
> For the scheme's culmination, its thoughts and its reality, For these (not for thyself) thou hast arrived."[12]

America was to the poet a symbol of human unity 'O America because you build for mankind I build for you.'[13] She offered a guarantee of the world's progress towards a more glorious civilization made possible by democracy. Democracy, Whitman believed, offered the fullest scope to the development of personality, and gave freedom and scope to the individual to strive for an attainable perfection. Freedom and equality which Whitman valued above everything else could be conceived of only within the framework of democracy. The 'true word of immortality' that a poet could utter was a message of individual freedom and social equality.[14]

In this context it is good to remember that Whitman, the poet of an affluent country, felt quite rightly that the splendour of wealth was but short-lived and that a great city was that which had the greatest men and women'.

> Where Thrift is in its place, and prudence is in its place,
> Where the men and women think lightly of the laws,
> Where the slave ceases, and the master of slaves ceases
>
> * * * *
>
> Where the city of the faithfullest friends stands
> Where the city of the cleanliness of the sexes stands,
> Where the city of the healthiest fathers stands.
> Where the city of best-bodied mothers stands.
> There the great city stands.[15]

9. *Thoughts.*
10. *Song of the Exposition.*
11. *In By Blue Ontario's Shore*, this is made the theme of a verse stanza in section 5.
12. *Song of the Universal.*
13. *By Blue Ontario's Shore.*
14. The message of great poets to each man and woman is, "come to us on equal terms, only then you can understand us, we are no better than you. Did you suppose there could be only one Supreme? We affirm that there can be unnumbered Supremes, that one does not counter-vail another . . . . and then men can be good or grand only of the consciousness of their supremacy within them." (Preface to *Leaves of Grass*).
15. *Song of the Broad Axe.*

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This emphasis on the human values gives to Whitman's poetry a vision and a breadth that are among its most enduring qualities. Walt Whitman called himself 'a poet of comrades', 'a mate and companion of all people'. Nothing is as important to him as man, even states fall behind man:

How dare you place anything before a man?

Fall behind me, States!

A man before all—myself, typical, before all.[16] Every individual has to grow following the laws of growth. To Whitman the idea of progress was linked up with the idea of individual growth patterned by a kind of mystic relationship existing between the body and the soul. The soul is immortal but the body that we build up by our way of living gives proportion to the soul capacitating or incapacitating it for its life on this earth and beyond. In that brilliant poem, **A Song of the Rolling Earth,** he has compared all the material objects, including the human bodies, to words, and said that the workmanship of souls is by those inaudible words of the earth. The problem, as it presented to Whitman, was therefore one of individual freedom in a world of conflicting relationship. Fundamentally there are two patterns of such relationship; first there is the relationship between man and woman, and then there is the relationship between man and man.

Love is Whitman's keynote to human relationship. Between man and woman, love is associated with sex. In the poems of **Children of Adam,** Whitman celebrates sex. Sex is the 'central energy of the human body, the key to the power of physical life in all the world—men and women as well as animals and vegetables.'[17] Love is a power that brings human beings together in a union, which is not only physical, but spiritual also. Whitman felt a sense of mystery when he thought of sex, and therefore it is that he said to Emerson, "If I had cut sex out, I might just as well have cut everything out."

Sex is to be accepted as a vital force to be used by body and spirit, not a dangerous thing to be shunned and trampled down:

Singing the song of procreation
Singing the need of superb children and therein
Superb grown people

Singing the mascular urge and the blending.[18] he sang the song of 'the body electric' and recognized that man and woman were made for each other, for 'sex contains all.[19] After referring to the attraction of 'the female form' and the passion it evoked in him he said:

Be not ashamed women, your privilege
encloses the rest, and is the exit of the rest,
You are the gates of the body, and you are the gates of the soul.[20]

In the **Song of Myself** he has spoken of his belief 'in the flesh and the appetite'. To him the human body was a sacred thing:

The man's body is sacred and the woman's body is sacred. There was nothing to be ashamed of in the act in which 'the flesh and the appetite' had their fulfilment.[21] The 'impassive women' are not for him for they turn away from life. He goes to those that are 'warm-blooded and sufficient' for him and assures them that in them sleep 'heroes and bards' waiting for the touch of a virile man like him. Out of the union, the 'love-spendings', will arise best-beloved sons of me and America.... perfect men and women':

Produce great persons, the rest follows.

The second aspect of human relationship is treated in the **Calamus** group of

16. *By Blue Ontario's Shore.*
17. John Bailey: Walt Whitman.
18. From *Pent-up Aching Rivers.*
19. *A woman waits for me.*
20. *I sing the Body Electric.*
21. Without shame the man I like knows and avows the deliciousness of his sex. Without shame the woman I like knows and avows hers. (*A woman waits for Me*).

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poems. Here the central theme is the masculine companionship. The balance of sex-passion is found in comradeship, in the manly attachment characterized by depth and vitality.

The soul of the men I speak for rejoices in comrades

* * * *

Resolv'd to sing no songs today but those of manly attachment
Projecting them along that substantial life,
Bequeathing hence. types of athletic love,

* * * *

To tell the secret of my nights and days,
To celebrate the need of comrades.[22]

Individual freedom so exultingly celebrated in his **Song of Myself** does not provide a basis for a free democratic society; love and friendship are required for such a society. Sex is only one form of passion, but only one. Frienship is complementary to it. In friendship passion is purged of desire, and in its highest form it is universal in scope, providing the basis for a true and permanent society. It is possible that Whitman was influenced by the Quaker ideals and the thought of a new 'Society of Friends,'[23] a form of pure democracy established on the principles of mutual love, toleration and fellow-feeling.

I dream'd in a dream a city invincible to the attacks of the whole of the rest of the earth,
I dream'd that was the new city of Friends,
Nothing was greater than the quality of robust love, it led the rest.[24]

Before this 'robust love' distance melted away, and he projected himself into the universal, attaining a state of spiritual integration with the entire humanity:

Whoever you are you, now I place my hand upon you, that you be my poem
I whisper with my lips close to your ear.
I have loved many women and men, but I love none better than you.[25]

Walt Whitman claimed for himself 'no literary success nor intellect,'[26] he was no discoverer of labour-saving machines: but he sought to establish 'in Manhattan and in every city of these States, island and seaboard' 'the institution of the dear love of comrades':[27]

The dear love of comrades, the attraction friend to friend,
Of the well-married husband and wife, of children and parents
Of city for city and land for land.[28]

---

22. In *Paths Untrodden.*
23. "At this period Whitman was influencedby original Quaker ideals. He sought to establish a new 'Society of Friends,' and *Calamus* contains the outline of his thought and longing". (Henry Bryan Binns. *Walt Whitman and His Poetry.*
24. *I dream'd in a Dream.*
25. *To you.*
26. *No labour-saving Machine.*
27. *I hear it was charged against me.*
28. *The Base of All Metaphysics.*

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Indian Periodicals

Food Policy Sell Out

The following Editorial comments of the *Eecnomic Weekly* would seen to aptly underline the manner in which the States have been able to sabotage what appeared in an earlier stage a healthy trend towards a logical and Centrally initiated National Food Policy :

The official version of what transpired at the Conference of Chief Ministers in New Delhi is yet to come as we go to press, but enough is known about the content of the "unanimous decisions" of the Conference to make it clear that it is the politicians from the States who have laid down the food policy —rather, who have laid down that there will be no food policy. On every important aspect—procurement, movement and distribution—Subramaniam meekly surrendered the initiative.

It appears ironical in retrospect that only on (the previous day) had the Government moved in the Lok Sabha the long-awaited bill to set up the Rs. 100-crore Food Corporation of India with the most ambitious objectives in the purchase, storage, movement and distribution of foodgrains. And Subramaniam himself had just gone on record to the effect that the food situation in India warranted the enforcement of rationing for many years to come. That was the opinion also of the Jha Committee appointed by him some time ago. Taking the view that the problem of food prices would persist, the Committee had recommended the introduction of statutory rationing in all cities with populations of more than a million.

Last month the Government announced its decision to fix producers' and consumers' prices for the major cereals, beginning with rice. These prices, as was to be expected, were fixed at levels well below those which would prevail under free market conditions. It followed that if they were to be enforced physical regulation of consumption through rationing was the *sine qua non.* But now the Chief Ministers have rejected statutory rationing ; individual State Governments may experiment at their pleasure with what is euphemistically called "informal" rationing which, one presumes, will involve no commitments and will co-exist with a free market. It requires no great prescience to point out that this system cannot but break down under the first stresses of a shortage. If, however, the assumption is that supplies will be enough to provide the rationed quantities as well as to keep the free market going at the fixed prices, then, surely, all these elaborate arrangements are redundant in the first place ?

It has been stressed repeatedly in these columns that the only answer to the food crisis, which has persisted for almost two years, is a national food policy with the power to take the basic decisions on procurement, distribution and control of consumption concentrated in the hands of the Central Government. The State Chief Ministers have rejected the very principle of this. Those, and the Food Minister was one of them, who had pressed for the abolition of the nine wheat zones in the interests of equitable distribution of available supplies are now confronted with the prospect of every State being made a rice "zone". Even the Centre is forbidden from making purchases in the States so that, to meet its commitment to provide the requirements of the deficit States, it would be thrown on the tender mercies of the surplus States, apart from imports. True, these States have voluntarily undertaken to supply certain quantities of rice to the Centre, but how seriously they take such commitments was amply demonstrated towards the end of last

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month when the food crisis was brewing in Kerala and frantic appeals went out from the Kerala administration to the Andhra and Madras Governments. If these Governments, the former particularly, had honoured the commitments which they had made earlier perhaps much of the suffering inflicted on the people of Kerala might have been avoided. Is it to be expected that the surplus States would treat their offer to supply rice to the Central pool in any less cavalier manner ?

In sum, the State Chief Ministers have written the epitaph on the hopes that, moved by the mass privations caused by the food shortage of these last two years, the Government might at last work out a rational long-term food policy necessary for sustaining a high-level of development expenditure without the prospect of a spectacular rise in agricultural production. Between the reluctance of the surplus States to share their bounty and the callous unwillingness of the deficit States to take on the commitment to feed their people and, not the least, Subramaniam's political ineffectiveness there has been a sell out of food policy.

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Foreign Periodicals

Revelation on the East River

The following excerpts from a **Saturday Review** editorial on "U.N. Finances and the U.S. economy" will be found illuminating:

Within recent months a professor of political science has exploded the tenaciously held notion that the United Nations takes more out of the American economy than it puts in. In a brilliant research paper called "The Impact of the U.N. on the Finances of the USA," Professor John H. E. Fried has shown that the U.N. has a most significant and salubrious effect on the economic life of New York City and the country generally.

The professor's findings have been developed as part of a Brookings Institution study of the U.N.'s finances; portions of the paper appear in a recent Brookings volume by John G. Stoessinger and Associates, **Financing the United Nations.**

The first part of Professor Fried's report describes the U.N. complex's impact on New York City and environs during 1962. It turns out that, far from being a drag, the U.N. in 1962 poured upwards of $67,000,000 into the city's economic veins. This awesome amount flowed through many channels: expenditures by permanent and temporary U.N. personnel; various rental and maintenance expenses; telephone, cable, and utilities billings; maintenance of U.N. missions by foreign governments, payments by the U.N. for travel expenses, and so on.

According to Professor Fried, "In 1962, gross salaries and wages for United Nations staff stationed anywhere in the world amounted to $40,973,300. From this total, altogether $8,741,400—or slightly over one-fifth—was withheld by the United Nations for tax equalization (staff assessment).

"Of the 4,480 recipients, 2, 951 were stationed at New York headquarters. Their share in gross salaries and wages was $26,218,400. If the average deduction for tax equalization applied to them, they received $20,726,000. Informed estimates indicate that they send or spend 10 per cent abroad. Hence, the amount flowing into the City was $18,700,000. In 1962 . . . the earnings of the 160 UNICEF personnel stationed in New York were $1,610,400 (gross) . . . . or . . . approximately $1,400,000 (net). Deducting 10 per cent as sent or spent abroad, the amount that flowed into the City was $1,250,000."

The surprises continue as the paper moves on to the U.N.'s "Impact Upon the U.S. Economy as a Whole." Here we learn that the U.N. each year returns to the national economy roughly four times the amount contributed to the U.N. by the USA. Counting in benefits to New York, Professor Fried finds that in 1962 something more than $87,000,000 was returned to U.S. businesses by the U.N., as compared with the approximately $24,000,000 that was America's share of the regular U.N. budget.

The national economy also benefited from purchases by the U.N., and by UNICEF.

In the case of the latter organization, Professor Fried notes, "Purchases of goods by UNICEF . . . are of two types: (a) Considerable quantities of goods, including medical supplies and equipment, DDT, equipment for milk-conservation plants, and the like, are bought from UNICEF's own assets. In 1962, goods worth $9,150,000 were thus bought by UNICEF in the United States for shipment overseas; (b) At the request of governments and against reimbursement by them, UNICEF purchases other goods for shipment. . . . In 1962,, these procurement purchases amounted to $1,468,000, of which . . . $815,000 was made in the United States. Hence, UNICEF purchases of United States goods amounted . . to $10,000,000."

The shipment overseas of these U.S. goods entailed payments in the millions to a number of American shipping companies. (Professor Fried adds, incidentally, that private contributions to various U.N. agencies, and moneys spent on such special projects as the Congo operation, also feed back partially into the economy; but the paper does not trace this flow in any detail.)

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In the remarkable final section of his paper, Professor Fried appraises the "Investment of Assets of the U.N. System in the USA," and finds the picture "intriguing." As well he might, for his researches show that in 1962 the U.N. Joint Staff Pension Fund had investments of over $100 million in U. S. Government Bonds, the bonds and common stocks of U.S. corporations, and the bonds of U.S. public agencies.

An even more improbable plateau is reached in the passage on the four U.N. institutions with headquarters in Washington: the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the International Finance Corporation, and the International Development Association.

"The cumulative total of the investments in the U.S. held by all four," Professor Fried notes, ". . . as of 1962 . . . . . amounted to almost $1.6 billion. . . . These agencies . . . cover their entire administrative expenditures from their own income. . . ."

After mentioning further U.S. exports of $100,000,000, financed through the World Bank, Professor Fried concludes dryly, "Americans are generous; but it galls them to be called 'suckers.' The above calculations—even the first $80-odd-million figure alone—suggest that this image is not justified."

Clearly, the professor's revelations will take quite some getting used to, especially among those who have scorned the U.N. as a poor relation, a kind of remittance man within the family of nations. It will, in fact, be ironic if these and other detractors of the parliament-of-man idea suddenly find themselves supporting the U.N. not because they admire its moral and political achievement, but simply because they have discovered that the darned thing brings in a buck.

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Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

Reviews and notices of books in Gujrati :

Authors and publishers of Gujrati books, desirous of having them noticed or reviewed in *The Modern Review*, should send them direct to, Shri Rangildas Kapadia : Gandevi, Dist. Surat, instead of sending them to the Editor, *The Modern Review*.

SWAMI VIVEKANANDA MEMORIAL VOLUME : *Edited by R. C. Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D., F.R.A.S., Published by Swami Sambuddhananda, General Secretary, Swami Vivekananda Centenary, 193, Lower Circular Roard, Calcutta. D.C. 8vo. Pp. 617. Price India Rs. 30/-. Foreign 10 Dollars, or £3-10sh. (1963).*

The foreword to this giant memorial volume to the giant among men—Vivekananda—has been written by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, President of the Indian Republic, in course of which he says : "The City of Calcutta has produced many men of genius in education, science, literature and spiritual endeavour and one of the greatest of them all is Swami Vivekananda. He embodied the spirit of this country. He was a symbol of her spiritual aspirations and fulfilment. ..... He gave articulation and voice to that eternal Spirit of India."

This volume under notice represents the initial item of the Publication Scheme drafted by the Executive Committee of the Vivekananda Birth Centenary Celebration in July 1961, some of the other items being (1) The complete works of Swamiji in as many Indian and Foreign languages

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as possible, (2) A representative selection of Swamiji's lectures and writings in as many languages as possible, (3) A short life of Swamiji with some of his select teachings etc., etc.

The Publication Sub-Committee is responsible for the volume's general planning, selection of topics and contributions, arrangements for printing, collection of illustrations and other matters incidental thereto.

It must be admitted that a successful start has been made to collect and select the topics for the articles (in this volume) in such a manner as would give insight into the different aspects of the life, thought and teachings of the Swamiji, though it is wellnigh impossible to do even moderate justice to Swamiji's versatile genius and wonderfully complex personality which displayed itself in so many different spheres of culture, emotion and intellect and touched individual and social life at different angles—in a single volume with limited space. But, that this volume will serve the purpose of giving the readers and the public a broad view of the great and distinguished personality who strides like a colossus across modern Indian history and culture. Some of the contributors to this volume are : R. C. Majumdar M.A., Ph.D., F.R.A.S. (India's Influence on the Thought and Culture of the World Through the Ages), S. N. Dhar M.A. (Swami Vivekananda in World Perspective), Suniti Kumar Chatterjee M.A., D.Litt. (Swami Vivekananda—A World Figure), A. R. Wadia, M.A., Ph.D., M. P. (Swami Vivekananda's Philosophy of Religion), Oliver Lacombe, Professor of Companrative Philosophy, Sorbonne, Paris, (Swami Vivekananda on Practical Vedanta), Dr. C. R. Pangborn, Prof. and Chairman of the Department of Religion : Rutgus—the State University : New Burnswick, N.S., U.S.A. (American Protestant Thought and Eastern Faith), Dr. Y. Chelysev, Director, Inst. of Asian Studies, Moscow, U.S.S.R. (Swami Vivekananda—The Indian Humanist, Democrat and Patriot) and many others.

The volume contains 28 chapters, besides (1) Bibliography (not complete), of works on Swami Vivekananda, (2) Glossary and (3) General Index to the Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda.

One thing we must mention, that in spite of the financial helps of the Government of India and the Government of West Bengal for bringing out of this volume, the publishers were unable to offer the volume for a price below Rs. 30|-. We do not agree with the view "such a low rate (Rs. 30|-) as would bring" it within easy reach of the general public !

This is our only criticism of an otherwise well-edited and interesting book, focussing light on the short but intensively lived life of the great Swamiji, a most human being, so much above the common specimen of mortal beings we meet every moment of our existence. We can, with unqualified sincerity, recommend this volume to people who are interested in humanity and spiritual living. We joint with Radhakrishnan in endorsing "we should assimilate his teachings, incorporate them in our being, and make us worthy to be citizens of the country which produced Vivekananda."

C. H. K.

SOUTH-EAST ASIA : PROBLEMS OF UNITED STATES POLICY. *Edited by William Henderson. The M. L. T. Press, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Massachusetts, U.S.A. Size 8"×5½". Pp. Price $6.75.*

The U.S.A., since the last World War, has got herself more and more involved in the affairs of South-east Asia and despite strenuous efforts her policy has failed in stemming the onward thrust of Communist expansion and subversion. North Vietnam is lost and the Western position in Laos seriously weakened and all in course of the last ten years or so. The issue in South Vietnam is doubtful. Economic stagnation and political instability are the rule in the rest of the area.

South-east Asia has become a highly valued and coveted prize for the big powers, in both the East and the West, due to its strategic location and abundant resources. Just emerged from centuries of western colonial domination—South-east Asia continues even today to be the target of foreign imperialisms, currently of the Peoples' Republic of China and to a lesser extent of the U.S.S.R. A major battle-ground today of the general East-West confrontation and only in this region—South-east Asia—in which the forces of the U.S.A. and the Communist powers are posed face to face in a 'shooting' war.

In this book under review, thirteen specialists examine and review United States policy in South-

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east Asia, on the political, strategic, economic and socio-cultural fronts—"since 1945, in the light of the history of the peoples, the development and strength of the national states and the record and probable intentions of the Chinese."

Special stress is put to evaluating the diplomatic, military, economic and psychological instruments available to the American policy builders in the area.

The several contributors to the book under review—include John M. Allison, Prof. John F. Cady, Prof. Russel H. Fifield, Prof. Clifford Gutrz, Prof. Amos A. Jordon, Lionel Landry, Prof. M. A. Linebarger, Genevieve C. Linebarger, Roger M. Smith, Frank N. Trager, Charles Wolf, Jr., Prof. David Warfel, besides William Henderson, the Editor. The contributors to the volume do not always agree on views expressed by them on many important points of South-east Asian history, politics and economics and on various aspects of U.S. Policy towards the region. The several chapters gives out the views and convictions of the individual authors and no attempt has been made to force a consensus among the contributors on outstanding issues of U.S. Policy towards the region. The book concludes with the chapter 'Some Reflections on United States Policy in South-east Asia"—written by the Editor William Henderson.

Lastly it should be mentioned that the papers printed in this volume were read at a conference on U.S. Policy in South-east Asia, jointly sponsored by the Asia Society and the Association for Asian Studies held at the Asia House, May 1963, in New York. The scholarly quality of the papers and the lucid style of expression of details—make this book interesting not only to politicians but also to the general class of readers—who are keen on being realistically conversant with the trends of U.S. Policy in South-each Asia and its reactions to the people of the United States of America.

C. H. K.

THE CULTURE OF SOUTH-EAST ASIA: *Reginald le May. Government of India, 1962. Pages 227, Price Rs. 4-50.*

This is a cheap paperback edition, in the "Heritage of India" series of the National Book Trust, of a book originally published about ten years ago. The book had excellent prospects—the theme was attractive, the author is a man of great distinction and has great love for the subject, and plentiful illustrations as also two maps were to supplement the efforts of the author. Alas, the project has foundered, because Dr. Le May never made up his mind whether he had set out to write an autobiographical account or a survey, either peoplar or scholarly, of the cultural evolution of this big region. The author had sample material for either purpose at his disposal, only the mixing up has not been happy. Dr. Le May spent nearly a quarter of a century in Indo-China and Siam in diplomatic service. As he recounts, when he first came to the East, he "found little or nothing of beauty in Siamese or Indian Sculptural art." If he had written the story of how his curiosity was aroused, how he overcame the problem of appreciating an alien art, what perseverence he had to show in trying to see for himself the ruins lying scattered in inaccessible forests what efforts it took him to piece together a meaningful unity out of a complicated mosaic, sure enough, we would have got an interesting book. Alternatively, a straightforward narrative without recurring intrusions of the first person singular would also have given us a useful book. The book that we got is an unsatisfactory one, particularly as it fails to give a clear picture of the complex culture of the region. The claim made in the opening sentence of the book that "this is the first attempt in any language to bring together a comprehensive study of the culture of South Eastern Asia" is not sustainable. From the preface of Pandit Nehru dated October, 1960, it appears that the book is going to be translated into several Indian Languages. Unfortunately this reviewer cannot agree that the National Book Trust has made a wise decision.

A. K. DATTA

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